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Fables in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School

Many Indian fables are anterior to Buddhism. Some of them must be anterior even to the invasion of India by the Aryans.[1] The apostles of Buddhism had quickly realized the utility of these tales in appealing to the heart of man, and they had adapted the old fables to the needs of their propaganda. Such is the origin of the *Jātaka* and other moral tales, which, on account of their antiquity and uncertain sources, did not take long to be considered as "the sayings of Buddha" (*Buddhavacanam*) and have been classed as such in the Sutta-Piṭaka after the codification of the Scriptures.

Other tales, which are less ancient, have a different character. They are no longer popular tales handed down orally from generation to generation, but literary compositions which were written by a known author and the paternity of which could not in consequence be attributed to Buddha. What was to be done with these new productions? One

1 On the subject of Austro-Asiatic elements contained in Indian folklore, cf. *Le prologue-cadre des Mille et une Nuits et le thème du svayaṃvara*, JA, 1924, II, pp. 101 ff.; and *La Princesse à l'odeur de poisson et la nāgī*, *Etudes Asiatiques publiées a l'occasion du 25e Anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, II, pp. 265 ff.

could either exclude them from the Canon, or include them in one or the other Basket (*Piṭaka*). The alternative adopted has been different according to the schools and the sects. Let us examine that which the Sarvāstivādins have chosen. I purposely pass over the sectarian ramifications of this important group, and I confine myself to a consideration of the two principal schools, viz., that of Mathurā and that of Kāśmīr.

One reads in the *Ta tche tou louen*, which is the Chinese translation of a commentary (attributed to Nāgārjuna) on the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,[1] "That which is called Vinaya is (a statement) of the faults committed by the *bhikṣus* : according to the precepts laid down by Buddha, this must be done ; this must not be done ; in doing this one commits such a fault. The abridged statement is in eighty chapters. There is besides a second part. On the one hand, in the Vinaya of Mathurā, the *Avadānas* and the *Jātakas* are in eighty chapters. On the other, the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* are excluded from the Vinaya in the country of Kāśmīr (Ki-Pin). (The latter) does not contain anything more than the essential, which has been divided into ten chapters ; (but) there is a *vibhāṣā* in eighty chapters which comments on it."

It appears that the Vinaya of Mathurā and that of Kāśmīr differ considerably. At Mathurā, the Vinaya, properly so called, was in eighty chapters, while at Kāśmīr we have to distinguish between a text in ten chapters and a *vibhāṣā* eight times longer. Again, while the fables (*Jātakas* and *Avadānas*) remain excluded from the Vinaya of Kāśmīr, those tales constitute at Mathurā a collection as voluminous as the Vinaya itself. Several facts support the indications furnished by the *Ta tche tou louen*.

The *Mahāvastu*, the complete title of which is *Mahāvastv-*

1 Cf. Tripiṭ., Tokyo edition, xx, 5, p. 105, col. 2. This text was kindly communicated to me by M. Pelliot and I have published a first translation of it in my *Legends of the Emperor Aśoka* (p. 214). It is this translation that I reproduce here with modifications in certain places.

avadāna,[1] actually contains a large number of fables, *avadānas* and *jātakas*. We know that this collection was attached to the Vinaya-piṭaka of the *Lokottaravādins* of the *Mahāsāṅghika* School.

The Tibetan catalogue of *Tanjur* supplies a fact of the same kind for the *Sarvāstivādin* School. Volume xc of *Mdo'grel* contains, among other pieces :

No. 17 *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*
No. 18 *Kunālāvadāna*
No. 19 *Āryanandimitrāvadāna*
No. 20 *Saptakumārikāvadāna*

Now, according to the index (f. 129, 2-3) cited by Cordier (Bstan 'gyur, III, p. 416), the above four *avadānas* are mentioned to be included in the cycle (*'khor*) of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* (*'dul-ba'i sde-snod*).

In short, the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* of the Kāśmīr School, like that of most of the sects, contains nothing more than the texts of Discipline, while the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* of Mathurā, like that of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅgha, contains in addition an important collection of fables in eighty chapters.

According to the *Ta tche tou louen*, these fables were of two kinds, *jātaka* and *avadāna*. They perhaps formed two series, which I propose, in order to fix the ideas, to call *avadānamālā* and *jātakamālā*. We should thus have, in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins, the equivalent of the two collections, Jātakamālā and Pratyekabuddhamālā, which, according to the Report of Nandimitra, were, in another Canon, attached to the Abhidharma-Piṭaka.[2]

What was the original word which the translator of the *Ta tche tou louen* has rendered in Chinese by *pou* (class, group or category) and which I have provisionally translated

1 M. H. Zimmer insists rightly on this point : *Zum Mahāvastu-Avadāna* in Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran., vol. III, pp. 201 ff.

2 Sylvain Lévi et Ed. Chavannes, *Les Seize Arhat Protecteurs de la Loi*, JA, 1916, p. 20 of extract.

by "chapter"? We are told that the Vinaya-Piṭaka of Kāśmīr was in ten *pou's*. On the other hand, we know that the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins was called the "Vinaya in ten narratives (adhyāya)" in Chinese: *che song liu*. It is therefore probable that the ten *pou's* of the Vinaya of Kāśmīr were *adhyāyas* or "narratives."

We have to remember here that the *Divyāvadāna*, which likewise belongs to the literature of the Sarvāstivādins, is found in several recensions, of which at least one has preserved the ancient division into *adhyāyas*. Ms. 88 of the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris contains a *Divyāvadānamālā* which consists of only twenty-one avadānas distributed among thirty *adhyāyas*.[1] On the other hand, the printed Divyāvadāna contains thirty-eight avadānas, of which only one, the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, is still divided into *adhyāyas*. *Divyāvadāna* and *Divyāvadānamālā* are so entirely different that we cannot draw any conclusions regarding the contents of the collection which is doubtless their (common) source. But it does not seem improbable that both of them were attached to the ancient *avadānamālā* of the *Sarvāstivādins*. The epithet "divya" given to the collections actually known implies that this collection stood on a higher level than the others. Its success and its popularity sufficiently account for the rehandlings which it has undergone in the course of the centuries, and consequently also for the diversity of our collections. The Divyāvadāna which contains a Mahāyāna sūtra[2] has probably been rehandled lately. The Avadānamālā of Mathurā perhaps contained the four avadānas of *Mdo 'grel*, three of which are not to be found at the present day in our Divyāvadāna.

At first sight, the above considerations seem to be in contradiction with the very plausible opinion, according to which the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins has been

1 Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, edited by Cowell and Neil, Appendix C.

2 The 34th avadāna, entitled Dānādhikāramahāyānasūtra.

compiled in Kāśmīr.[1] This monumental Vinaya contains a large number of avadānas, but we also find that the Vinaya of Kāśmīr discarded, according to the *Ta tche tou louen*, the avadānas. The difficulty is not insoluble. The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins seems to be a sort of reservoir, into which have flowed all the currents of the Sarvāstivādin literature. It is the Total in which have been doubtless incorporated, by the side of an older Vinaya, the Avadānamālā and the Jātakamālā of the Sarvāstivādins. We should not therefore be surprised to find in it pieces of diverse character and especially some important tales extracted from the Divyāvadāna.

MM. Edouard Huber and Sylvain Lévi, the first authors who have noted the pieces common to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the Divyāvadāna hold that the first work was the origin of the second. Quite recently, again, M. Sylvain Lévi has written that the Divyāvadāna is "a collection of tales sliced out, almost all of them, from the huge Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins" (JA, July-September, 1927, pp. 103ff.). This view is probably incorrect. It does not appear that the Vinaya is the source of the Divyāvadāna. The compilers of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins are likely to have borrowed from the Divyāvadāna, or, to be more precise, from the ancient collection of fables of which our Divyāvadāna is only a late recension.

JEAN PRZYLUSKI

1 *The North-West of India in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins*, JA, 1914, II, p. 493 ff.

The Coronation of Candragupta Maurya

Max Müller in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature has said : "Whatever changes may have been introduced into the earlier chronology of India, nothing will ever shake the date of Candragupta, the illegitimate successor of the Nandas, the ally of Seleucus, the grand-father of Asoka. That date is the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology."[1] This dictum has been unreservedly accepted by orientalists for the last half century, and few attempts have been made to fix the date exactly. Absolute accuracy in matters of ancient Indian chronology is almost unattainable, but in an important matter like this an attempt should be made to reduce the possibility of error to a minimum and arrive at the date independently. V. A. Smith, of all scholars, has attempted a solution in an independent manner, but he has made much of the classical accounts of Alexander's invasion and has questioned the historical value of the Indian play *Mudrā-rākṣasa.*[2] According to him, the accession of Candragupta to the throne of Magadha may be dated "between 325 and 320 B. C., perhaps in 322 B. C."[3] Although it is admitted, on the authority of Justin,[4] that the palace revolution at Pāṭaliputra preceded the attack on Alexander's governors, the general rising which swept away Macedonian authority in India could not have begun till the news of Alexander's death had been confirmed beyond doubt, and the season had

1 Ancient Sanskrit Lit. (1860), p. 300.

2 In one place (Early Hist., 4th ed., p. 45, n.1), on the authority of Hillebrandt, he says that "the plot is based on accurate information and ancient court tradition." In another connexion (Ibid., p. 123, n.1) he says : "It is hardly safe to rely wholly for matter-of-fact history on a work of imagination composed several centuries after the events dramatised."

3 Early Hist., 4th ed., p. 45

4 Ibid., p. 46, n. 2.

permitted the execution of military operations with facility.[1] The revolution, as Smith asserts, had various stages covering at least a year, and "when all opposition had been crushed by force or circumvented by guile, Candragupta, in the vigour of his early manhood, stood forth as the unquestioned master of Northern India."[2] The accession of Candragupta, therefore, could not possibly take place before 322 B.C.

In recent times the *Mudrārākṣasa* has come to be regarded as an historical play,[3] and whatever controversy there may be regarding the author, the date of composition, and the identification of the different frontier tribes mentioned in it, there is no denying the fact that with the scanty materials at our disposal regarding the last days of the Nandas, and the accession of Candragupta Maurya, we are obliged to fall back on this drama and shape our conclusions accordingly. It is not possible to reconstruct the ordering of events between the fall of the Nandas and the accession of Candragupta with the assistance of the Purāṇas and the Buddhistic and Jaina works, because they are absolutely silent on Alexander's invasion. We are, therefore, compelled to fall back upon the classical accounts and the drama referred to.

The classical authors speak sparingly about Candragupta, his lineage, the way in which he came to the throne and became master of Northern India, and about the Nandas who were superseded by the Mauryas. Moreover, the references to the Nandas are wholly conjectural. Diodorus speaks of one *Xandrames*, king of the *Tabresians* and the *Gandaritoe* beyond the Ganges. Quintus Curtius speaks of one *Aggramen*, king of the *Gangaridoe* and *Parrhasii*, and Justin relates the story of *Nandrum* having put *Sandracottas*[4] to flight. As regards Candragupta, his coming to the throne of Pāṭaliputra is not even mentioned and Justin only says

1 Ibid., p. 122. 2 Early Hist., p. 46.
3 Camb. Hist., pp. 467, 471.
4 Wilson's Indian Theatre, II, pp. 147-9.

that he was of humble origin and was called to royalty by the power of the gods. He collected bands of robbers and roused the Indians to reconquer the empire. When attacking the captains of Alexander, he had the distinction of being in the van and mounting on an elephant of great size and strength. These scattered and fragmentary references do not give us a clear idea of the way in which the Indian empire of Alexander and the dominions of the Nandas became the empire of Candragupta. The sequence of events also is not clear, and from these classical references we cannot come to the conclusion that the destruction of the Nandas preceded the expulsion of foreigners[1] or *vice versa*.

Smith's assertion that the campaign of Candragupta against foreigners began after the demise of Alexander is not strictly tenable. A close study of Alexander's campaign against the barbarians, both Indian and non-Indian, will not warrant the assumption that his enemies were in fear of Alexander, and that no revolution was possible in India as long as he lived. From the Battle of Hydaspes down to his retirement from India he had had to conduct a most strenuous campaign. The fight with Porus was sufficient to damp the ardour of his soldiers. On his way down the Indus he came across hostile confederacies of autonomous tribes, while in Gedrosia he received the news of the assassination of Philippos by his mercenary soldiers. Moreover, towards the close of his career Alexander's popularity was considerably shaken by the frequent mutinies of his veterans whom he wanted to disband and send back, and by his assumption of oriental luxury so distasteful to his hardy Macedonian soldiers.[2] The Indians certainly were informed of these developments, and they, therefore, did not wait for the death of Alexander to

1 Its admissibility is suggested by a passage in Justin quoted in Early Hist., p. 46, n. 2, but it is not borne out by independent references.

2 Plutarch's Lives, pp. 393 ; 421-23. Hopkinson's Greek Leaders, pp. 206 ff.

throw off the Hellenic yoke. Assuming, therefore, that as soon as Alexander turned his back upon India (Sept., 326 B.C.) there was a general revolt against him, Candragupta's accession to the throne of Pāṭaliputra would appear to have taken place simultaneously or a little earlier. Here the Indian play comes to our assistance.

Traditions[1] must have been handed down to posterity regarding the revolution which placed Candragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha and made him Lord Paramount of the whole of Northern India including the provinces conquered by Alexander, and these traditions were cast into a dramatic mould by Viśākhadatta about 400 A.C.[2] But in measuring the historical value of our play we should be guided by the general trend of the plot and the atmosphere pervading throughout, rather than by the personnel of the drama and the tribes and place-names. Thus it is idle to speculate regarding the identification of Parvataka, his son Malayaketu, and the frontier tribes which fought for and against Candragupta. The name Parvataka passed in course of time into the general folk-lore of India, and in all accounts of Candragupta's accession he is a familiar figure. There might have been some historical truth underlying this particular tradition, but in our play, as in other accounts, it has lost all significance and historical value. Hence Parvataka is not infrequently called *Śaileśvara* or *Parvateśvara* and the name of his son *Malayaketu* has almost the same meaning. Seven centuries after the events narrated, people remembered only the general course of the revolution, and in order to give it a realistic shape invented names and utilised the oft-repeated expressions regarding the frontier tribes.[3] We

1 Camb. Hist., p. 471, 47 n.

2 Konow, Speyer, Hillebrandt quoted in Early Hist., p. 45, n. 1.

3 "The names of the allied kings in the drama need not be seriously considered, since Sanskrit literature is rich in varieties of nomenclature, which hardly ever fail, even in closely related versions of a single story." Camb. Hist., p. 471, n. 3.

shall try to find a proper solution of the problem whether the installation of Candragupta on the throne of Magadha preceded the destruction of foreign garrisons. The following have led scholars to conclude that Candragupta secured the Punjab before he turned his eyes towards Magadha.

(a) "*Sandracottus* was the author of the liberty of India after Alexander's retreat.....Collecting bands of robbers he roused the Indians to renew the empire."[1]

(b) The Ceylonese story of Candragupta's taking warning from a conversation between a mother and her son regarding the futility of attacking the capital first.[2]

(c) The mention in the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Yavanas[3] as having assisted Candragupta against the Nandas of Pāṭaliputra.

(d) The existence of a Buddhist[4] as well as a Jaina[5] story about Candragupta's second attempt beginning with the frontiers. From this it is concluded that the overthrow of Nanda "can hardly have been effected without the kingdom of Porus."[6]

Justin's inconclusive statement, supplemented by Plutarch's, originally held the field.[7] But of late, it has been

1 Justin, 15-4, quoted by Wilson : Indian Theatre, II, p. 149.

2 Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, quoted in Turnour's Intro. to Mahāvaṃsa, p. xxxviii.

3 Telang's ed. (6th), p. 124.

4 The story in the Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā.

5 The story in the Pariśiṣṭaparvan.

6 Camb. Hist., p. 471. Although stress is laid on the authenticity of the Mudrārākṣasa, it is added that "a conquest of the Punjab by Candragupta with forces from Eastern Hindustan has little inherent plausibility ; before the British power the movement had been consistently in the opposite direction."—Loc. cit.

7 V. Smith, Early Hist. (3rd ed.), p. 39, n. 2; McCrindle's Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, pp. 404ff.

so interpreted as to prove the priority of the overthrow of the Nandas.[1]

The story of Mahānāman in his Ṭīkā is in line with the whole set of incredible stories regarding Kālāśoka and the Nandas, and we cannot rely on it.

The passage in the *Mudrārākṣasa* is open to different interpretations, as the word *Yavana* has been taken differently by authors. Stress need not be laid on this term as well as on the names of other tribes mentioned in the play. The *Yavanas* in our passage were, as Telang is inclined to think, "probably some of the frontier tribes inhabiting Afghanistan and the neighbouring districts."[2] Even if *Yavana* stands for the Greeks, we cannot therefrom suppose that Candragupta first conquered the Greek principalities of N. W. India and then turned against Magadha. The most plausible conclusion seems to be that while Candragupta was invading Magadha he was assisted by a large number of predatory frontier tribes, among which there were probably some Greek deserters.[3] Hence we find *Yavanas* and *Parvataka* among the adherents of Candragupta.[4] But we are not justified in drawing the conclusion that Candragupta conquered the whole of the west before turning eastward. On the contrary, the *Mudrārākṣasa* affords ample materials which force us to a different conclusion.

The play begins with a narration of events which took place just after the overthrow of the Nandas and the entry of Candragupta into the Capital. There are enemies within and

1 Early Hist., 4th ed., p. 46, n. 2. 2 Telang's ed., p. 29.

3 Alexander's unpopularity towards the close of his career, and the fact that he wanted several times to disband his veterans in consequence of which they mutinied, might have led to desertion on a large scale; the murder of Philippus and the general insecurity of the Macedonians in India might also have induced desertion.

4 Tradition might have been current that Candragupta afterwards appointed a *Yavana* governor and invested him with the title of king. Comp. *Yavanarāja Tushaspa* of Asoka.

without; spies are being appointed indiscriminately by both the parties; Rākṣasa and the adherents of Nanda stir up revolt among the western tribes and instigate Malayaketu, the son of the murdered Parvataka, to avenge the wrong done to his father; in short, the revolution proper has just begun. But even here almost invariably Candragupta is styled king (*Deva* or *Rājan*). This is significant, and it shows that perhaps immediately after the capital was stormed Candragupta was placed on the throne and styled *Rājan*.[1] Then again Candragupta even after taking the capital and placing himself on the throne, had yet to subdue other kings and make himself lord paramount of India. In Act III[2] Cāṇakya accosts Candragupta with the benediction that he might be graced by the homage of kings coming from the region bounded by the mountains in the north and the ocean in the south.

In Act IV[3] Malayaketu is aggrieved at the thought that though nine months had passed away since his father's death he could not avenge himself on Candragupta. Again, in the concluding stanza of the play there is clear indication that the revolution is at an end, the attack of the barbarians has ceased, and Candragupta is wished a long life. From all this it is clear that the revolution, when it began, placed Candragupta on the throne of Magadha, but it continued for about a year, at the end of which the attacks of the enemies ceased and Candragupta introduced order into the kingdom.

It was not difficult for Candragupta to overthrow the Nanda dynasty whose inherent weakness he had revealed to Alexander while in the Punjab. But it was difficult for him certainly at the outset to capture the Indus valley and

1 Comp. the incident referred to in Act III where Vairocaka, brother of the murdered Parvataka, is made to sit on the throne side by side with Candragupta.

2 Telang's ed., p. 164.

3 Telang's ed., p. 192.

Sind which had offered a strenuous resistance to Alexander. It is well to remember in this connection that at the time of the partition of Alexander's empire at Babylon and Triparadeisos not only no notice was taken of Alexander's conquests beyond the Indus, but even considerably enlarged territories were conceded to Porus, for, according to Diodorus[1] "it was impossible to remove these kings without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general." The strength and independence of the Indian rulers—Taxiles and Porus—were recognised by Alexander.[2] No sooner was he gone than Philippus was murdered. Alexander did not feel strong enough to appoint a successor himself; he only left Eudemos in charge of the military affairs. After the treacherous assassination of Porus, both Eudemos and Peithon, son of Agênor, left the Indian soil never to return, and no arrangement was ever made with regard to the Indian "satrapies" of Alexander till the unsuccessful attempt of Seleucus to recover them. All these circumstances go to show how powerful these Indian rulers were; and, therefore, it was not possible for Candragupta to conquer the west before conquering the east. When after the assassination of Porus both Eudemos and Peithon retired, and no arrangement was made for the Indian provinces of Alexander, Candragupta emboldened by the capture of Pāṭaliputra and the acquisition of the resources of the Nandas absorbed the western regions.

Hence in fixing the chronology of this period of Indian history we should say that as soon as Alexander turned his back upon India (Sept., 326 B. C.), the Magadha revolution began, and Candragupta after ousting the Nanda Dynasty planted himself on the throne of Pāṭaliputra, and that this revolution, as V. Smith says, had successive stages covering almost a year, at the end of which all trouble ceased and Candragupta began a career of conquest and consolidation.

1 Diodorus, XVIII, 39, 6. 2 Ibid., XVIII, 3, 4.

Hence 325 B. C. is the most approximate date of Candragupta's accession.[1]

JYOTIRMOY SEN

A Buddhist Inscription from Bodh-Gaya of the Reign of Jayaccandradeva—V. S. 124x.

This inscription was found at Bodh-Gaya some fifty years ago by Sir Alexander Cunningham. He placed it for decipherment at the disposal of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who published it with a translation and a facsimile in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1880, pp. 78-80, pl. VIII. It is noticed as No. 177 in Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*[2] and included by Messrs. Mehta and Diskalkar in their *List of Inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla Rulers of Kanauj*.[3] An excellent facsimile of the inscription (without, however, any transcript) appeared in Mr. R. D. Banerji's memoir on the *Pālas of Bengal*.[4] During my study of the

1 Cunningham arrived at this date from a critical examination of the Pāli Buddhistic annals.—Bhilsa Topes, pp. 75-6.

Jayaswal's calculation of the date of Asoka's coronation leads him to accept B. C. 325-4 as that of Candragupta. Hence he rejects the theory of V. Smith that Candragupta could not begin operations before the news of Alexander's death reached India. The retreat of Alexander was the end of his prestige in India, and the murder of Parvataka in the *Mudrārākṣasa* probably refers to the assassination of Philippus in B. C. 324-3.—JASB, 1913, pp. 317ff.

The date 325 B. C. is also arrived at by a Jaina reckoning according to which Sthūlabhadra died 219 A. M. (=326 B. C.). And this incident took place simultaneously with the accession of Candragupta.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. V. App., p. 26.

3 *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 84.

4 *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. V, no. 3, pl. xxxii.

Gāhaḍavāla records, I found that Dr. Mitra's readings and translation of this inscription required revision. I, therefore, re-edit the inscription from the two published facsimiles mentioned above. I had not the advantage of examining any estampage of the original inscription, which, I am told, is no longer available.

The inscription according to Dr. Mitra covers a space of 19″ × 12″ and consists of 17 lines of writing. A portion of the slab is broken away and eight letters are thus missing,—two in l. 15, two in l. 16, and four in l. 17. A few others are also injured in lines 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, and 17. With the exception of these, the inscription appears to have been quite in a good condition.

The CHARACTERS are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. and in type resemble those of the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī,[1] the Śītalāghāṭa (Gaya) inscription of Yakṣapāla,[2] the Kṛṣṇa-dvārikā[3] and the Narasiṃha temple[4] (Gaya) inscriptions of Nayapāla, the Akṣayavaṭa (Gaya) inscription of Vigrahapāla III,[5] and the Silimpur inscription of Prahāsa.[6] Regarding the vowel signs attention may be drawn to the different forms of the medial *u*, viz. a comma-shaped curve annexed below, e.g. in *guru* (l. 2), a hook attached to the right, e.g. in *rucira* (l. 1), and a wedge at the lower end, e.g. in *madhura* (l. 7). In respect of consonants the final forms of *t* and *m* are noteworthy. Final *t* is written by a comma-shaped curve with a hook upon it and the sign of the *virāma* below, e.g. in *samantāt* (l. 1). Final *m* has the form of the usual looped *m*, only smaller in size, the *virāma*

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 319ff., pl. facing p. 324.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, pp. 64ff.; *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 96-97 and Pl.

3 *J. A. S. B.*, 1900, pt. I, pp. 190-195; *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. V, no. 3, pl. xxv.

4 *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. V, no. 3, p. 78 and pl.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82 and pl.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, pp. 283-295 and pl.

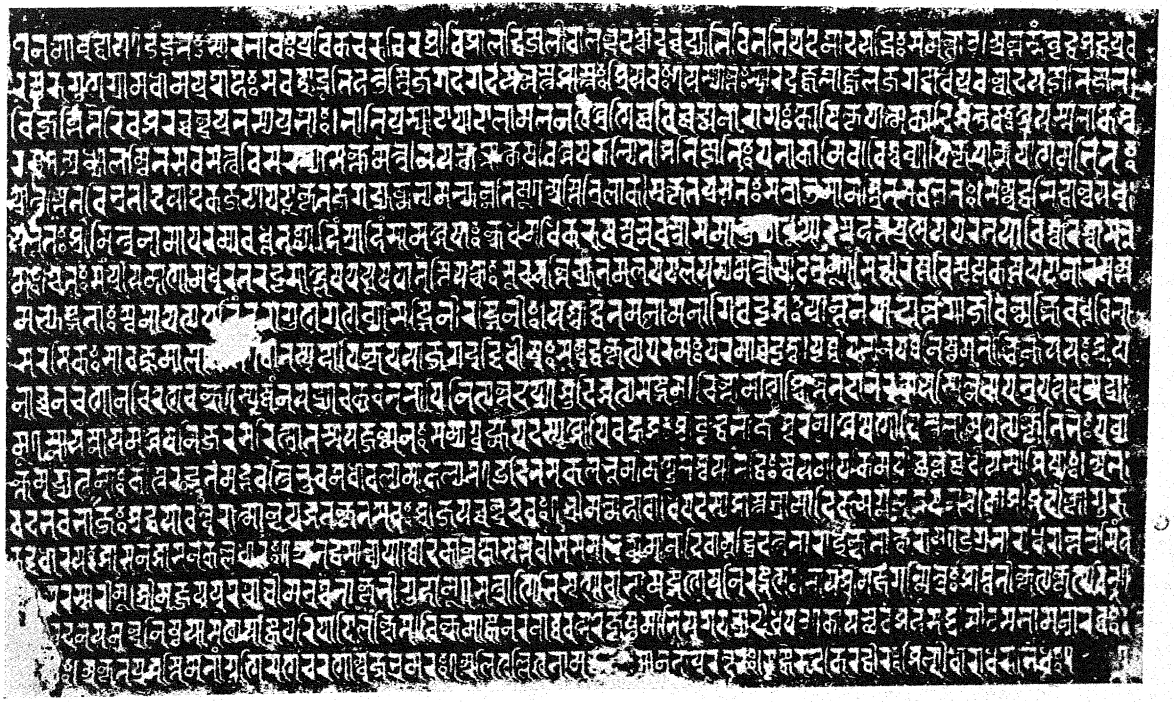
stroke being shown below, e.g. in *citram* (l. 7). Superscript *r* is indicated by a short slanting stroke starting from the middle of the left side of the following consonant, e.g. in *nirjara* (l. 11). *Y* is distinguished from *p* in having the vertical straight line on the right continued below its junction with the curve on the left.

In respect of ORTHOGRAPHY may be noted the use of the same sign both for *v* and *b*, the occasional substitution of *s* for *visarga* and the doubling of *c*, *ṇ* and *t* following a superscript *r*. Instances of errors of writing occur in *ākalpaśa*, (l. 12) where the *visarga* at the end is omitted, and in *ghaṭunā* (l. 7) miswritten for *paṭunā*.

The LANGUAGE of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *Oṃ namo Buddhāya* the whole of the inscription is in verse, numbering 17 in all and composed in a variety of metres, viz. Sragdharā, Śārddūlavikrīḍita, Indravajrā, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Anuṣṭubh, Rathoddhatā and Āryā. As to the style of the composition Dr. Mitra observes, "The language of the large record is high-flown, and very much involved. Metaphors and similes are scattered in it with no niggard hand, and they are mostly very much overstrained, and difficult of reproduction in plain English."

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation by a Buddhist monk, named Śrīmitra, of a large cave at Jayapura, bearing in front one or two figures of Siṃhanāda[1] and in the courts images of three Tārās installed in separate shrines. Of these three Tārās two are mentioned by name,

1 It is of interest to note in this connection that at Patan in Nepal, all the more important Vihāras have two images of Siṃhanāda, either in stone or in bronze, on either side of the staircase leading to the sanctum ; see Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 36. A similar method appears to have been adopted in the decoration of this cave, too, either with one or two figures of Siṃhanāda in front of the entrance.



Reproduced from the *Palas of Bengal* by the courtesy of the A. S. B.

viz., Ugratārā[1] and Dattatārā,[2] while the third one is merely described as "wearing orange clothes."[3] The record opens with an obeisance to Buddha; the first three verses are addressed respectively to the Primordial Nature, known also as the Ādi-Buddha,[4] Bodhisattva Lokeśvara and Ekajaṭā (vs. 1-3). The inscription then proceeds to give an eulogistic account of the monk Śrīmitra who caused this cave to be made (vs. 4-9). His virtues are described, and it is stated that he converted to the Buddhist faith many kings who had formerly followed the 'wrong path' (v. 7). These royal disciples of Śrīmitra included Jayaccandradeva (v. 10), who is referred to in the following verse as the king of Kāśī (v. 11). It is also stated that he restored the discipline of Mahābodhi and recovered some scriptures and treatises of a like nature that had fallen into obscurity (v. 11). The cave is then described (vs. 12-14), the date of its excavation being noted in terms of a chronogram the year of king Vikramāṅka indicated by ... 'vedas', 'eyes' and 'moon,' *i.e.*, the Vikrama year 124 x (vs. 14, 15). Finally, we are informed that this eulogy (*praśasti*) was composed by Manoratha, the son of Sīda, written by the *kāyastha* Purandara and engraved by the artisan Dhārādhara (vs. 16, 17).

As the first word of the chronogram is missing it is not possible to make an exact calculation of the date. It is

1 This is a ferocious form of Blue Tārā, identified by Getty with Ekajaṭā, to whom an invocation is made in one of the introductory verses of the *praśasti*; see Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 111. Bhattacharya takes her to be identical with Mahācīna Tārā. Both the varieties are, however, believed to be of Northern origin and belong to the same class of Blue Tārā. See Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-81.

2 I could trace no mention of this variety of Tārā elsewhere.

3 This description is not, however, definite enough to identify this Tārā with any particular form.

4 He is also called Svayambhū or Svabhāva, see Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

evident, however, that the date falls somewhere within the period 1183-1192 A.C. Messrs. Mehta and Diskalkar assume the missing word to be equivalent to '5', and accordingly give the date as v. s. 1245. This is, however, a mere surmise.

The prelude to the *praśasti* that starts with a homage to Ādi-Buddha shows that the monk in honour of whom it was written was a follower of that system, which forms a special phase of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.[1] Once it was believed that this cult first sprang from Nepal in the eleventh century A.C. among the Aiśvarikas[2]; subsequent studies have however, shown that it originated during the rule of the Pālas in Eastern India, whence it found its way to the north.[3] The special feature of this system consists in tracing the origin of even the Dhyānī Buddhas to a Primordial Being, the Ādi-Buddha, who creates the former by the five acts of his contemplative power, i.e., the *dhyāna*. Invisible and inactive as he is in principle, he is nevertheless a god,[4] for whom the Iconography of the later Buddhist pantheon concieved a distinct representation. "The Ādi-Buddha," says Getty "is always represented as a 'crowned Buddha,' that is to say, that although he is a Buddha, he wears the five-leafed crown as well as the other traditional ornaments of a Dhyānī-Bodhisattva, and is dressed in princely garments."[5] In view of this observation an attempt has been made to identify him with a type of crowned figures of Buddha, decked also with

1 See N. G. Majumdar on "Ādi-Buddha in the Eastern School of Art," *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1926-27, Museum Notes, p. 7; Louis de la Vallée Poussin on 'Mahāyāna' and 'Ādi-Buddha,' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. 8, pp. 380 ff. and vol. I, pp. 93ff.

2 Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 2 and n. 2; Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 198.

3 Cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 8; *J. A. S. B.*, vol. II, pp. 57ff.; *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. IX, p. 114, *et seq.*

4 See Poussin, *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. I, p. 99.

5 Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

other jewellery, found in Bihar and Bengal.[1] The Ādi-Buddha is also represented in Nepal in the shape of a flame in accordance with the belief that at the creation of the world he manifested himself in the form of a flame issuing out of a lotus flower.[2] Sometimes this flame symbol is put in the centre of a crescent moon.[3] The invocatory stanza, referred to, is of interest not only as confirming the evidence of the existence of the cult of Ādi-Buddha in Eastern India in the twelfth century A.C., but further, as revealing a conception of his symbolic representation, simliar to that found to exist now only in Nepal.

The invocations to Bodhisattva Lokeśvara and Ekajaṭā in the two following verses seem also to be quite appropriate in the light of our knowledge that an image of the former in the form of Siṃhanāda was exhibited at the entrance of the cave and another of Ugratārā (who is identical with Ekajaṭā)[4] was set up inside. I could, however, find no mention of Dattatārā elsewhere. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, to whom I referred, suggests that she is identical with Dattā the Yakṣiṇī[5] whose *mantra* has to be uttered in propitiating Jambhala.

This document is also of importance as throwing a fresh light on the religion of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayaccandradeva (1170-1194 A.C.), regarding whom it discloses that he was a disciple of this Buddhist monk. On the seals attached to the copper-plate grants of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers, there are, however, figures of Garuḍa, and a conch-shell, which is suggested by some to be a representation of the *pāñcajanya* conch.[6] In a copper-plate grant of Candra-

1 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

2 Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 2 ; Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii ; Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 250.

3 Getty, *op cit.*, p.2, n. 6 and pl. xix, fig. d.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 111. 5 Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

6 *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XLII, pt. I, p. 314.

deva, the founder of the dynasty, it is stated that he made gifts of certain villages in the presence of the image of Ādikeśava.[1] We are also informed by a Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra that Jayaccandra was initiated 'as a worshipper of the god Kṛṣṇa' on the day of his installation as Yuvarāja.[2] These circumstances indicate that the Gāhaḍavāla kings were Vaiṣṇavas. Nevertheless, the significant epithet *paramamāheśvara* adopted by them attests to their devotion to Śiva.[3] Evidence is also available of their patronage shown to the Buddhist faith. Govindacandra (1114-1154 A.C.), the grand-father of Jayaccandra, assigned several villages for the support of the friars living in the 'great convent of the Holy Jetavana.'[4] It is also known that two of Govindacandra's wives were Buddhists.[5] Of a more definite nature is the information furnished by the present inscription which states that Jayaccandra received initiation from a Buddhist teacher. All these facts as noted above afford some clear indications of a catholic and eclectic spirit that characterised the religious beliefs of the Gāhaḍavāla princes.

The record under review describes Jayaccandradeva as the king of Kāśī. Under a similar style, he is also referred to by the Muhammadan historians.[6] In the Mādhāinagar grant,[7] Lakṣmaṇasena is stated to have defeated a king of Kāśī. Although the latter's name is not mentioned there, there is hardly any room for doubt that he belonged to the well-known Gāhaḍavāla family. The fact of their being thus known as the kings of Benares combined with the evidence of their copper-plate

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, p. 197.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp. 118ff.
3 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp. 125ff.
4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, pp. 20ff.
5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 321.
6 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, pp. 223, 300.
7 *Jour. Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* (N.S.), vol. V, pp. 467 ff.

grants, the bulk of which were issued from Benares, tends to show that the principal residence of the Gāhaḍavāla kings was at Benares. We are aware that the first king of the line made Kanauj[1] the capital of his dominions, the choice being probably due to the prestige which attached to this "Rome of mediæval India" in those days. But the insecurity of its position so close to the Ghaznavid dominions of the Punjab probably necessitated ere long the selection of a second capital in a more central situation. The danger was more evident because of the incessant hostilities of the Gāhaḍavālas with their Muhammadan neighbours.[2] The situation of Benares 'in the centre of the country of Hind' coupled with its holy associations doubtless marked it out as a suitable site for their purpose and Benares thus became the "sister capital" of the Gāhaḍavāla empire, which proud position it continued to hold till its occupation by the onrushing Muslim hordes after the battle of Chandrawar[3] in 1194 A.C.

Translation

Om, Adoration to Buddha !

May that Smiling Nature, revealed through the mark of a cluster of high lustres rising from a crescent (lit. young) moon,[4] looking like rows of large teeth of fully-expanded and charming beauty, the cause of the emanation of

1 *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XLII, pt. 1, pp. 321ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 321 ff.; *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 118ff. Cf. also *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, Raverty's trans., p. 107; Elliot, *History of India*, vol. IV, p. 526.

3 *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, Raverty's transl., p. 470; Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 223.

4 For such symbolic representation of the Primæval Buddha (Ādi-Buddha) cf. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 2, n. 6 and pl. xix, fig. d.

Sarvajña,[1] with the scripture as a weapon,[2] freeing the three worlds of ills,[3] by the shoots,[4] manifest all around, of the light of a multitude of pure, noble and great virtues, growing within, confer prosperity upon you[5] (v. 1).

May that Lokeśvara, the lord with the lustre of the autumn moon, caused as if by the radiation of a mass of

1 See Hodgson, *Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 82. The Ādi-Buddha is supposed to have produced a Bodhisattva, "who having migrated through the three worlds, and through all six forms of animate existence.....appeared at last as Śākyasiṃha to teach mankind the real sources of happiness and misery".

For the names of Gautama Buddha, see *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary*, *Mem. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV, pp. 1-4.

2 *The Samāsa 'astra-śāstraḥ'* may be expounded as *astram iva śāstraṃ yasya saḥ* or "he who holds the scripture like a weapon," *i. e.*, "he who has the scripture as an attribute." The epithet is significant, describing the nature of Ādi-Buddha, who represents the ultimate source of supreme wisdom. As 'the king of the Prajñā' the same character was also ascribed to Mañjuśrī at a later age. See Poussin, *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. I, pp. 95ff. ; also Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 9.

Cf. *"Asti nāsti svarūpāya jñāna-rūpa-svarūpine ।*
Śūnya-rūpa-svarūpāya nānā-rupāya te namaḥ ॥
Svayambhū Purāṇa, I. 3.

3 Cf. *Svayambhū Purāṇa* (Bib. Ind.), I. 1-8. The Ādi-Buddha is believed to be universally propitious ; see Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 100. According to the tradition of Northern Buddhism the special function of curing diseases, is attributed to Manla, the 'Healing Buddha,' who is said to have obtained his power from Gautama Buddha, who, we know, was the spiritual son of the Ādi-Buddha, See Getty, *loc. cit.* pp. 23-24. The Śāntatīrtha near the shrine of the Ādi-Buddha at the Svayambhūkṣetra in Nepal is believed to possess the virtue of of curing diseases by ablution in its waters ; see Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 253.

4 For *Praroha* used in a similar sense, cf. *Jyotiḥ-prarohair-uditaḥ śirastaḥ—Kumārasambhava*, III, 49.

5 "May he, who is of smiling nature, who is of delightfully expanded beauty, who is endowed with the radiance of the sprouts

light springing from the flow of knowledge of the world,[1] gleaming bright in his heart, whose wonderful sympathy,[2] of which the essence is mercy, shines forth in the guise of the beauty of his bright, clean and rosy[3] nails, grant welfare unto you[4] (v. 2).

of his internal, thriving, noble and mighty mass of merits, made manifest by the light of young moons of the large rows of his teeth, who, for the sake of glory, has relieved the three spheres of all illness by bestowing on them the śāstra—may he be to your welfare."—Mitra.

1 Avalokiteśvara is said to be the Bodhisattva of the present cycle, namely Bhadrakalpa, covering the period between the disappearance of the Mortal Buddha, Śākyasiṃha and the advent of the Future Buddha, Maitreya.

Cf. *Kaṛaṇḍavyūha*, pp. 21-22 :

"*Yāvat Avalokiteśvarasya dṛḍhapratijñā na paripūritā bhavanti sarvasattvāḥ sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ parimokṣitāḥ yāvat anuttarāyāṃ samyak sambodhau na pratiṣṭhāpitā bhavanti.....yena yena rūpeṇa vaineyāḥ sattvāḥ tena tena rūpeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti tathāgatavaineyānāṃ tathāgatarūpeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti..... maheśvaravaineyānāṃ maheśvararūpeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti.....vāyuvaineyānāṃ vāyūrupeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti .....rājavaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ rājarūpeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti mātāpitṛvaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ..... mātṛpitṛrūpeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti yathāyathāvaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ tathātathārūpeṇa dharmaṃ deśayanti.*"

2 There is a pun on the word *rāga*, which means both 'sympathy' and 'redness.' The idea implied, is that the sympathy exhibits itself in the redness of his nails.

Cf. "*Lokeśvaraṃ sarvāṅgamahārāgaraktaṃ ekamukhaṃ dvibhujaṃ trinetraṃ jaṭāmukuṭamaṇḍitaṃ vajrāṅkitapāśāṅkuśahastaṃ raktapadme vajraparyaṅkaniṣaṇṇaṃ divyābharaṇavastravibhūṣitam ātmānaṃ vicintya...*"

Sādhanamālā vol. I (G. O. Series), p. 80.

For varieties of Avalokiteśvara see Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 32ff.

3 The name of the colour *pāṭala* is evidently derived from the flower of the same name (Bignonia Suaveolens).

4 "May that lord of regions, the lord, the autumnal moon-light of whose heart is manifest by the resplendence of the glorious light of the world-enlightening moon of knowledge, whose benevolent

May Ekajaṭā, who has made the world flourish,[1] who holds by her the uplifted sword of all-pervading mercy, like a flag of white lustre formed of the peculiar excellence of the mind consisting of the grace devoted to the multitude of dependent sentient beings,[2] bestow good fortune upon you (v. 3).

Here lived a great saint, Śrīmitra by name, who was the foremost of the class of enlightened Siddhas,[3] who was brought to being by the merits of the three worlds and by whom all the sentient beings were invited for redemption (v. 4).

It is a wonder that at the benevolence[4] of him, who was the object of universal confidence, on account of his being inclined to affection, (*marked by*) his uplifted hands, all the animals delighted,—the ferocious shaking off their ferocity, the passionate their anger, and the timid their fear,—by

mind appears lustrous under the guise of the resplendent row of his pure, rose-coloured nails—may he grant you blessings."—Mitra.

1 Cf. *"Tārā Mārabhayaṅkarī suravaraiḥ sampūjitā sarvvadā*
Lokānāṃ hitakāriṇī jayati sā māteva yā rakṣati |
Kāruṇyena samāyutā bahuvidhān saṃsārabhīrūn janān
Trātrī bhaktimatāṃ bibhāti jagatāṃ nityaṃ
* * * * *bhayadhvaṃsinī ||*
Devyā Ekajaṭāyās tu mantrarājo mahābalaḥ |
Asya śravaṇmātreṇa nirvighno jāyate naraḥ ||
Saubhāgyaṃ jāyate nityaṃ vilayaṃ yānti śatravaḥ |
Dharmaskandho bhaven nityaṃ Buddhatulyo na saṃśayaḥ ||
Sādhanamālā, vol. I, pp. 260-262,

For the *Dhyāna* see Bhattacharya, p. 80.

2 "May he of the one lock of matted hair, whose mind is engaged in friendship for those who depend on him, who holds up, like a standard, the white light of noble speech, who wields the beautiful scymitar of all-pervading mercy which has made the world fearless—may he promote your prosperity."—Mitra.

3 "The chief of the pure race of Sambuddha"—Mitra.

4 *Maitrī* is one of the four perfect states with Buddhists ; see Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

sweet looks, embraces and the shower of nectar[1], were representing their heart having been purged of the mass of impurities[2] (v. 5).

With a mind free from duality and delighting to sport in life with the maiden of emancipation, he disdainfully looked a little through the corner of his eyes at the eight charming Siddhis,[3] with a passion for virtues, who, in quest of a lord, went up to him, possessing excellence,[4] skilled (*as he was*) in leaving afflictions away, and lay at his feet[5] (v. 6).

Being free from all desires, yet in (*his*) compassion, intent on delivering the world and endowed with the highest vision, with the achievements of the Enlightened One as his highest aim,[6] who guided the rulers of earth addicted to the wrong path and ere long made them renowned for the worship of Śrīghana[7] (v. 7).

1 *I. e.*, their tears.

2 "By whose friendly aid the ferocious, giving up their needless ferocity, the passionate forsaking their superabundant anger, the timid abandoning their fear.—Relying on the friendship of him who is the asylum of radiance in this world, even (wild) amimals, endowing themselves with love, conversed with each other with affection, diffusing the nectar of their delightful eyes. What a wonder!"—Mitra.

3 The eight Siddhis are enumerated in the following verse :

Aṇimā laghimā prāptiḥ prākāmyaṃ mahimā tathā|
Īśitvaṃ ca vaśitvaṃ ca tathā kāmāvasāyitā||

see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.

4 *Sauṣṭhavaṃ syād-avaṣṭambho*, see Halāyudha *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, ed. Aufrecht, IV, 74.

5 "Enamoured by the maiden of emancipation in this life, that person of undeviating mind, did not by the corner of his eyes, cast even a reproachful glance at the eight Siddhis, who had achieved the exclusion of all created evils, who were devoted voluntarily to their husband, who delighted in the enjoyment of good qualities, and who lying at his feet."—Mitra.

6 "Looking up for high enterprise."—Mitra.

7 A name of Buddha.

He was always quickly giving away without any attachment even what did not cross the mind of the supplicant, wherefore the 'thought-gem' famous for yielding things desired became dull in shame[1] (v. 8).

Of (*his*) fame, of which the body was rising upwards, which was ever gaining prosperity in many ways and which even fully touched the abode of Brahmā, the wonderful and thriving whiteness, having bathed again and again from its birth in the waters of the river of countless immortals, was equalled in achievements with Śeṣa and (*thus*) proclaimed in the three worlds for as long as the cycle continues[2] (v. 9).

Of that emancipated being the illustrious Jayaccandradeva, the attainment of whose sovereignty was proclaimed all over the expanse of the Earth, who was of clear understanding and who was served by a hundred kings, became, out of reverence, himself the disciple with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering (v. 10).

The pilot of the Faith and the initiating preceptor of the king of Kāśī, he restored the discipline and recovered the numerous collection of lost scriptures and others of the same kind, belonging to the illustrious site of the Mahābodhi (v. 11).

It is this accomplished, all-knowing and illustrious friend

1 The Cintā-maṇi could not cope with the monk, being entirely dependent for its gift on the suppliant's desire, while the latter did not even wait for it.

2 The poet implies that his fame traversed the three worlds in this way: it bathed in the Ganges in the land of mortals, it touched the abode of Brahmā in the world above, and was balanced with the achievements of Śeṣa in the world beneath.

"The work of him who, bathing over and over in the river of endless felicity, had, from the day of his birth, taken the lord proprietor of wealth and propriety for asylum, who,—having repeatedly touched the dignity of the highest Brahmā, had ultimately become unrivalled among wise men, and of thriving persons;—his work had attained a wonderful whiteness for ages."—Mitra.

of the world, free from impurities,[1] that made this large cave here in the auspicious *Jayapura*, with Siṃhanāda[2] in front and bearing therein (*images of*) Ugratārā, with her hand raised upwards, Dattatārā, adored in the morning (lit. in the van of the day) and (another Tārā) draped in orange clothes, fair as the evening clouds[3] and at the same time shrines[4] for these three in the courts, eternally to last, in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, in the year of king Vikramāṅka indicated by the arrangement of the number (composed) by the figures represented by . . 'vedas', 'eyes' and 'moon' (vs. 12-15).

Manoratha, son of the illustrious Sīda, the best of the Kāyastha race . . . . who was like a bee of the lotus-feet of the virtuous, composed this eulogium (v. 16).

The illustrious Purandara, the adored of scribes, copied it down (*on the slab*) and the patient artisan Dhārādhara engraved it with a chisel (v. 17).

NIRADBANDHU SANYAL

1 "The wifeless."—Mitra. Cf. "Aṅgana," *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, pp. 171ff. and 461ff.

2 For Siṃhanāda, see Bhattacharya, op. cit. pp. 35ff.

3 "The three Bodhis—adorned in golden raiment, resplendent as the garlanded cloud of twilight—the adored of day with the forehead decked with a bright star. Bearing a refulgent star—this cave, in the auspicious Jayapura."—Mitra.

4 "Sacrifices."—Mitra.

[2]उद्भूतः स्मेरभावः प्रविकच-रुचिर-श्रीविशालद्विजालो-
बालेन्दूदञ्चदु[3]ज्ज्वलद्युतिविततिपदैनोदयद्भिः समन्तात् ।
अन्तस्संवृद्ध[4]-शुद्ध-प्रव-

L.2. र-गुरुगुणग्रामधामप्ररोहैः
सर्वज्ञोद्भूतिहेतुस्त्रिजगदगदयन्स्वस्थशाक्यः[5] श्रिये वः ॥ [1]
[6]यस्यान्तःस्फुरदुज्ज्वलोज्ज्वलजगद्बोधप्रबन्धो[7]दय-
ज्योतिर्जाल-

L.3. विजृम्भितैरिव शरच्चन्द्रप्रभस्य प्रभोः ।
भाति प्रस्फुटपाटलामलनखश्रेणीच्छविच्छद्मना
रागः कोपि कृपात्मको दिशतु वः श्रेयस्स लोकेश्वरः ॥ [2]

L.4, [8]अभ्यालम्बितसर्वसत्त्वविसर[9]व्यासक्तमैत्रीमय-
स्वान्तोत्[10]कर्षविशेषकल्पितशितिज्योतिःपताकामिव ।
विश्वव्यापिकृपाकृपाणमभितः

L.5. प्रोत्तम्भितं[11] बिभ्रती[12]
देयादेकजटा पटूकृतजगद्दृग्युस्मभ्यमभ्युच्चतिम् ॥ [3]
[13]अस्ति त्रिलोकीसुकृतप्रसूतः[14]
संत्रातुमामन्त्रित[15]सर्वभूतः ।
सम्बुद्धसिद्धान्वय भु-

L.6. र्व्यभूतः[16]
श्रीमित्रनामा परमावधूतः[17] ॥ [4]
[18]हिंसा हिंसामभिप्राः क्रुधमधिकरुषस्तस्तवस्तासमाशु
व्याधूयोदस्तहस्त[19]प्रणयपरतया विश्वविश्वासभू-

L.7. मेः ।
चेतः संप्रीयमाणा मधुरतरदृशा[20] श्लेषपेयूषपाते-
स्तिर्यञ्चः सूचयन्ति[21]च्युतमलपटलं यस्य मैत्रीषु चित्तम् ॥ [5]
[22]सिद्धोरष्टविसृष्टकष्टघ(प.टुना[23]वष्टम्भ-

L.8. मभ्युद्गताः
स्तेनोपेत्य पतिं(वरा)[24] गुणगणव्यासङ्गिनी रङ्गिनीः ।
यस्याद्वैतमना मनागिव दृशः प्रान्तेन पादान्तगा
जीवन्मुक्तिवधूविला-

L.9. सरसिकः सावज्ञमालो[25](कते) ॥ [6]
[26]वीतस्पृहोपि कृपया जगदृद्धिधीर्षुः
सम्बुद्धकृत्यपरमः परमोच्चदृश्वा ॥
पृथ्वीपतीनपथ[27]निष्ठमतीन्विनीय
यः श्रीव-

L.10. नाचँनचणानचिरेण चक्रे ॥ [7]

[28]स्पृष्टं न यद्दयाचकचेतसापि
नित्यन्तदप्याशु दिशत्यसङ्गम् ॥
चिन्तामणिश्चिन्तितदानचुञ्चु[29]
र्यस्मिन्नवाप[30] त्रपयैव जाड्य[31]-

L.11. म् ॥ [8]

[32]स्नायं स्नायमशेषनिर्झरसरित्स्रोतस्सु य[33]ज्जन्मनः
सम्यग्ब्रह्मपदस्पृशोपि बहुशः श्रीहट्टिभाजश्शिरः[34] ।
शैवेषापि तुलामुपेत्य कृतिभि.[35]प्रव्य-

L.12. क्तमुद्यत्तनोः
कीर्त्तेरद्भुतमुद्भवत्रिभुवने धावल्यमाकल्पम[36](ग्रः) ॥ [9]
[37]उदितसकलभूमीमण्डलैश्वर्य[38]सिद्धिः
स्वयमपि किमपीच्छन्नच्छधीर्यस्य [39]शिष्यः ।
अभ-

L.13. वदभवभाजः श्रद्धया बन्धुरात्मा
न्पशतकृतसेवः श्रीजयच्चन्द्रदेवः ॥ [10]
[40]श्रीमन्महावोधिपदस्य शास्त्र-
ग्रामादिकं मग्नमशेषमेव ।
काश्मीशदीचागुरु-

L.14 रुद्रधार
यः शासनं शासनकर्म्मधारः ॥ [11]
[41]आनड्[42]सान्ध्यपाथोदकान्तकौसुम्भवाससम् ।
वन्द्यमानां दिवामूर्द्धिं दत्तताराङ् कृतोत्कराम् ॥ [12]
[43]उग्रताराधरान्तस्त्र सिंह[44]-

L.15. (नाद ?)पुरस्सरीम् ।
श्रीमज्जयपुरे चीर्वीमल[45]चैतां कृतो गृहाम् ॥ [13]
[46]सन्नाणि तिसृणां चासामङ्गेषु निरङ्गजः ।
सोयं श्रीमज्जगन्मित्रः शाश्वतीकृत्य कृत्स्नवित्[47] ॥ [14]

L.16. [48]•• वेदनयनेन्दुनिष्ठया संख्ययाङ्कपरिपाटिलक्षिते ।
विक्रमाङ्कनरनाथवत्सरे ज्यैष्ठमासि युगपद्यदीधयत् ॥ [15]
[49]कायस्थवंशग्रहंसश्रीसोदसुतो मनोरथः

L.17. ....: ।
अकृत प्रशस्तिमेतां गुणिगणचरणाम्बुजभ्रमरः ॥ [16]
[50]अलिखल्लिखतामर्च्चाः (श्री)मानेतां पुरन्दरः ।
टङ्केरदकिरङ्गोरः शिल्पी धाराधराभिधः ॥ [17]

FOOTNOTES TO THE TEXT

Expressed by a symbol.

Metre : Sragdharā.

M (—Mitra) reads—*ūdgacchhad.*

M. reads *saṃbaddho.*

M. *reads nastaśāstraḥ.*

Metre : Śārddūlavikrīḍita.

M. reads *pracandra.* 8 Metre : Śārddūlavikrīḍita.

9 M. reads *viṣaya.* 10 M. reads-*mvārtto.*

11 M. reads *śrīnirmmitaṃ.*

12 M. reads *vibhrato.*

13 Metre : Indravajrā.

14 M. reads *trilokīṣu kṛtaprasūtaḥ.*

15 M. reads *satr—ottam—āmattrita.*

16 M. reads *dhīrabhūtaḥ.* 17 M. reads *paramovadhūtaḥ.*

18 Metre : Sragdharā. 19 M. reads-*mvahantaḥ.*

20 M. reads *madhuratara-dṛsoḥ.* 21 M. reads-*sū(su)kavanti.*

22 Metre : Śārddūlavīkrīḍita. 23 M. reads *paṭalā.*

24 M. reads *ratā.* 25 M. reads *sāvarjjam.*

26 Metre : Vasantatilaka. 27 M. reads-aparā.

28 Metre : Indravajrā. 29 M. reads *dāna-candro.*

30 M. reads *Yasminn-avāpa.* 31 M. reads *ca dyām.*

32 Metre : Śārddūlavīkrīḍita.

33 M. reads *srotaḥsra.* 34 M. reads *śrīvṛddhibhāṅīśvaram.*

35 M. reads *kṛtinaḥ.* The last *i-kāra* stroke was originally inadvertently omitted ; only the curve on the top was supplied afterwards.

36 M. reads *ākalpasaḥ.* 37 Metre : Mālinī.

38 M. reads *śvaryya* 39 M. reads *acchadhīyasya.*

40 Metre Indravajrā. 41 Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

42 M. reads *sannaddha.* 43 Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

44 M. reads *siṃva.* 45 M. reads *bodhi.*

46 Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

47 The last six letters are omitted by M.

48 Metre : Rathoddhatā 49 Metre : Āryyā.

50 Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

The Ādipurāṇa and Bṛhatkathā

In the *Ādipurāṇa* (Indore ed. with Hindi *ṭīkā*, Saṃ. 1973), written in c.825A.C., in which the author Jinasena has described the life-story of Ṛṣabha, Ādinātha or Puru, the first of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, the following verses (I. 107 ff.) occur :

Idam adhyavasāyāhaṃ kathāṃ dharmānubandhinīm/
prastuve prastutāṃ sadbhir mahā-puruṣa-gocarām// 107//
vistīrṇāneka-śākhāḍhyāṃ sacchāyāṃ phala-śālinīm/
āryair niṣevitāṃ ramyāṃ satīṃ kalpa-latām iva// 108//
prasannām ati-gambhīrāṃ nirmalāṃ sukha-śītalām/
nirvāpita-jagat-tāpāṃ mahatīṃ sarasīm iva// 109//
guru-pravāha-sambhūtim apaṅkāṃ tāpa-vicchidām/
kṛtāvatārāṃ kṛtibhiḥ puṇyāṃ vyomāpagām iva// 110//
cetaḥ-prasāda-jananīṃ kṛta-maṅgala-saṃgrahām/
kroḍīkṛta-jagad-bimbāṃ hasantīṃ darpaṇa-śriyam// 111//
kalpāṅghripād ivottuṅgād abhīṣṭa-phala-dāyinaḥ/
mahā-śākhām ivodagrāṃ śruta-skandhād upāhṛtām// 112//
prathamasyānuyogasya gambhīrasyodadher iva/
velām iva mahā-dhvānāṃ prasṛtārtha-mahā-jalām// 113//
ākṣiptāśeṣa-tantrārthāṃ vikṣipta-para-śāsanām/
satāṃ saṃvega-jananīṃ nirveda-rasa-bṛṃhiṇīm// 114//
adbhutārthām imāṃ divyāṃ paramārthāṃ bṛhat-kathām/
lambhair anekaiḥ saṃdṛbdhāṃ guṇāḍhyaiḥ pūrva-sūribhiḥ// 115//
yaśaś-śreyas-karīṃ puṇyāṃ bhukti-muktiphala-pradām/
pūrvānupūrvāṃ (*for* °*rvīm* ?) āśritya vakṣye śṛṇuta sajjanāḥ// 116//

In explaining this passage the author of the Hindi *ṭīkā* interprets the words *guṇāḍhyaiḥ* and *bṛhat-kathām* in v. 115 in a general way as 'rich in virtues,' and 'great story' respectively.

This interpretation seems at first sight to be quite wrong. For, the expression *lambhair anekaiḥ saṃdṛbdhām* 'formed

of many lambhas strung together', used in the verse shows that the *Bṛhat-kathā* mentioned in it was composed of many lambhas: and this description fits with the well-known Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya only, and no other story, great or small. Compare Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* (Śrīraṅgam ed.), p. 123: *Bṛhat-kathā-lambhair iva śālabhañjikopaśobhitaiḥ* and Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa (description of *gadya-kāvya*):

bhedaś ca dṛṣṭo lambhādir ucchvāso vāstu kiṃ tataḥ|
tat kathākhyāyikety ekā jātiḥ saṃjñā-dvayāṅkitā|
atraivāntar-bhaviṣyanti śeṣāś cākhyāna-jātayaḥ||

Here the reference to lambhas is without doubt to Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhat-kathā*. This book is said to have originally consisted of 700,000 śloka-measures of which 600,000 were destroyed and 100,000 only gained currency. And since Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which is an epitome of this work contains stories about the Bodhisattva, it is not improbable that the original *Bṛhat-kathā* contained stories of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras also. And hence one feels that it is this work that is referred to by Jinasena and that the words *guṇāḍhyaiḥ* and *bṛhat-kathām* in the above verse should be interpreted as proper names.

This interpretation, however, is open to the objection that it is not likely that a writer like Jinasena would base his account of the life of Ṛṣabha (and other Tīrthaṅkaras) on such a book as Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhat-kathā*. Though this book was highly esteemed and even grouped in the same class as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (compare Govardhana's Āryāsaptaśatī, v. 34:

śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārata-Bṛhatkathānāṃ kavīn namaskurmaḥ|
tri-srotā iva sarasā sarasvatī sphurati yair bhinnā||

it was felt even by writers of the Brahmanical faith to be a profane book while the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, written by sages, were regarded as forming part of the sacred lore.

In the Kannaḍa book *Ādipurāṇa*, which was written in A.C. 941, i.e., about 100 years later than Jinasena's book of the same name, and which, like it, describes the life-story of the first Tīrthaṅkara, it is said in the introduction, by the author Pampa (ādi-Pampa), that this story was first related by the *gaṇadhara* Vṛṣabhasena to Prince Bharata in the presence of the first Tīrthaṅkara, and that in later times it was related by the *gaṇadhara* Gautama to Śreṇika, the king of Magadha, in the presence of Vardhamāna, the last Tīrthaṅkara. In another Kannaḍa book, *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa*, which was written in A.C. 977, and which relates the life-stories of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, the author Cāmuṇḍarāya says in the introduction that these life-stories were first described in the *Mahāpurāṇa* by Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka and Nandi-muni, that they were, later, described by Kavi-parameśvara in his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-purāṇa*, and that, later, they formed the subject of Jinasena-muni's incomplete work which was completed by Guṇabhadra. Similarly, the Kannaḍa writer Devacandra also (beginning of the 19th century) has written that these stories were related for the first time by the first Tīrthaṅkara to Prince Bharata, by the last Tīrthaṅkara to king Śreṇika, and that they were then described in order by Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni, Kavi-parameṣṭhin, Raviṣeṇa, Siddhasena, Vīrasena, Guṇabhadra and others. The traditions about the gaṇadharas, Vṛṣabhasena and Gautama, seem to be mere inventions and need not be taken seriously: but the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurāṇa* of Kavi-parameśvara, if not the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka and Nandi-muni, that is mentioned in Cāmuṇḍarāya's introduction seems to belong to a different category, and to have been really in exsitence. In any case, the statements of the above-cited authors make it clear that there was a tradition in the Kannaḍa country that a detailed account of the life-stories of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara was given in the works of Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni and Kavi-parameśvara (or °parameṣṭhin). And since Jinasena, who was a pontiff in the lineage of Jaina priests and teachers of the Senānvaya of

the Mūla-saṅgha who had their seat at Mulgund (in the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency), lived in the Kannaḍa country, and was, without doubt, aware of this tradition, it is hardly conceivable that he, a Jaina priest, would mention profane and non-Jaina work like Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhat-kathā as the source of his account of the Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha's life, when lay writers of the Jaina Faith like Pampa and Cāmuṇḍarāya mention, as the source of their accounts of the life-story of that Tīrthaṅkara, the works of the Jaina priests Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni, and Kavi-parameśvara.

Probably therefore the word *Bṛhat-kathā* used by Jinasena in verse 115 cited above refers to one of the real or mythical works of Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandimuni and Kavi-parameśvara named above, and Jinasena has purposely used that word as well as the words *guṇāḍhya* and *lambha* in order to indicate, through *śleṣa*, that his source was similar to the well-known *Bṛhat-kathā* in many respects.

The author of the above-mentioned Hindi *ṭīkā* seems, therefore, to be not wrong in interpreting *bṛhatkathām* and *guṇāḍhyaiḥ* as 'the great story' and 'rich in virtues'. But at the same time, it is also clear that these words refer to the famous work of Guṇāḍhya, and that Jinasena knew of a version of that book. His description of it as 'rich in many spreading branches', 'the source of a great torrent', 'excelling a mirror in reflecting the world', and 'containing in a concise form the tenets of all Śāstras' shows that the version was of great extent, contained many stories concerning all classes and kinds of people, and that the tenets of all Śāstras were discussed in it; and the expressions *sacchāyām*[1] and

1 The epithet *sacchāyām* may have suited the above-named works of Kūci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi and Ravi-muni and Kavi-parameśvara which were perhaps written in Prakrit; but it is not probable that any of these works was written in prose and divided into lambhas. It follows hence that we have to interpret the word as 'acquisition' when construing it in connection with those works of *ṛddhi*, *kṣamā mārdava*, *ārjava* and other *dharmas*, of the three *guptis*, etc.

lambhair anekaiḥ sandṛbdhām show further that its divisions were known as lambhas, and that it was written, not in Sanskrit, but in Prakrit.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Madanapāla's Coronation and Identification of Candra

Indian historians have been well-acquainted with the theme of the unique historical poem, the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin, a North Bengal poet, since its publication in 1910, as Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. III, no. 1, by our learned Indologist, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., who discovered it in Nepal in 1897. We all know now that this work consists of 215 verses written in the different varieties of the Āryā metre, all of which carry a double meaning on account of the poet's extensive and wonderful use of the rhetorical figure, *śleṣa* (*double entendre*). The learned editor has incorporated in his edition the incomplete Sanskrit commentary running up to about a third of the original verses, which was, probably, written by a very old commentator, who might have been a contemporary of the poet himself or flourished not much later than his time (if it was not the poet himself who wrote it). As the title of the book itself suggests, it is a history of

The subject-matter of the *Rāmacarita*—the deliverance of Varendrī by Rāmapāla from the hands of Bhīma and its re-occupation by him.

Similarly, it is doubtful that the word *dharma* in *dharmānubandhinīm* (v, 107) and *śītala* in *sukha-śītalām* (v, 109) refer also to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras of that name (Śītala is the eleventh and Dharma, the sixteenth, of the Tīrthaṅkaras), and that *velām* in v, 113 is intended to remind the reader of the character of that name that appears in the *Bṛhat-kathā*. The episode of Velā comprises a whole lambhaka (the eleventh) in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which corresponds to the eighth lambhaka of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

Rāma's career. But, Rāma in one case was the famous Rāma of the Rāmāyaṇa, king of Ayodhyā, and in the other Rāmapāladeva, king of Gauḍa, belonging to the well-known line of the Pāla kings of Bengal. To be very brief, the subject-matter is the deliverance of the "Janaka-bhū" by Rāma, which, in the one case, means the deliverance of Sītā, the daughter of Janaka, by Rāma after killing Rāvaṇa and in the other, that of Varendrī, the land of his birth and its re-occupation, by Rāmapāla after killing Bhīma, the leader of the Kaivarta rebels, who usurped for the time being the kingdom of Varendrī and became its ruler.

It appears from Sandhyākara's description in Chapter IV of his book that after having regained the paternal throne of Gauḍa and reoccupied Varendrī, Rāmapāla entrusted the duties of administration of his kingdom to his two able sons Rājyapāla and Kumārapāla and himself passed the rest of his life in enjoyments. The fate of Rājyapāla, however, is not very clear; probably he died during the life-time of his father. That Kumārapāla succeeded to the throne after his father's death is not only clearly stated in the *Rāmacarita* (IV. 11) but can also be testified by epigraphic evidence.[1] Rāmapāla's death was tragic. His maternal uncle, Mathana, or Mahana, king of Aṅga, who was his chief and the most powerful ally in reconquering Varendrī, was as dear to him as was Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma. This Mathana is described in the *Rāmacarita* to have met with an accidental death by being drowned in a river, probably the Ganges (IV. 8) and Rāmapāla too, unable to bear the pang of bereavement of his dear uncle, determined to put an end to his own life by entering, after due ceremonies, into the river Ganges at

Succession to the throne of Gauḍa after Rāmapāla's tragic death by entering into the waters of the Ganges on news received of his maternal uncle Mahana's accidental death.

1 Cf. Vaidyadeva's Kamauli plates, Ep. Ind., vol. II, and the Manahali Copper-plate Grant of Madanapāla, J.A.S.B., 1900.

Mudgiri, or Mudgagiri (modern Monghyr) and thus to close his glorious career (IV. 9-10). In a valuable Sanskrit manuscript of the *Sekhaśubhodayā*, discovered in a mosque at Paṇḍuā in the district of Malda, the event of Rāmapāla's religious suicide is described in these terms :

"जाह्नव्यां जलमध्यतस्त्वनशनैर्ध्यात्वा पदं चक्रिणो
हा पालान्वयमौलिमण्डनमणिः श्रीरामपालो मृतः ।

"Oh ! Rāmapāla, the jewel of the crest-ornament of the Pāla dynasty, died in the waters of the Ganges by reflecting on the feet of the wheel-ensigned god (Viṣṇu), without touching any food."

After Rāmapāla's death, his son Prince Kumārapāla ascended the throne of Gauḍa. But it appears that his reign was not a long one. After his death again, his son Gopāla (Gopāla III of the dynasty), who was yet a child, succeeded to the throne, but he too met with an accidental death, probably due to a snake-bite (IV. 12) and so the only person now entitled to the rulership was Madanapāla, the surviving aged son of Rāmapāla. In the Manahali Copper-plate Grant of Madanapāla issued in the 8th year of his reign from the capital established (as we know, by his father Rāmapāla) at Rāmāvatī, we read the following verse—

"तदनु मदनदेवीनन्दनश्चन्द्रगौरैश्चरितभुवनगर्भः प्रांशुभिः कीर्तिपूरैः
चिरमचरमतातस्तस्य सप्ताब्धिदात्नीमभृत मदनपालो रामपालात्मजन्मा ॥"

"After him (Gopāla III), his youngest uncle, Madanapāla, son of Rāmapāla, born of his consort Madanadevī, who filled the vault of heaven by means of high columns of moon-white fame, ruled the earth, girdled by the seven oceans."

Madanapāla's right to the throne constitutionally unobjectionable and his succession to it after Gopāla III's accidental death while yet in his boyhood. Its epigraphic evidence.

As Gopāla III died while yet a child and unquestionably issueless, there must have arisen the question of succession to the throne after him. Ancient Hindu polity allows the king's own uncle (father's brother), to be elected to that crown-princeship. So the

stateministers, councillors and the king's relatives and the people could constitutionally permit Madanapāla to succeed to the throne fallen vacant in consequence of the death of his elder brothers's son, Gopāla III. Among the persons enumerated by Śukra in his *Nītisāra* as entitled to *yauvarājya*, we have the third place for the king's uncle. (II. 14-15).

"ऋत्यथेद् युवराजार्थमीरसं धर्म्मपत्नीजम्।
स्वकनिष्ठं पितृव्यं वाऽनुजं वाऽग्रजसम्भवम्॥"

Sandhyākara also says in vss. 13-15 of Canto IV of the *Rāmacarita* that after the death of Rāmapāla's grandson, Gopāla III, Madanapāla, another son (the other two being Rājyapāla and Kumārapāla) of Rāmapāla became the lord of the sea-girt earth without having any fear from any quarter to encounter.

Sandhyākara's description of Madanapāla's succession and the passage on the coronation ceremony in the *Rāmacarita*.

It is now clear that following the most natural order of succession from father to son, Rāmapāla was first succeeded by his son, Kumārapāla, on whose death again, his child-son Gopāla III became king, but on the premature death of the latter, Madanapāla (there being no other prince in the family as powerful as himself), who was the youngest son of his grandfather, probably not even a son by the chief queen (the mother of Rājyapāla and Kumārapāla) but by Madanadevī (*vide ante*), declared himself a true heir to the fortunes of the Pāla empire, and was not opposed by any other claimant, if there had been any. It is in this connection that we find the author of the *Rāmacarita* describing how the goddess of royalty accepted Madanapāla as her self-chosen lord, in a passage running over six verses forming a single sentence, which, for the poet's use of significant adjectives full of puns, short and long, can stand comparison with any similar passages from the pen of other master-writers of *Śliṣṭa-kāvyas*.

Like his father, Rāmapāla, who had his maternal uncle Mathana or Mahana, the king of Aṅga, as his best friend and ally, Madanapāla also had his kinsman or relative Candra, a *maṇḍalādhipati*, as his fast friend and ally. The names of these two rulers (Madana and Candra) must have suggested to this *Kalikālavālmiki*, as Sandhyākara in one place calls himself, the conventional poetic association of Madana, the god of Love and Candra, the moon-god ; and the poet by the mastery of his art selected words and epithets which by *double entendre* very well apply equally to Madanapāla and Candra on the one hand and Cupid and Moon on the other. By the force of the same epithet the poet explains the coronation also of Kuśa, son of Rāma, at the same time. Let us first quote here in full that famous passage and make an attempt to explain the epithets in a translation and then engage ourselves to discuss the controversial question of the identification of king Candra. It runs thus :—

Madanapāla and Candra, a *maṇḍalādhipati*, were kinsmen.

The two names suggest the poetic association of Madana (Cupid) and Candra (Moon).

"अभिषेकसम्भारवितानैर्विश्वाशापूरणपुरा ।
दिशतात्यर्थमनाद्यावनाद् जनयतो जनानन्दम् ॥ १६ ॥ [आर्या]

हेलाविलुनबलवत्पक्षावलिवलदमित्रचक्रेण ।
राजावतंसलक्ष्मीभारैकधुरीणतां दधानेन ॥ १७ ॥ [गीतिः ।]

दोषास्पर्शोत्कर्षिततमसहिमातिशयं प्रकाशमानेन ।
द्विजपरिकरपरिपालनरुचिनोच्चैर्मण्डलाधिपतिना च ॥ १८ ॥ [गीतिः ।]

सख्या च शस्त्रभालत्याशाभूतेन चारुवस्तेन ।
सुहितपरमश्रमेण च सुवर्णजातेन विधिवदर्च्येण ॥ १९ ॥ [गीतिः ।]

सिंहीसुतविक्रान्तेनार्जुनधात्रा भुवः प्रदीपेन ।
कमलाविकाशभेषजभिषजा चन्द्रेण बन्धुनोपेतम् ॥ २० ॥ [गीतिः ।]

चण्डीचरणसरोजप्रसादसम्पन्नविग्रहश्रीकम् ।
न खलु मदनं साङ्गं शमीशमगाद् जगद्विजयलक्ष्मीः" ॥ २१ ॥ [आर्या ।]

There are in this passage altogether 18 epithets used by the

poet to qualify Candra with whom Madana (for whom we find only 4 epithets) was associated in the ceremony of coronation. It was to such Madana to whom *Jagadvijayalakṣmī*, "the goddess of victory over the earth" resorted. Madana, the god of Love, is helpless without his chief associate Candra, the moon, and the former can only exercise his power on the people of the earth in union with the latter who is his mighty and able companion. Putting aside the poetic meaning as applied to Cupid and Moon and discarding the second translation with reference to their case, we shall give below a detailed rendering of the various epithets as applied to Gauḍādhipa Madanapāla and the *maṇḍalādhipati* Candra, whose coronation is here described. The main construction is as follows :

The Coronation passage and its meaning when applied to Madanapāla and the feudatory or vassal *Maṇḍalādhipati* Candra.

न खलु जगद्विजयलक्ष्मीः साङ्गेशम् ईशम् मदनम् अगात् ?

"Did not indeed the goddess of victory over the earth, i. e., royalty resort to Lord Madanpāla as accompanied by or joined with the ruler of Aṅga (*Sāṅgeśa*) ?" The poet means to say that both the Gauḍādhipa (Madanapāla) and the Aṅgeśa now succeeded to the royal fortunes of their respective ancestral kingdoms, the former after the demise of two ruling kings (i.e., Kumārapāla and Gopāla III), who died in succession within a few years of Rāmapāla's death, and the latter (Candra) after that of one king (his father) ruling after Mathana or Mahana.

The coronation referred to that of both the Gauḍādhipa and Aṅgeśa, Candra.

Another epithet used for Madana is चण्डीचरणसरोजप्रसादसम्पन्नविग्रहश्रीक which means that he now attained the prosperous fortunes of war (*vigraha*) by the favour of the lotus-feet of the (war-) goddess, Caṇḍī. There may have been a latent allusion in this epithet to the fact that Madanapāla, a new ruler over the empire,

Restoration of the flourishing condition of the Pāla royalty by Madanapāla.

after the Kaivarta-revolt had been successfully put down a few years before by his father, Rāmapāla, who retrieved the royal fortunes of the family, now enjoyed the royal prosperity of his grandfather, king Vigraha (i.e., Vigrahapāla III, Rāmapāla's father). The most important epithet of Madana is the phrase—"*Candreṇa bandhunopetaṃ*," which means that Madanapāla was associated or united with his kinsman (*bandhu*) Candra. Be it noted here that the word *bandhu* in this text must not be taken in the sense of a *mitra* or friend, for in that case the other epithet *sakhyā* (= a friend) in verse 19, becomes redundant. For we all know that Amara[1] and after him Jādavaprākāśa,[2] Hemacandra[3] and other Sanskrit lexicographers all explain the word as a synonym of *jñāti* or *bāndhava*.

Candra, a *Bandhu* (kinsman) of Madanapāla.

We now take up the explanation of the other 18 adjectives used in the passage to qualify Candra. They are :—

1. अभिषेकसम्भारवितानैः विश्वाशापूरणपुरा—Candra now proceeded to fulfil the desires or expectations of all people by a spread of the necessary materials for the coronation ceremony (of his relative and over-lord Madanapāla).

2. अर्थम् अतिदिशता—He was offering gifts in abundance.

3. अनाथावनात् जनानन्दं जनयता—He caused men's delight by offering protection to helpless people.

4. हेलाविलूनबलवत्पद्मावलिबलदमित्रचक्रेण—He easily extirpated a whole host of enemies (*amitra*), strong and grown bloated by offers of tribute to the goddess of wealth (*Padmā*), i.e., proud by riches.

1 "सगोत्र-बान्धव-ज्ञाति-बन्ध-स्व-स्वजनाः समाः"—इत्यमरः।

2 "स्वजनो बान्धवो बन्धुः"—इति यादवः।

3 "बान्धवो बन्ध मित्रयोः",—इति हैमः।

5. राजावतंसलक्ष्मीभारैकधुरीणतां दधानेन—He was eminently fit to carry the burden of fortunes of a chief king, i.e., fit to become a great ruler.

The other epithets of Candra explained.

6. दोषास्पर्शोत्कर्षितममहिमातिशयं प्रकाशमानेन—He displayed an excess of greatness which attained eminence because of his having no contact with vices, i.e., he was virtuous and great.

7. द्विजपरिकरपरिपालनरुचिना—He had a liking for protecting the multitude of the twice-born (Brāhmaṇas).

8. उर्वीमण्डलाधिपतिना—He was a ruler of a large *maṇḍala* (province), i.e., in other words, he was a *mahāmāṇḍalika*.

9. सख्या—He was a friend (of Madanapāla).

10. शस्त्रभालच्छायाभूतेन—He was an object of hope for the glittering Beauty of weapons, i.e., a person who could keep his weapons in a glittering condition by their constant use.

11. चारुवृत्तेन—He was a man of charming or fascinating character.

12. सुहितपरमश्रमेण—His exertions (on behalf of himself and Madanapāla) were extremely beneficial. (If the reading be सहितपरमश्रमेण it would mean that he endured much exertion (for his relative and over-lord Madanapāla).

13. सुवर्णजातेन—He was born of (a person named) Suvarṇa.

14. विधिवदर्च्येण—He was as adorable as Brahmā himself, or adorable according to *Śāstric* injunctions.

15. सिंहीसुतविक्रान्तेन—He was as strong as a lion-cub.

16. अर्जुनधाम्ना—He possessed the valour of Arjuna.

17. भुवः प्रदीपेन—He was (as it were) a light of the world.

18. कमलाविकाशभेषजभिषजा—He was a physician (expert) in the art of developing the resources of wealth.

Now, taking into consideration the meaning of some of

these epithets, which are of evident historical importance, we find it clear that Madanapāla's friend and ally Candra, who was so able and powerful a warrior and so full of consideration for the welfare of his State and people, was a *mahāmāṇḍalika*, a ruler of a large *maṇḍala* (and not of a big province like the united provinces of Gauḍa and Magadha), and was the son of a person named Suvarṇa and was also a relative of Madanapāla himself, to whom, along with the over-lord, the goddess of royalty is described to have resorted. The poet and historian, Sandhyākara, who was a contemporary of Madanapāla himself, describes this king as being "*candreṇopetam*" "i.e., united with Candra and therefore "*sāṅgeśam*" (associated with the ruler of Aṅga) from which construction one can easily draw a legitimate inference that this Candra was himself the ruler of Aṅga and therefore the word *uccairmaṇḍala* in the compound "*uccairmaṇḍalādhipatinā*" must refer to *Aṅgamaṇḍala*.

Nett-result of the passage: Candra a *mahāmāṇḍalika* and son of Suvarṇa.

The large *maṇḍala* referred to being Aṅga itself.

The question that now presents itself is who was this Suvarṇa, whose son, Candra, was an Aṅgeśa (king of Aṅga)? The answer to it is not far to seek. In our opinion, Suvarṇa was the son of Mathana or Mahana who was also a king of Aṅga. It is not difficult to connect Suvarṇa with Mahana, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla and prove the blood-relationship (*bandhutva*) that existed between Candra and Madanapāla himself. The Sarnath inscription[1] of Kumāradevī, Queen of the Gāhaḍwar king Govindacandra of Kanauj clearly

Who was Suvarṇa?

1 "गौड़ेऽद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः चर्वे कचूड़ामणिः
प्रख्यातो सहणाङ्गपः क्षितिभुजाम्मान्योऽभवन्मातुलः।
तं जित्वा युधि देवरक्षितमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो
लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानोदयाम्॥"

states (v. 7) that Mahana, king of Aṅga (Aṅgapa) was the maternal uncle (*mātula*) of the Gauḍa kings and was the foremost person to maintain the glory of Rāmapāla. In the commentary on verse 8 of chapter II of the *Rāmacarita* we find clear statement to this effect by the commentator, whom we consider to be almost a contemporary of the poet himself or at least not far posterior to him in age, in consideration of his adequate and correct knowledge of the historical events alluded to so very tersely in the text itself. The commentator says that Rāmapāla depended not only on his maternal uncle Mahana for his success in war against his enemy Bhīma, the Kaivarta leader, but also on the princes of Mahana's family, namely his two sons, Kāhnuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and his brother's son, Śivarāja and others. There we find Suvarṇadeva described by the commentator as a *Mahāmāṇḍalika* and a son of Rāmapāla's maternal uncle (*mātula-santāna*) in explanation of the phrase *nijaṃ bandhuṃ* of the text. The passage in the commentary runs as follows :

Suvarṇa to be identified with Suvarṇa-deva of Aṅga (*a mahā-māṇḍalika*) mentioned in the Ṭīkā of the *Rāmacarita* on v. 8, chap. II.

तेन मथनेन मथननाम्ना सहज इति प्रसिद्धाभिधानेन राष्ट्रकूटकुलतिलकेन उपलक्षितं यद्गोत्रं कुलं तत्प्रभवं तदीय-नन्दनमहामाण्डलिक-काह्नुरदेवसुवर्णदेव-खाडजमहाप्रतीहार-शिवराजदेवप्रभृतिसुभयभुज-दण्डसुत्रक्षराष्ट्रकूटसुभटं निजबन्धुं मातुलसन्तानं जितारमजगत्।

It is quite evident from this passage that Mathana or Mahana had two sons named Kāhnuradeva and Suvarṇadeva who were *mahāmāṇḍalikas* and his (unnamed) brother had one son named Śivarāja who was a *mahāpratīhāra*. But it is to be pointed out here that the learned editor of the poem, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, M. A., C.I.E., takes Suvarṇadeva to be Mahana's brother. He writes[1] : "Kāhnuradeva was his son and Śivarāja was the son of his brother, Suvarṇadeva." Evidently the learned Sastri connects the word *bhrātṛ* in the compound *bhrātṛja* with *Suvarṇadeva* which precedes it in the larger compound. But we fail to

1 Introduction to Mem. of A.S.B., vol. III, p. 14.

understand how *Suvarṇa-bhrātṛja* may mean "son of (his) brother Suvarṇadeva." *Bhrātṛja* should rather go with the word that follows in the compound. It is the word *tadīya* (of him, i.e., Mahana) which is to be connected once with *nandanas*, mahāmāṇḍalika Kāhnuradeva and Suvarṇadeva and again with *bhrātṛja*, i.e., *tadīya bhrātṛja* (his brother's son) mahāpratīhāra Śivarāja. Mr. R. D. Banerji also has followed Mm. Sastri in his explanation of the relation between Suvarṇadeva and Mahana and has reiterated that view in his Memoirs on *"The Pālas of Bengal"* where in one place[1] he writes: "Rāmapāla's maternal relations are specified in the next verse, his eldest maternal uncle Mathanadeva, whom we have already met, his brother Suvarṇadeva and their sons, the Mahāmāṇḍalika Kāhnuradeva and the Mahāpratīhāra Śivarājadeva". I am glad, however, that Mr. Banerji, as it appears, has corrected himself with regard to this point and has mentioned, in one place of the second edition of his "History of Bengal,"[2] written in Bengali, the true relation existing between Mahana and the three princes referred to in the commentary, though strangely enough, a contradictory statement,[3] quite consistent with his former view, that Suvarṇadeva was Mahana's brother and not one of his two sons, appears in the same book in another place.

Criticism of Sāstri's and Banerji's views about relationship between Mahana and Suvarṇadeva.

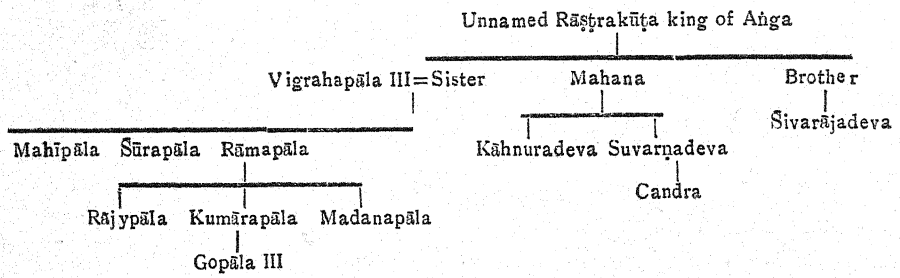
We, however, think that it is this *mahāmāṇḍalika* Suvarṇadeva, son of Mahana, whom we know to have been a king of Aṅga and a *bandhu* or kinsman of Rāmapāla, who must have been referred to by the poet in the adjective *suvarṇajātena* as applied to *Candreṇa* in the above-quoted Coronation-passage of the *Rāmacarita*, for, there also we mark that Candra too was an *uccair-maṇḍalādhipati* and a *bandhu* of

The writer's own view that Candra was Suvarṇadeva's son and Mahana's grandson and was the king of Aṅga.

1 *"The Pālas of Bengal"*—Mem. of A. S. B., vol. V, p. 90

2 *Bāṅglār Itihās*—Second Edition, p. 283 3 Ibid.—p. 296.

Madanapāla. It ought to be, therefore, an undoubted historical fact to us that this Candra was the son of Suvarṇadeva and grandson of Mahana and was the king of Aṅga. We have also seen above how friendly was the relation between the family of Rāmapāla and that of Mahana, which may be shown by the following geneological table—



In the face of such clear statements in the text and the Ṭīkā of the *Rāmacarita* and other facts elsewhere, both Mahāmohapādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri and Mr. R.D. Banerji have identified this Candra with the Gāhaḍavāla king Candradeva. The former writes[1] "……Madanapāla had to preserve the prestige of the Pāla empire by a close alliance with Candradeva, founder of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom of Kanauj," and the latter too says[2] "Madanapāla was greatly assisted in his war against Vijayasena by Candradeva the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj" and refers to verse 20-21 of the Coronation-passage of the *Rāmacarita* as evidence. We may not seriously regard this view of the alliance of Madanapāla with the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva. The kingdom of Kanauj was not a *maṇḍala* kingdom and so Candradeva was not a *maṇḍalādhipati*. We know of no relationship (*bandhutva*) existing between them. All that we know from the Sarnath inscription referred to above is that Govindacandra of Kanauj, Candradeva's grandson (1114-1158 A.C. *circa.*) married Mahana's grand-daughter (daughter's daughter). To make Madanapāla and Candra-

1 Introduction to Mem., A. S. B., vol. III, p. 16.
2 "*The Pālas of Bengal*"—Mem. A. S. B., vol. V, p. 103.

deva contemporaneous allies is to make the former rule earlier than he might have actually done. It is known from epigraphic evidence that Candradeva's reign approximately extended during the years 1090-1097 A.C. Madanapāla's reign may be approximately taken to have run over 1130-1150 A. C., and hence much later than Mr. Banerji's calculation of the length of his reign. Even if we presume with Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda that Rāmapāla and Candradeva were contemporary kings on the assumption that Mahana and the latter were contemporaries and that Rāmapāla and his maternal uncle Mahana were of the same age,[1] we cannot say that Rāmapāla's aged son, Madanapāla, who ought rather to be contemporaneous with Candradeva's grandson, Govindacandra, could ever be a contemporary of Candradeva himself. Hence we say that the Candra of the *Rāmacarita* could not be the Gāhaḍvāla Candradeva.

Identification of Candra with Candradeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj is not possible. Such identification criticised.

Another tempting suggestion that may present itself, specially, before Bengal scholars, is that this Candra may have been a king of the Candra dynasty of Vaṅga (East Bengal). Curiously enough, one of the princes of that Buddhist line of kings was named Suvarṇacandra, father of Trailokyacandra (formerly king of Candradvīpa) who again was father of Śrīcandra.[2] If this Suvarṇacandra is identified with the Suvarṇa of the *Rāmacarita*, then his son Trailokyacandra is to be identified with the Candra of the same work. But

Warning against tendency to identify the Candra of the *Rāmacarita* with a king of the Candra dynasty of Vaṅga (East Bengal) though the name of the latter was Suvarṇacandra.

1 *Gauḍarājamālā*—(Varendra Research Society's publication), p. 50.

2 Cf. the Copper-plate grants of this king—*Epi. Ind.*, vol. XII, no. 18 and vol. XVII, no. 12.

we do not know of any blood-relationship between Madanapāla and Trailokyacandra, who, moreover, was not a king of Aṅga. Moreover, this Buddhist line of Candra kings of East Bengal belonged to a period probably about a century before Madanapāla's time.

RADHA GOVINDA BASAK

The Date of Kaniska

1. The date of the emperor Kaniṣka is a great battle-ground of Indian chronology. No problem has been discussed so much. Almost all historians of early India have joined issue over this subject and all available materials, scanty though they are, have been examined from all perspectives. Yet the controversy is going on. But ingenuity seems almost to have exhausted itself and at present interest appears to flag on this extremely important topic. As can naturally be expected from the difficulty of the topic as well as its great importance, numerous theories have been advanced and maintained with great zeal. But with the lapse of time, many of them have been abandoned even by their originators and others are not defended by their sponsors. At present two theories sway the field and each has able exponents. The substantial controversy is now between those who maintain that Kaniṣka started the Śaka era and others who hold that he began to reign about 125 A.C. The uncertainty which still obtains is in a great measure due to the paucity and obscurity of the data at our disposal. The evidence on the subject may broadly be divided into two classes: (a) literary, i.e., that which is furnished by the classical Chinese histories, other Chinese texts and also Greek and Roman accounts; (b) non-literary, which comprises all other sources of information, viz., Numismatics, Archæology, Epigraphy, Palæography and Astronomical calculations.

2. My attempt in this paper will not be to mention all the theories that are current on the topic and to subject them to a detailed examination. This is no longer necessary and the ground has been well covered by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his important paper contributed to the Indian Antiquary, 1908. At present the Śaka era theory and the 125 A.C. theory really conflict and all my efforts will principally be directed to disproving the latter and establishing the former on a more solid basis. Incidentally a word or two will be urged against Fleet's theory of the Vikrama era, but that too with the view of discrediting the 125 A.C. theory. Moreover, such a detailed examination of all the rival theories appears to me irrelevant, for as soon as we can establish the Śaka era theory on solid grounds and furnish one or two *crucial instances* in its support, the other theories are automatically disposed of and the onus of proof shifted on to the

shoulders of the dissentients. Even the celebrated discussions on the topic by eminent scholars (reported in the JRAS, 1912-1914) do not take into account all the theories that have been advanced, and such a procedure appears to be quite reasonable. There the topic has been almost severely restricted to an examination of the Vikrama era, Śaka era and the 125 A.C. theories and of all possible arguments advanced in support of them.

3. I shall first of all make a detailed study and examination of the literary sources of our evidence before turning to the non-literary ones and try to show how far they validate the 78 A.C. theory. I shall also attempt to show how far deductions from classical Chinese histories are confirmed by the accounts found in Greek and Roman works. Three important Chinese historical texts have been examined by scholars for constructing the obscure history and chronology of this period. They are the Sse-ki (Historical Records) by Ssū-ma-ch'ien, the Tsien Han Chou (The History of the First Han) by Pan-ku, and the Heou Han Chou (The History of the Second Han) by Fan-ye. The Sse-ki was completed before 91 B.C., though the information regarding the Ta Yueh-chi, being based on the report of Chang-kien, must have been of as early as 129 B. C. The history of the First Han comes down to 24 A. C. It was finished by Pan-ku's sister Pan Tchaa after his death in 92 A. C. The history of the Second Han covers the period between A. C. 24 and A. C. 220. The historian lived long after this period and died about A. C. 445. He, however, based his chapter on the Western Regions on the report of the great general Pan Yong (cir. A. C. 125). M. Chavannes mentions in this connection: Fan-ye adds that he gives his information from Pan Yong who submitted his report to the emperor in the year A. D. 125 or a little while previously. This general, the son of the celebrated Pan-ch'ao and the nephew of the historian Pan-ku played an important part in the conquest and administration of the Western countries during the first years of the second century A. D. and none was better placed than he to describe the political vicissitudes of the country. Further towards the end of the same chapter, Fan-ye incidentally says that he has based his chapter on the report of Pan Yong only. It is true, however, that so far as the kingdoms of Eastern Turkestan (e.g., Khotan, Kashgar and Turfan) are concerned, Fan-ye mentions events which took place between A. D. 150 and A. D. 170. But this fact does not invalidate the substantial claim of the chapter being based on the report of Pan Yong. It is only in regard to countries which are close to China and

have long remained in relation to her that Fan-ye mentions some facts posterior to Pan Yong. In short, chapter CXVII of the Heou Han Chou treats of the Western countries as they appeared to an eye-witness a little before the year 125 of our era; as to the additions made by Fan-ye, they never go beyond the year 170. Thus though the Eastern Han dynasty lasted from 25 to 220 A. D., the chapter on the Western Countries only speaks of the period 25-125 and mentions some events which took place in Eastern Turkestan between 125 and 170 (vide Toung Pao, 1907, pp. 149 ff.).

4. The first work which calls for notice is naturally the work of the great Chinese historian Ssū-ma-ch'ien. The references to the Ta Yueh-chi occur in the 123rd chapter of the Sse-ki (Historical Records). Great is the authority of Ssū-ma-ch'ien. He was a contemporary of Chang-k'ien and utilised the report of the latter in writing the famous chapter. The notices in the Sse-ki as well as in the Tsien Han Chou (History of the First Han) have been variously interpreted. We shall in the first instance quote two passages from the Sse-ki which tell us of the fortunes and migrations of the Ta Yueh-chi. Sse-ki, Kap. 123, fol. 4: "The great Yueh-chi are about 2 or 3 thousand li westwards from Ta-wan. They live to the North of Wei (Oxus) river; to the South lies Ta-hia, to the West Ngan-si, to the North Kang-kiu. They form a nomad kingdom. They drive their household beasts here and there, and they have the same habits as the Hiung-nu. Their archers are about 10 or 20 myriads in number and therefore, they were sometimes confident of their power and estimated the Hiung-nu as trifling; but when Mau-tun got on the throne, he beat the Yueh-chi and during the time of the Sen-ju Lau-sang, the Hiung-nu killed the prince of the Yueh-chi and made of his head a drinking vessel. In the beginning, the Yueh-chi lived between Tun-hwang and the Ki-lien. When they were attacked by the Hiung-nu, they went far away and over in the West, beat the Ta-hia and overthrew them. After that they established their capital to the North of the Wei river and built a princely court there." Eb., fol. 6-7: "Ta-hia lay about 2000 li South-west of Ta-wan and to the South of the Wei river. The cities and houses found in the land of these people are like those of Ta-wan. The people possess no overlord. Each city deposes and sets up petty chiefs separately. The soldiers are feeble, afraid to fight but good at commerce. Therefore when the great Yueh-chi migrated to the West, they attacked and completely subjugated the Ta-hia. The people of Ta-hia are numerous;

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they will amount to more than 100 thousand. Their capital is the fort of Lan-si. There are market streets where men negotiate all things. South-east lies the kingdom of Sin-tuh" (vide Marquart, Eränšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaci, Berlin, 1901, pp. 200ff.).

5. All the facts about the migrations of the Ta Yueh-chi that are to be found in the Sse-ki have been summarised carefully by M. Chavannes in his introduction to the translation of the Sse-ki. We shall translate the relevant passages from the introduction. "Among the foreign nations, none could be more hostile to the Hioung-nou than the Ta Yue-tche; beaten at first by the Chen-yu Mo-tou about the year 176 B.C., they were completely defeated by the Chen-yu Lao-chang in the year 165 B.C., their king was killed, and of his head, in accordance with barbarous custom, the Turkish chief made for himself a cup to drink with. * * After this disaster, the Ta Yue-tche sought safety in flight; they retired first of all to the valley of Ili, but they were soon dislodged by the Ou-suenn and beginning a new exodus, made for the West. Next they turned to the South, and crossing the Jaxartes invaded Sogdiana which belonged at that period to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom; this state, known to the Chinese under the name of Ta-hia, had been already enfeebled by the attacks of the Parthian king Mithradates I (174-136 B.C.); so they were not able to resist the invaders; the Ta Yue-tche could drive away the population of Ta-hia to the South of the Oxus and establish themselves to the North of the river; they were not long in penetrating to Bactria; they are the people who at the commencement of the 1st century of our era conquered India and founded the great Indo-Scythian empire" (vide M. Chavannes' translation of Se-Ma Ts'i'en Tome I, Introd., pp. lxx ff.).

6. Thus, the notices recorded in the Sse-ki inform us of the following significant facts regarding the vicissitudes encountered by the Yueh-chi in course of their travels. About 165 B.C. the Yueh-chi lived between the country of Touenn-hoang and the Ki-lien mountains in Chinese Turkestan. About that time vanquished by the Hiung-nu who killed their king, they migrated for the most part towards the West and occupied the territory of the Se who fled to the South. They were chased out of that country by the Wu-sun Koann-mou, and, moving towards the West, came to the country of the Ta-hia and subjugated them. When Chang-k'ien visited the Ta Yueh-chi about the year 125 B.C., he found them settled in their new country. Chang-k'ien was deputed by the

emperor Ou-ti (140-86 B.C.) to negotiate with the Ta Yueh-chi and to bring them back to help the Chinese against the Hiung-nu. On his way to the Yueh-chi, he was for ten years a captive among the Hiung-nu. But he was a man of strong purpose and unflinching sense of duty. Ultimately he was able to escape from captivity and went to the Ta Yueh-chi. He was not, however, successful in his mission. On his way back to China, he was again detained for a year. He started about the year 135 B.C. from China and after 13 years of absence returned about 122 B.C.

7. MM. Specht, Boyer and Franke have tried to establish that when Chang-k'ien visited the Ta Yueh-chi in c. 125 B.C., they were still to the North of the Oxus, and, though they had completely subjugated the country, they had not occupied the territory of Ta-hia to the South of the river Oxus. In other words, these scholars maintain that though the Yueh-chi defeated the people of Ta-hia they did not occupy their lands to the South of the Oxus. After some time they crossed the river and made themselves masters of the Southern territories. So far the scholars mentioned before agree. But they differ as to the time of occupation by the Ta Yueh-chi of the territory to the South of the river. M. Chavannes has discussed the question with caution. He expresses his opinion in guarded words. "As a matter of course, all that we know about the occupation of Ta-hia by the Yueh-chi is that it was posterior to the year 128 B.C." In the introduction to his translation of the Sse-ki, he mentions, however, "Tchang-k'ien passed a year (probably the year 128 B.C.) with the Ta Yue-tche and followed them probably in a campaign which they made against the state of Ta-hia." So it appears that according to M. Chavannes the occupation of Ta-hia by the Yueh-chi took place about 127 B.C. In opposition to these scholars M. Sylvain Lévi holds that "one tries in vain to distinguish two successive phases of occupation, the submission at first and then the total conquest."

8. Before examining the views of Specht, Franke, Boyer and Lévi, we shall give a translation of some of the relevant passages from the Sse-ki other than those mentioned already. As is naturally to be expected, the passages are rather vague, and taken apart from their context, can be explained in various ways. It is unfortunate that M. Chavannes has not given us a translation of the celebrated chapter. T. W. Kingsmill's version is not always correct. M. Specht in his Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque du régne de Kanichka, d'après les sources chinoises (Jour. As., 1897, X) and M. Sylvain Lévi in his

brilliant essay, Notes sur les Indo-Scythes (Jour. As., 1896, VIII; 1897, IX) have cited some of the relevant passages, though they differ as to their import. Here are some passages which are relevant to the subject-matter of our inquiry, besides those we have noted before. "The Ta Yueh-chi are to the West of Ta-ouan, about two or three thousand li; they lived to the North of the Ouei (Oxus) river, towards the South are the Ta-hia, to the West the An-si, towards the North the Kang-kiu." In another place (folio 7), after having spoken about the An-si and Tiao-tchi, the Sse-ki thus mentions the Ta-hia. The people of Ta-hia are to the South-west of the Ta-ouan, *about 2000 li to the South of the river Ouei (Oxus)*." Now let us see what the Sse-ki tells us about the state of the Ta Yueh-chi during this period. One must admit that they had subjugated the Ta-hia. We read that they came from Ta-ouan and "attacked the Ta-hia and thus overcame them" (fol. 4. v). The Ta-hia are described to be a peaceful people and as such they could not effectively resist the onslaught of the Yueh-chi. As a matter of fact Ssū-ma-ch'ien tells us that among the Ta-hia "there was no sovereign prince; ordinarily their towns and cities constituted themselves under single chiefs (?). Their army was feeble, afraid to fight, good merchants; at the time of their migration towards the West, the Ta Yueh-chi attacked and vanquished them and established their domination" (fol. 6. v, vide T. W. Kingsmill, JRAS, 1882, pp. 82 ff.).

9. These passages of the Sse-ki do not go far. On a cursory examination they leave the impression that about the time of Chang-k'ien the Ta Yueh-chi had not taken possession of Ta-hia lands to the South of the Oxus. Further the elaborate topographical notes based on the Sse-ki and the Tsien Han Chou by M. Boyer do not strengthen such a view (vide A.M. Boyer, L'epoque de Kaniṣka, Jour. As., 1900, xv). And we shall show that such a hasty impression does not stand closer scrutiny. This we cannot do better than by examining the views of MM. Specht and Boyer. These scholars argue that as the capital of Ta-hia was to the South of the river and as the Yueh-chi had not made it their capital, the Ta Yueh-chi, after having completely subjugated the Ta-hia, occupied only the territory of the latter to the North of the river Oxus. The weakness of such an inference is patent and need not be seriously refuted. These two French scholars have cited some other passages from the Sse-ki and the Tsien-Han-Chou which, they consider, settle their view once for all. But their inference does not stand close scrutiny. The Sse-ki informs us that the people

of Ta-hia were about 2000 li to the South of the Oxus (vide infra). The import of this passage is clear and significant. It shows that about 125 B.C. the Ta Yueh-chi had penetrated far to the South of the Oxus. Specht and Boyer have cited some other passages which lend support to their view. The difficulty with such passages is that they have been culled at random and we are not sure of the context. One cannot be sure in interpreting a passage apart from its context. *Passages which refer to different periods of time have been put in juxtaposition and interpreted in an arbitrary manner.* M. Specht quotes the following from the biography of Chang-k'ien as found in the First Han history, which in his opinion definitely establishes his assumption. It is this: "Tchang-k'ien from among the Yue-tche went to the Ta-hia." The same passage occurs in the Sse-ki as has been observed by M. Boyer and was probably reproduced from it in the Tsien-Han-Chou. Therefore at that epoch, holds M. Specht, the Yue-tche and the Ta-hia people formed distinct nations. The deduction is no doubt faultless, but its implication is not. M. Specht tacitly assumes that the Ta-hia people occupied territories to the South of the Oxus while the Yueh-chi were to the North of the river. But another deduction is equally possible and is more in consonance with other facts. The people of Ta-hia having been defeated, migrated to some other land and there set up an unstable government. Moreover the territory of Ta-hia which was divided into five principalities by the Ta Yueh-chi did not contain much of Bactria proper. So after the defeat, the Ta-hia people might have gone further to the south of their territory, leaving back some of their rich lands to the Ta Yueh-chi. M. Marquart has pointed out this fact with some amount of emphasis, but it has been strangely neglected by French savants and also in recent studies. M. Chavannes too notes this fact in his translation of the Heou Han Chou.

10. M. Specht further cites a passage from the Tsien Han Chou which runs thus: "After the death of Wang Mang, the authority of the Governor General Li tch'oung was lost; as his power greatly diminished in the Western Countries, the Kang-kiu, the great Yue-tche, the Ki-pin, the An-si, the Ou-i were united to China." This passage is probably wrong. And even if it be correct, it does not support all of M. Specht's contentions. All that it can show is that Ki-pin was conquered by the Ta Yueh-chi some time after A.C. 25 and not that Kujūla Kadphises did not at all begin his victorious career before. As Ki-pin almost abutted on India, it was

probably among the last conquests of Kujūla Kadphises. And so, it might have taken place about that time. M. Sylvain Lévi, however, gives strong reasons for doubting the accuracy of this latter passage. His words are as follows: "In vain did the minister Wang Mang, pretender to the throne, attempt to conciliate the Western Countries by rich presents (4 A.D.). The year 8 A.D. marks the official cessation of the relations between China and Si-yi (Western Countries). According to the testimony of the imperial historiographer Pan-kou, the power of China in those regions was, towards the end of the First Han dynasty, in the year 23 of the Christian era, reduced to nothing." Further, if Ki-pin had been independent up to 25 A.C., Pan-ku would certainly have mentioned this significant fact in his long account of Ki-pin. But he is silent and stops abruptly. This abrupt ending and reticence probably show that his account as quoted by M. Specht is an oversight.

11. There are, however, certain passages in the Memoir of Chang-k'ien as recorded in the Tsien Han Chou which leave no doubt on this vexed point. The account runs as follows: "When the king was killed by the Hiung-nu, his widow was raised to the supreme power, and having reduced the Ta-hia they ruled over them. * * Chang-k'ien then went to Ta-hia; but to the end he could get no satisfactory hold on the Yueh-chi; and after a stay of more than a year he returned * * About the time, the Yueh-chi, who had been defeated by the Hiung-nu, attacked the king of the Sae on the West; and the latter took flight to a great distance southward, his territory was occupied by the Yueh-chi. Koann-mou who now felt himself strong, asked permission of the Shen-yu to avenge his father's wrongs; moved westwards, attacked and *defeated the Ta Yueh-chi, who fled still further to the West, and settled in the country of the Ta-hia* * *" (vide A. Wylie, Notes on the Western Regions, Jour. Anthropological Institute, 1880, vol. X, pp. 66ff.).

12. This last statement is very significant and sets all doubts at rest. It proves that during the period in which Chang-k'ien visited the Western regions, the Ta Yueh-chi had not only conquered Ta-hia but had also settled in that territory. I have very carefully consulted the original Chinese passage and have no doubt about the correctness of A. Wylie's rendering (vide also O. Franke, Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens, Berlin, 1904, p. 55). Fortunately we are in a position to determine approximately the date of this event. We know that

the Yueh-chi were expelled by the Hiung-nu from their country in about 165 B.C. and that they next invaded the country of the Wu-sun, their neighbours to the West, and killed their king Nan-teou-mi. Then they proceeded still further to the West and attacked the king of the Se who fled a long way to the South, abandoning his territories to the Yueh-chi. The son of Nan-teou-mi, Koenn-mouo, however, was brought up by the king of the Hiung-nu. When he grew up, Koenn-mouo attacked the Yueh-chi, who fled towards the West and established themselves in the territory of the Ta-hia. The intervention of Koenn-mouo requires at least an interval of twenty years between the defeat of the Wu-sun and the submission of Ta-hia. The first event took place a short time after 165 B.C. The second falls, therefore, about 140 B.C. Some years, of course, must have elapsed before the Yueh-chi could consolidate their power in the newly conquered kingdom and divide it into five well-ordered separate yabgous. We can tentatively hold this division of the territories to have taken place about the time of the visit of Chang-k'ien, that is, about 125 B.C. This chronological limit is of great importance.

13. We shall now show that the Classical notices too substantiate this conclusion. It is generally assumed by scholars that before the Ta Yueh-chi had settled down in Bactria, they were conquered by some other Mongolian tribe. This view is very much in vogue. Herr Marquart has made a very careful study of all statements, Classical and Chinese, which bear on this point, in his masterly treatise. F. W. Thomas too has incidentally touched this subject in his scholarly article on Sakastana. (JRAS, 1906). We shall examine afterwards the view of Herr Marquart. The accepted view is well represented by Prof. E. J. Rapson. We shall first quote from him and shall see how far he is correct.

"* * the great Yueh-chi, continuing their movement to the West until they came into contact with a people whom the Chinese called Sse (Sai) or Sek, and who were probably to be identified with the Śakas of the Jaxartes. The Yueh-chi took possession of the country of the Śakas, and the Śakas being driven to the south-west occupied the country of the Ta-hia or Bactria. The immediate cause of the downfall of Greek rule in Bactria would therefore seem to have been an overwhelming invasion of Śaka hordes who had been driven from their own lands. The native inhabitants of Bactria, the Ta-hia or Dahæ, are represented as an unwarlike people living in towns and villages which were governed by their own magistrates. * * It is

probable that for a brief period Śaka warrior chiefs took the place of Eucratides and Heliocles as rulers of Ta-hia. Such would appear to have been the state of affairs when the Chinese envoy in 126 B.C. visited the Yueh-chi and found them still in the territories to the North of the Oxus from which they had expelled the Śakas" (vide The Cambridge History of India, vol. I, Ancient India, 1922; pp. 565-6). Prof. Rapson then quotes a passage from Ma-twan-lin in support of his contention (vide Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, I, p. 205).

14. The above extract of Prof. Rapson is incorrect in some particulars. He tacitly assumes that the Śaka irruption took place about 135 B.C. (last date of Heliocles according to him, op. cit., p. 700). But Herr Franke, on whom Prof. Rapson places so much reliance, thinks that "the wandering of the Śaka to the South must have taken place between the years 174 and 160 B. C" (vide Beiträge etc., p. 56). Dr. Vincent Smith too mentions in this connection that "the defeat and the flight of the Śakas may be dated with a very close approximation to absolute accuracy in the year B. C. 160. We have shown elsewhere that Ta-hia must have been occupied by the Ta Yueh-chi some time about 140 B. C. M. de Lacouperie (Academy, December 31st; 1887) states the date as "about 143 B. C." Thus Prof. Rapson's statement about the occupation of Ta-hia by the Śakas about 135 B. C. proves illusory. The Chinese historians definitely negative such a view.

15. There are other considerations which will show the futility of such a contention. The native population of Ta-hia have been thus described in the Sse-ki: "In Ta-hia there was no sovereign king; ordinarily towns and cities selected particular chiefs. Their soldiers were feeble, afraid to fight and fit for commerce. At the time of their migration towards the West the Ta Yue-tche attacked and vanquished them and established their domination" (fol. 6, v) (vide Journal Asiatique, May-june, p. 535). The Tsien Han Chou too speaks of the weakness of the people of Ta-hia. If, however, as Prof. Rapson thinks, the Śakas were the masters of Ta-hia, the conquering of this land would not have been so easy for the Yueh-chi and the accurate Chinese historians would never have mentioned them as such a weak people and failed to mention the Śaka occupation. Prof. Rapson, however, seems to rely on the following passage of the encyclopædist Ma-twan-lin: "In ancient times the Hiung-nu having defeated the Yueh-chi, the latter went to the West to dwell in Ta-hia, and the king of the Sai (Śakas) went southwards to live

in Ki-pin. The tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed, so as to form here and there different kingdoms." It is evident that this is a very condensed description and is wrong in several particulars. As a matter of fact, M. Sylvain Lévi warns us against relying on Ma-twan-lin. It says nothing about the conflict with the Wu-sun and the defeat of the Ta Yueh-chi by the son of the Wu-sun chief. The original sources inform us that the Śakas went to Ki-pin, but the faulty extract seems to show that the Śakas were driven out of Ta-hia by the Yueh-chi. The Second Han Annals too confirm our contention (vide Kap, 96, b, Fol. I. v.). There we read: "The Sai-wang went south-ward and passed Hien-tu." Dr. Franke has shown with some certainty that Hien-tu (Hanging Passage) lay "a little to the the West of Skardo, near the boundary of the present Dardistan" (vide Beiträge etc., p. 58). Though there has been much controversy over the location of Ki-pin nobody has yet ventured to suggest that it is Ta-hia. Dr. Vincent Smith too has come to the same conclusion, having based his opinion on the Sse-ki and the report of Chang-k'ien as summarised by M. Sylvain Lévi.

16. We shall now see what the classical sources inform us of the migrations of the great Asian hordes which played so important a part in the troubled history of this region. The notices are fragmentary and vague and, unfortunately, are open to different interpretations. Franke and Marquart have examined the classical sources in detail. Our leading authorities on this point are Strabo (XI, 511.) and the Prologue to the lost History of Pompeius Trogus (XLI.). Strabo tells us that "the best known of the nomad tribes are those who drove the Greeks out of Bactria—the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, over against the Sacae Sogdiani, which country was also in the possession of the Sacae." The Prologue to the lost History of Pompeius Trogus gives still less information, viz. "the Saraucae and the Asiani seized Bactria and Sogdiana' (vide the Cambridge History of India, p. 459). There can be no doubt that Saraucae and Sacarauli are the same. Herr Marquart thinks that Pasiani of Strabo and Asiani of Trogus are the same as the Yueh-chi of the Chinese. But there are weighty reasons for supposing that the Ta Yueh-chi of the Chinese are the same as the Tochari of Strabo (vide Franke, Beiträge etc., p. 30). This is further confirmed by the fact that the people of Bactria are called Tochari by Ptolemy and it is acknowledged on all hands that about the time of Ptolemy, Bactria

was in the possession of the Yueh-chi. Dr. Franke adduces very cogent arguments against Herr Marquart's identification of Ta-hia with the Tochari (vide Franke, Beiträge etc., pp. 30 ff.) and we think that the identification is not tenable. There is little doubt among scholars that the Sacae of Strabo are the same as the Śakas. So, even according to him, nomad tribes different from the Sacae drove out the Greeks from Bactria. The Prologue to the lost History of Pompeius Trogus furnishes no tangible information. It merely says, "the Saraucae and Asiani seized Bactria and Sogdiana." Here too, we find that the Śakas are not credited with the conquest of Bactria. Our examination of the Chinese sources too confirms these fragmentary notices of the classical writers. In short, the Greeks were driven out of Bactria not by the Śakas as assumed by Prof. Rapson and other scholars but by nomad tribes among whom were the Ta Yueh-chi. This event must have taken place about 130 B. C. (vide Cambridge History of India, p. 461) during the reign of Heliocles. We have made a long digression to show that the classical historians too confirm the statements of the Chinese historians as interpreted by us. Now we shall examine again the Chinese sources and see how far they enable us to determine the date of Kaniṣka.

17. We shall turn to the celebrated passage of the Second Han History: "Previously the Yueh-chi were defeated by the Hiung-nu; they went to Ta-hia and divided this kingdom into five hi-heou (jabgous), which were those of Hieou-mi, Choung-mi, Kouei-choung, Hi-touen and Tou-mi. More than a hundred years after that the hi-heou of Kouei-choung named Kieu-tsieu-k'io attacked and vanquished the four other hi-heou; he declared himself king" (vide M. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après le Heou Han Chou, Toung Pao, Serie, II. vol. VIII, 1907, pp. 149ff.). We have shown before that the Ta Yueh-chi had taken possession of the Ta-hia territory in about 135 B. C. and from the chronological data supplied by the Heou Han Chou we can now conclude that Kieu-tsieu-k'io had conquered the four other jabgous and had made himself king about 10 B. C.

18. Such a theory, however, goes against the views of Specht, Boyer, Franke, Chavannes and other scholars. There has been a general tendency to shift back the time of these kings merely because there is no mention of them in the earlier Han history. But this argumentum ex silentio is misleading in the extreme. There cannot be any doubt that neither Kaniṣka nor any of his successors

have been mentioned by Fan-ye in his Heou Han Chou. The passing over in silence of so great an emperor is perplexing in the extreme. From such reticence the above-mentioned scholars should have concluded that in the period covered by Fan-ye's History, Kaniṣka or any of his successors could not have reigned. But they make no such deduction, probably because such a deduction runs against all current theories. It must be said to the credit of Dr. R. C. Majumdar that he had the courage to follow his logic and maintain that Kaniṣka must have flourished after the period covered by Fan-ye's history. There is much that is admirable in his dissertation. But later discoveries and investigations have made his carefully worked out theory untenable.

19. No firm conclusion should be drawn from a mere reticence in a work which treats of that topic only incidentally. We should remember that neither Pan-ku nor Fan-ye was writing a history of the Ta Yueh-chi kings. Their mention of them is only incidental and fragmentary. M. Lévi felicitously observes, "the notices of foreign peoples incorporated in the Annals do not pretend to trace a complete history of these people; the compiler contents himself with putting together information obtained from time to time through chance." There are, however, indirect references in the history of the First Han which make it clear that in the period covered by it the advent of Kujula Kadphises had taken place. The Tsien Han Chou informs us: "They (Ta Yueh-chi) have five Heih-hows. * * the fifth is the Heih-how of Kao-fou. * * These five Heih-hows are all dependent on the Ta Yueh-chi" (vide A. Wylie, Notes on the Western Regions, Jour. Anthropological Institute, 1880). Fan-ye mentions the first four hi-heou as Yueh-chi dependencies and he corrects the fifth into Tou-mi. In his notice on Kao-fou, Fan-ye says that Pau-ku was mistaken in regarding Kao-fou, among the five original Yueh-chi hi-heou. "It is when the Yue-tche had triumphed over Ngan-si that they took Kao-fou for the first time."

20. So far so good. It may be that Pan-ku was wrong in mentioning Kao-fou as an original Yueh-chi hi-heou. But the conclusions which have been drawn from this oversight are too ingenious. Dr. Franke has doubts whether the accurate Pan-ku could have made a mistake (vide O. Franke, Beiträge etc., p. 95). After all, the correction is only slight. Dr. Franke is at great pains to distinguish between Tou-mi and Kao-fou. All that he can say (a mere assump-

tion evoked by the stress of necessity) is that Tou-mi might have been a part of Kao-fou or that it was a new name of the old territory. Dr. Franke, however, admits that "in any case we have no correction (sufficient enough) to regard as an error the evidence of the very reliable earlier Han Annal, alone on the testimony of the later chronicle without anything more" (vide O. Franke, Beiträge etc., p. 95). M. Chavannes, following Dr. Franke, observes, "Tou-mi must be near though distinct from Kabul." The so-called correction of Fan-ye who is often incorrect appears on closer examination to be more or less illusory.

21. That Fan-ye is often careless is patent. He says that he based his account on the report of Pan Yong, though he mentions facts posterior to that general (Toung Pao, 1907, p. 150). Such oversights are paradonable, But the interpreters of Fan-ye do him greater injustice in claiming for him theories he never claimed for himself. Thus Fan-ye is content with observing that Pan-ku is mistaken and says nothing more. But his commentators have a theory on this simple statement. The best representative of this school is M. Chavannes. We quote his words (Toung Pao, 1907, p. 191): "He (Fan-ye) remarks as a matter of fact that Pan-kou is in the wrong to count Kao-fou among the five yabgous, for this kingdom could have never depended on the Ta Yue-tche in the epoch of the First Han; in other words Pan-kou who died in 92 A. D. knew that Kao-fou depended on the Ta Yue-tche, but he was mistaken in indicating this fact in the history of the Earlier Han, for it was after the end of this dynasty that the Ta Yue-tche conquered Kao-fou. Thus the victories of Kieou-tsieou-kio must necessarily have taken place after the end of the First Han (9 A.D.) and before the death of Pan-kou (92 A.D.). An argument which appears of weight to O. Franke (O. Franke, Beiträge etc., pp. 71-72) is the following: in his introduction Fan-ye says that he tells facts posterior to the commencement of the period Kien-wou (25-55 A.D.) and that he borrows his information from the official report presented by Pan Yong during the last years of the reign of the emperor Ngan (107-125 A.D.); thus Kieou-tsieou-kio and Yen-kao-tchen ought to have ruled between 25 and 125 A.D., and, as Kieou-tsieou-kio died aged 80 years, his conquests thus might have been reported as between the year 25 and the year 50 of our era."

22. The interpretations of Chavannes and Franke are ingenious in the extreme. But their mistakes are patent. M. Chavannes evidently bases his conclusion on the following sentence,

viz., * * * this kingdom Kao-fou had never depended on the Ta Yue-tche in the epoch of the first Han. All that Fan-ye himself tells us is that Kao-fou was not an original Yue-tche hi-heou, and there cannot be any doubt that Pan-kou was mistaken in considering Kao-fou as an original Yueh-chi hi-heou. It was only a later dependancy of the Yueh-chi which Kieu-tsieu-kio had conquered. The Heou Han Chou tells us that it was after the Yueh-chi had triumphed over Ngan-si that they conquered Kao-fu for the first time. There is nothing here to show that Fan-ye recorded that the Yueh-chi could not have conquered Kao-fu in the time of the First Han. As to Dr. Franke's arguments, of which M. Chavannes is not sure enough, they are of no weight. Fan-ye is often careless and does not always observe his own canons. The natural interpretation of the statement of Pan-ku would be that in the period covered by his history (i. e., up to 25 A.C.) Kao-fu had been conquered by the Yueh-chi, and as the fifth Yueh-chi hi-heou Tou-mi and the conquered territory were adjoining and probably were together called Kao-fu (as Dr. Franke avers) ; he inadvertently named the last principality to be Kao-fu. Dr. Franke further suggests that Tou-mi was probably a later name for Kao-fu. It does not matter much even if Pan-ku is mistaken. It can hardly be denied that in the period covered by Pan-ku's history (i. e., up to 25 A. C.), Kao-fu was already a Yueh-chi principality, which was, as Fan-ye tells us, conquered for the first time by Kujula Kadphises. As to the reliability of Pan-ku, Dr. Franke himself stands as his sponsor. Moreover it will be interesting to note that even Chavannes and Franke's deductions do not run directly counter to ours, for they assign limiting dates for the conquests of Kujula and if we turn to the earlier limits set up by them, we find to our astonishment that they more or less confirm our deductions.

23. There are other indications in the history of the First Han which too show that the unification of the Yueh-chi principalities had already taken place. It is strange that such significant facts have been left out of consideration. In the very beginning of his notice of the Ta Yueh-chi, Pan-ku tells us that "the capital of the kingdom of the Ta Yueh-chi is the city of Keen-she, distant from Chang-gan, 11, 600 li" (vide A. Wylie, Jour. Anthropological Institute, 1880, p. 40). Fan-ye too tells us that "the kingdom of the Ta Yue-tche has for capital the city of Lan-che." The accurate researches of MM. Chavannes and Lévi leave little room for doubt that these two

names are really the same (vide Toung Pao. 1907, p. 187 ff.). Now for our argument. We know from Fan-ye that it was Kujula Kadphises who conquered the four other Yueh-chi principalities and declared himself king. The mention of a single capital of the Ta Yueh-chi by Pan-ku which was the same as the capital of the Ta Yueh-chi mentioned by Fan-ye is significant. It shows without any trace of doubt that in the period covered by the earlier Han Annals, the centralisation of the Yueh-chi power had taken place. Who was the author of this centralisation we learn from Fan-ye. As the name of the two capitals is the same, there should not be any reasonable doubt that already before 25 A.C., Kujula Kadphises had united the five Yueh-chi hi-heou into one single kingdom whose capital was Keen-she (=Lan-che).

24. There is another fact which strongly supports our contention. Pan-ku gives a long account of Ki-pin which he describes as "a great kingdom." But it is strange that Fan-ye omits it altogether. The only explanation that is possible for such omission is that at the commencement of the period covered by Fan-ye's history, Ki-pin was already a Yueh-chi dependency and so Fan-ye does not describe it separately.

25. One of the main arguments for relegating the first and the second Kadphises to a later period is based on the report of Pan-ku regarding Ki-pin. We know from the second Han history that Kujula Kadphises conquered Ki-pin. Now if it can be shown that Ki-pin was independent up to a certain period, Kujula cannot be placed before that period. The transactions of Ki-pin as found in Tsien Han Chou are fragmentary and end abruptly. One cannot but wonder when one finds how Pan-ku has been misinterpreted. We shall quote in extenso the details about Ki-pin and then draw our conclusion. "From the time that the emperor Woo-te opened up communication with Ki-pin, the rulers of that kingdom, in view of extreme distance, had considered themselves safe from the intrusion of a Chinese army. In this confidence the king Woo-tow-laou on several occasions put the Chinese envoys to death. On the death of Woo-tow-laou, his son, who had succeeded to the dignity, sent an envoy with offerings to China; Wan Chung the Protector General, at the barrier, was sent to escort him home. He again wished to take Wan Chung's life; but the latter becoming aware of his intention, entered into a plot with the king of Yang-keu's son Yin-muh-foo, which resulted in an invasion of the country when the king was killed, and

Yin-muh-foo installed as king of Ki-pin, and received the seal and ribbon of investiture from China. Afterwards the military marquis Chou Tih, who was sent to Ki-pin, managed to get on bad terms with Yin-muh-foo, when the latter put the felon's collar on the envoy, killed his assistant and attendants, more than seventy persons in all, and then sent an envoy with a letter to the emperor, acknowledging his transgression. But the country being among the unregistered and impracticable regions, the emperor Yuen-te discharged the envoy, communication being cut off by the Hindukush. In the time of the emperor Ching-te (B. C. 32-7) Ki-pin again sent an envoy with offerings and an acknowledgment of guilt. The supreme board wished to send an envoy with a reply to escort the Ki-pin envoy home" (vide M. Specht, Les Indo-Scythes et l'époque de Kanichka, d'après les sources chinoises, Jour. As., 1897, X, p. 162 ff. and O. Franke, Beiträge, etc., p. 63). Too-kin, however, resisted the proposal and ultimately prevented the sending of an embassy.

26. The date of the embassy according to Li-tai-ki-sse-nian-pao (liv, xxvii, fol. 7, see also Jour. As., X, 1897, p. 163), is 25 B. C. So all that we can legitimately conclude from this passage is that Ki-pin was independent up to 25 B. C. We cannot conclude that it was so up to 7 B. C. merely because the emperor Ching-te ruled up to that date. All who want a shifting back of the date of Kujula Kadphises have assumed this. The important fact, however, to remember in this connection is that as the emperor Yuen-te (48-33 B. C.) refused to take notice of a bloody affront and left Ki-pin unmolested, there must have been some reason that led Ki-pin to conciliate China again. The answer is what M. Sylvain Lévi suggests: "In vain did Ki-pin under the menace of a pressing peril, acknowledge its fault and offer reparation to the successor of Youan-ti; Tcheng-ti (32-7 B. C.) imitated the prudent reserve of his predecessor and doubtless abandoned the unfortunate Ki-pin to an invasion of the Yue-tche, which was led by Kieou-tsieou-kio" (Jour. As., Jan-Feb., 1897, p. 22). As the embassy of Ki-pin reached China some time in 25 B. C. it is natural to infer that the invasion of Kujula Kadphises took place some time after 25 B. C. This we find to accord with what we have observed above.

27. It is much to be regretted that there is no direct reference to Kaniṣka in the history of Fan-ye. But there are one or two facts which are significant and which tend to show that he was ruling towards the end of the first century A. C. The biography of Pan-

ch'ao contains the description of a disastrous northern expedition by a Yueh-chi king which more or less tallies with the Buddhist stories translated by M. Sylvain Lévi and also with the accounts recorded by the celebrated Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, We shall quote in extenso from the biography of Pan-ch'ao (vide Toung Pao, 1906, pp. 232-3, traduction par M. Chavannes): "Formerly the Yue-tche had aided the Chinese in invading Kiu-che (Tourfan) and rendered them signal services; this year (88 A. D.) they offered as tributes precious stones (?), fou-pa, and lions; they took this occasion for demanding in marriage a princess of the house of Han. Pan Tchao arrested and sent back the ambassador; from this moment there was enmity and resentment (between the Yue-tche and the Chinese). In the second year (Yong-yuan, 90 A. D.), the Yue-tche sent their viceroy Sie at the head of 16000 soldiers to attack (Pan) Tchao; the army of (Pan) Tchao was small in number and was greatly afraid; (Pan) Tchao appeared before the military forces (which were in evidence) and said, 'Though the soldiers of the Yue-tche be numerous, they have travelled several thousand li from home in crossing the Tsong-ling; they have not convoys of stores; is that trouble enough to be unquiet? Let us confine ourselves to gathering all the cereals and to guarding them well. The invaders would be famished and exhausted and would submit themselves; in some dozen of days at most everything will be finished.' Sie, however, advanced and attacked (Pan) Tchao; but he could not subjugate him (Tchao); besides he could get nothing by pillage. (Pan) Tchao calculating that the rations of Sie are going to be exhausted and that certainly he (Sie) would ask Kieou-tseu (Koutcha) to help, despatched several hundreds of soldiers to the Eastern territory to wait in the way of the Yue-tche; as a matter of fact, Sie sent horsemen who carried gold, silver, pearls and precious stones for making a present of them to Kieou-tseu (Koutcha); the soldiers of (Pan) Tchao who were in ambush barred their way, attacked and killed them all; they took the head of the ambassador to show it to Sie; he became greatly afraid and delegated an embassy for admitting his fault and expressing his desire to go back safe and sound; (Pan) Tchao let him go and he returned. From that moment the Yue-tche were greatly fear-stricken and offered every tribute and present."

28. Here we find record of a disastrous northern expedition. We have reminiscences of a similar disaster in a story translated by M. Sylvain Lévi (vide Jour. As., Nov-Dec., 1896, p. 482ff.). "* * *

The people of the three regions submitted; under the hoofs of the horse which the king Ki-ni-tcha rides all are broken and subjugated. The king said: I have subjugated three regions; all have come for refuge to me; the region of the North alone has not yet submitted. If I subjugate them I shall not profit by any other opportunity against anyone whoever he may be; but I do not know the best means of succeeding in it. On hearing these words the people of the king deliberated among themselves: 'The king is greedy, cruel and unreasonable; his frequent campaigns and conquests have fatigued the army of his servants. He does not know how to content himself; he wishes to rule over the four quarters. The garrisons are stationed in distant frontiers and our relatives are away from us. Such being the situation, we should be of one opinion to get rid of him. After that we may be happy.' As the king was ill, they covered him with a quilt and a man sat on it and the king expired in an instant." Another story refers to this northern expedition in clear terms: "On the earth, three of the four quarters were at peace; the northern region alone had not yet submitted and prayed for protection. Soon he equipped a fearful army for chastising it. He made the Hou (barbarians) march in front, and the white elephants as the head of the column and as guides. The king followed, and he led the way in the rear of the army. He wished to go just up to the Tsoung-ling. In crossing the passes those who mounted the elephant and the horses in front (en tête) could not advance. The king, very much surprised, addressed in such terms: 'Many times have I rode on you to punish the rebels. Three regions obey me in peace. Why then do you not like to follow to-day your way? * * *" There can be little doubt that the Yueh-chi king is Kaniṣka himself. The history of the second Han confirms it strongly. Fan-Ye tells us that Vima did not rule in India himself. He appointed a viceroy instead. Now in this episode, a Yueh-chi king of India is mentioned who sent his viceroy to fight against Pan-Ch'ao. So this king cannot be Vima and *a fortiori* not Kujula. This fact disproves one of the main arguments in favour of the 125 A.C. theory. So the king of the Yueh-chi at that time was either Kaniṣka or one of his successors. But on other considerations, it is almost certain that Kaniṣka was then ruling.

29. In these stories we find that the North alone did not pay him homage and that his northern expedition was unsuccessful. This strikingly confirms the ignominous expedition against Pan-Ch'ao as recorded in the First Han Annal. And we may be sure that the

king whose general was so ingloriously defeated by Pan-Ch'ao was no other than Kaniṣka. This gives us a certain chronological datum for him and we may almost be certain that Kaniṣka was ruling in the year 90 A.C. We have dated inscriptions of Kaniṣka which run from the year 3 to the year 23. If we refer these dates to the Śaka era, the period of his reign falls between 81 A.C. and 101 A.C. This tallies with the Pan-Ch'ao episode.

30. Now we shall cite another passage from the History of the Second Han which goes to show that there was a certain Kaniṣka who was ruling about 114 A.C. "During the rule of the emperor Ngan, during the period Yuan-tchou (114-116 A.D.) Ngan-kouo, king of Sou-le (Kashgar) exiled to the Yue-tche (Indo-Scythians) his maternal uncle Tchen-pan for some fault; the king of the Yue-tche took the latter in affection. Later Ngan-kouo died without leaving an issue; his mother directed the government of the kingdom; she arranged with the people of the country to place on the throne, as king of Sou-le, Yi-fou who was the son of a younger brother of Tchen-pan born of the same mother as he. Tchen-pan was informed of it and addressed a request to the king of the Yue-tche to inform him (*pour lui dire*), 'Ngan-kouo had no child; those who were agnates are of young age; if one wants to place on the throne a member of the family of the mother of Ngan-kouo, I am the uncle of Yi-fou and it is I who should be the king.' The Yue-tche at that time sent soldiers to escort and to carry him to Sou-le. The people of the latter kingdom had for a long time respect and affection for Tchen-pan; besides they feared the Yue-tche; they arranged, therefore, to despoil Yi-fou of his seal and ribbon and to go before Tchen-pan whom they nominated king. However, they gave to Yi-fou the title of the Marquis of the city of Pan-kao. Later on So-kiu (Yarkand) revolted several times in succession against Yu-tien and put itself under the dependence of Sou-le (Kashgar). Sou-le could, therefore, thanks to its power, become a rival kingdom to Kieou-tseu (Koutcha) and Yu-tien (Khotan)." This long account regarding Kashgar informs us in so many words that about 114 A.C., a certain relative of the king of Kashgar was a hostage of the Yueh-chi king and that later on this exiled king was placed on the throne of Kashgar, the people of which kingdom were greatly afraid of the Yueh-chi. All doubts might have been set at rest if Fan-ye had mentioned the name of the Yueh-chi king. But as he did not, we have to depend on other sources to ascertain who this king might have been.

31. Certain facts noted by Yuan Chwang in his account of Chia-pi-shih tend to show that this king was Kaniṣka. Thus we read, "When Kaniṣka reigned in Gāndhāra, his power reached the neighbouring states and his influence extended to distant regions. As he kept order by military rule over a wide territory reaching to the east of Tsung-ling, a tributary state of China to the West of the Yellow River through fear of the king's power sent him (princes as) hostages" (vide Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 124). Again, "When Kaniṣka was reigning, the fear of his name spread to many regions, so far even as to the outlying vassals of China to the West of the Yellow River. One of these vassal states being in fear sent a hostage to the court of king Kaniṣka (the hostage being apparently a son of the ruler of the state). * * *" (op. cit., p. 292). These passages show that even at the time when Yuan Chwang visited Kapiśa, there was a faint reminiscence of a certain prince of a Western feudatory of China as having been a hostage of Kaniṣka. The accounts do not go far. But the similarity is striking. So it is permissible to infer that the king of the Yueh-chi referred to in the Heou Han Chou is the same as the great Buddhist emperor Kaniṣka.

32. This piece of evidence is, however, not of a demonstrative nature. But Herr Marquart is almost fascinated by the similarity. In his learned work, we find a brilliant discussion of this datum (vide J. Marquart, Eran-sahr, Berlin, 1901, p. 283). He also brings forward in support of his contention the fact that the Han monastery is called by Hoei-li (biographer of Yuan Chwang) as Sa-la-kio. He thinks that this word represents the Chinese Shu-lek (Kashgar) as root word. "People named, therefore, the prince of Kashgar, who lived in the court of Kaniṣka in India according to the well-known rule of Pāṇini (IV, I, 173) with a tadrāja form, Saraka and built for him the monastery of Sarakawati, cloister of the prince of Saraka. If this interpretation be correct, we obtain at the same time a decided synchronism for Kaniṣka : he must have been already on the throne between 107-113" (op. cit., p. 283). Dr. Franke, however, doubts this without showing sufficient reason. M. Specht was the first to draw attention to this fact. Both Marquart and Specht have concluded that this king must be Kaniṣka.

33. But Kaniṣka's inscriptional dates ran up to the year 23. Referring this to the Śaka era we get the equivalent to be 101 A.C. So here was a puzzle. Two conclusions would follow: (1) Kaniṣka could not have started the Śaka era, or (2) there were two Kaniṣkas,

Herr Marquart held the former view and so too M. Specht. But we have now a new record which can reconcile both these apparently conflicting facts. This later discovered inscription is dated in the year 41 of a Kaisara Kaniṣka. Referred to the Śaka era the date turns out to be 119 A. C. So at this period there was a great Kaisara Kaniṣka and this king might well have been hinted at by Yuan Chawng. It may also be that in later tradition these two kings were confused and Yuan Chwang ascribed the exploits of the one to the other. It is premature as yet to say if the Kaniṣka whose inscriptional dates run from the year 3 to the year 23 is the same as this Kaisara Kaniṣka. Mr. R. D. Benerjee who has a theory of his own holds that they are one, while Dr. Lüders and other scholars differ. Anyway, even if we consider them as distinct, still the theory that one Kaniṣka founded the Śaka era is not hurt by the facts recorded in the transactions of Sou-le by Fan-ye.

34. The compendium of Wei in a curious notice on Buddhism, preserved for us by San-koo-tchi, makes mention of the Yueh-chi, (vide Journal Asiatique, Jan-Fev., 1897, p. 14 and O. Franke, Beiträge, etc., p. 91). There has been much controversy about the interpretation of this passage between MM. Lévi and Specht. To me the interpretation of Lévi and Franke appear to be correct. In the words of Prof. Hermann von Oldenberg, the text tells us in short that "in the year 2 B. C., a Chinese official had learnt to know Buddhist sūtras by oral transmission, through the agency of an ambassador of the king of the Yue-chi" (vide Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1910-12, p. 4; vide also O. Franke, Beiträge, etc., pp. 91-92). Thus in 2 B. C. we find a king of the Ta Yueh-chi and not the head of a hi-heou. He might have had Buddhistic inclination. We may conclude from this fact that the centralisation of the Yueh-chi power had already taken place in 2 B. C. And as Fan-ye tells us that it was Kujula Kadphises who first conquered the four other principalities and made himself king, it is permissible to conjecture that already in 2 B. C., Kujula had completed his conquest at least of the four other Yueh-chi hi-heou. The coins of Kujula too testify to his Buddhistic inclination. In many of them we have the curious and patently Buddhistic epithet *dhramathidasa*. It may be noted in this connection that M. Sylvain Lévi thinks that this Yueh-chi king was Kaniṣka. And as Kaniṣka ruled about 2 B. C., he might have started the Vikrama era. So according to M. Lévi, the centralization of the Yueh-chi power had already taken

place about 2 B. C. It will be shown later on that the Vikrama era theory is no longer tenable, and yet M. Lévi too supports some of our inferences indirectly.

35. The traditional history of the introduction of Buddhism into China throws some light on the troubled history of this period. But here our authorities are vague. The facts of this introduction of Buddhism have been told by a number of writers (vide M. H. Maspero, B. E. F. E. O., Tome X, 1910, p. 95 ff.). M. Maspero has cited twelve Chinese texts, historical as well as Buddhistic, which were written between the second and the sixth century of the Christian era. The different texts vary slightly but the central fact is the same in all of them, viz., the emperor Ming of the Eastern Han saw in a dream the Buddha and sent an embassy to India to inquire about the religion of the Śākya-muni. The limiting dates for the sending of the embassy and its return are between 61 and 75 A. C. in all the texts. A comparison of all the texts leaves little room for doubt that Tien tchou was then in the possession of the Ta Yueh-chi. One of the texts, viz., Houa Hou King (composed between 305 and 310 A. C. ?) leaves the impression that Śrāvasti was included in the Yueh-chi dominions. Even if this be called in question, it can never be doubted that the *soidisant* Tien-tchou was, between 61 and 75 A. C., a Ta Yueh-chi principality. A very important deduction can be made from these various statements of the texts translated and examined by M. Maspero. The Ta Yueh-chi king during that epoch was certainly not Kaniṣka. The edifying Buddhist texts would never have missed the chance of associating the honoured name of the great emperor with the formal introduction of Buddhism in China. M. Maspero questions the correctness of the whole episode of the introduction of Buddhism into China at the time of the emperor Ming. He may or may not be correct. He appears to be unjustly sceptical. But even if the story of Buddhist propaganda be exaggerated, there is no reason for doubting that about that time Tien-tchou was a Yueh-chi principality and that the Yueh-chi king at that time was somebody else than Kaniṣka. Most probably he ascended the throne some time afterwards. So this too accords with our view and strongly supports our thesis.

36. Eliot in his Hinduism and Buddhism (vol. II, p. 64, note) has mentioned a fact which is very damaging to the 125 A. C. theory, and supports the view that Kaniṣka started the Śaka era. The catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka states that An-shih-kao

(148-170 A. C.) translated the Mārgabhūmisūtra of Saṅgharakṣa who was the chaplain of Kaniṣka. It is very rare for a Chinese translator to translate a work immediately after it is written. So it is quite natural to think that the original work was written some time ago, say, about A. C. 100. Kaniṣka must have been living before that date and as such he might naturally have established the Śaka era. But it must be said that this piece of evidence only furnishes a dependable terminus *ante quem* for Kaniṣka, i. e., 148 A. C., but does not tell us definitely anything about the terminus *post quem* and also does not absolutely forbid Sir John Marshall's theory.

37. We shall now turn to the evidence of the coins and see how far numismatics support our thesis. Nobody until recently questioned the fact that Kujula Kadphises came after Hermaeus, the last Greek ruler of Kabul. As a matter of fact, all numismatists agree in holding that Hermaeus was superseded by Kujula Kadphises. Such was also the opinion of Prof. E. J. Rapson, our finest numismatic scholar. In his masterly monograph on Indian Coins (Grund. d. indo-ar. Phil., 1898) we read on page 16: "The numismatic of the progress of this Kuṣana conquest of the kingdom of Hermaeus is complete. The coins show the following sequence—(1) Hermaeus alone (Gardner, p. 62); (2) Kujula Kadphises associated with Hermaeus, i. e., obv. ERMAIOU, rev. in Kharoṣṭhī Kujula Kasasa (Plate II, 7; cp. Gard, p. 120); (3) Kujula Kadphises alone, i. e., obv. KOZOULO-KADPHIZOU, rev. Kujula Kasasa (Plate II, 8; cp. Gard. p. 122). Mr. R. A. Whitehead too says in this connection (vide Indo-Greek Coins, Lahore Mus. Cat., vol. I, Oxford, 1914, p. 172): "* * * that coins of the Indo-Greek prince are known which bear on the Kharoṣṭhī side the name of a barbaric ruler, Kujulakasa, the Kuṣāṇa. When without further alteration of type, we find that the name of this Kuṣāṇa chief in the form KOZOYLOKADPHIZES makes its appearance also on the Greek side of the coinage, and the name of Hermaios finally disappears, then it beeomes certain that this Kadphises, leader of the Kuṣāṇa race, was the conqueror who subverted the Greek dominion in Kabul, and that in him we must recognise the ruler whose name the Chinese transcription, always cumbersome and phonetically defective, reproduces as Kieu-tsieu-khio." As a matter of fact the numismatic evidence in favour of the above conclusion is so complete that without violating all canons of numismatic judgment we cannot postulate any other theory. So too thought Prof. Rapson once. But in his chapter on the "Scythian and Parthian Invaders"

in the Cambridge History of India, he advances novel theories which are in opposition to all that he thought before. He writes: "It was formerly held by the present writer that these hostile invaders were the Kuṣāṇas who came over the Paropanisus from Bactria; and the testimony of coins, on which the name of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus, and the first Kuṣāṇa conqueror, Kujula Kadphises, are found in association, seemed to justify this conclusion. But a fuller consideration of all the available evidence shows that the opinion of Dr. F. W. Thomas is almost entirely correct, viz., that there was an intermediate period during which the Pahlavas were in possession of Kabul."

38. The fuller evidence furnished by Dr. F. W. Thomas is mainly based on a superficial study of the facts supplied by the First Han history. As a matter of fact Dr. Thomas bases his conclusion on the observation of Fan-ye that Kao-fu was in the possession of the Parthians before it was conquered by Kujula Kadphises. Now it is on the first hand debatable if the Parthians of Fan-ye are the same as the Indo-Parthians. However, as the Arsacids have never been credited with the conquest of Kabul, Mr. J. Kennedy in his interesting essay "The Secret of Kaniṣka" (JRAS, 1912) got out of the difficulty by holding the Parthians of Fan-ye to be the same as the Indo-Parthians. The Heou Han Chou, however, hardly justifies such a view. But after all, it is not quite impossible and it may be that the Indo-Parthians held Kabul in sway for some time. The numerous coins of Gondopharnes at Begram seem to justify such a view. It is also remarkable that Gondopharnes was almost certainly the last Indo-Parthian ruler of that region, his followers being Indian rulers as is proved by the distribution of their coins. It is now admitted on all hands that Gondopharnes ruled between 19 A.C. and 45 A.C. So Kujula must have wrested Kabul from him some time between these dates. Thus we have another important chronological datum for the date of Kujula.

39. Prof. Rapson, however, advances another theory which is striking. He says at the very end of the chapter: "It was probably not until at least seventy years after the death of its last Yavana king that Kabul valley passed from the Pahlavas to the Kuṣāṇas, the next suzerain power in Afghanistan and N. W. India." This separation of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises in point of time presents insuperable numismatic difficulties and what Prof. Rapson has to say in defence does not substantiate such a claim. But really he does not say

anything in defence of his new theory. Further, he makes the extraordinary statement that "a coinage bearing his name and his types was issued by his conquerors until a much later date." But these very conquerors (Kuṣāṇas) according to Prof. Rapson had an extensive coinage of their own. It is a wonder that they should humour themselves by reproducing in toto the coins of a foreign defeated king without even adding an insignia of their own. This later theory of Prof. Rapson, I am afraid, has to be given up. It is too much conjectural and much too against numismatic facts. The thing is that Prof. Rapson gets into this difficulty by his adherence to the views propounded by Dr. F. W. Thomas. The Chinese historians say that the Parthians were in possession of Kabul before the Kuṣāṇas and from this Prof. Rapson and Dr. Thomas conclude that the founder of the Indo-Parthian kingdom or somebody else near about must have conquered Kabul. But the truth seems to be what Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri suggests in his Political History of Ancient India (1923), viz., that Hermaeus and Kujula were at first friendly. But Gondopharnes ousted the former and this furnished a *causus belli* and Kujula took up arms against Gondopharnes. Gondopharnes ruled most probably between 19 A. C. and 45 A. C. and therefore Kujula must have wrested Kabul some time between these dates. Gondopharnes was at first a viceroy of Azes II (vide Cambridge History of India, 1922, pp. 577-8) and when he became paramount, it was natural enough that Gondopharnes would first conquer Kabul which was so near to his territory and which being an ally of the formidable Yueh-chi was such a potential danger. Anyway, the conquest of Kao-fu must have taken place about 25 B. C. as it is considered a Kuṣāṇa principality by implication in Pan-ku's history of the First Han dynasty. In his attempt to defend a hopeless cause, Prof. Rapson even makes contradictory statements. Thus on page 562 of the Cambridge History of India, he says: "whose (Kujula Kadphises') date can scarcely be earlier than 50 A. C., since according to Sir John Marshall's observations, the evidence of the discoveries at Takṣaśīlā shows that he was rather later than Gondopharnes who is known to have reigned during the period from 19 A. D. to 45 A. D." Again after a few pages (op. cit., p. 584), on the strength of the same premises, he observes: "It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Kujula Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondopharnes".

40. There are one or two striking facts which strongly support

the 78 A. C. theory for Kaniṣka, and which have not received sufficient attention at the hands of the numismatists. Prof. Rapson observes in his Indian Coins (1898, p. 17): "Hima Kadphises * * * was the first to issue the gold coinage * * * * no specimens which can possibly have been struck in India, during the two centuries previous to the date of Hima Kadphises, are to be found in the collections of the present day. The large gold coinage of the Kuṣāṇas have been attributed to the influx of Roman gold into India at this period. Certain it is that the Roman weight-standard (aurous = 124 grains or 8,035 grammes) was adopted in India at this time. Pieces of the weight of two aurei were only struck by Hima Kadphises; the largest gold coins of his successors are aurei." Prof. von Oldenberg too observes (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1910-12, p. 4, footnote): "For the second Kadphises (and equally for Kaniṣka and his followers) we have to take into account the approximation of his gold coinage to that of the Roman aurei, first minted in any considerable numbers under Augustus (Gardner: B. M. Cat., LIII)." So it is permissible to infer that as Vima Kadphises imitated a coin standard which prevailed in Rome from 2 B. C. onwards, he came some time after that date. We have here another solid chronological datum which also enables us to find out a chronological limit for Kujula.

41. Almost all numismatists are agreed in identifying Kozala Kadaphes with Kujula Kadphises (vide Rapson: Indian Coins, 1898, p. 16, article 66; R. B. Whitehead, Indo-Greek Coins, 1914, p. 173). There is much to support this identification, The arguments favourable to this assumption has been well summarized by M. Boyer in L'Epoque de Kaniṣka (Jour. As., 1900, xv). Prof. von Oldenberg observes in this connection: "Mention should here be made of the frequently noted similarity between the copper coins (Kozola Kadaphes) and coins of the later Augustan era. Prof. Dressel says that the head certainly recalls Augustus. Dressel, however, is not sure whose head is imitated and he says that the heads may well be of Gaius, of Claudius or even of Nero during the early part of his reign," Anyway if this piece of evidence is worth anything, which certainly it is, it tends to show that the Kozola type of the coins of Kujula Kadphises was coined some time about the beginning of the Christian era. The *terminus post quem* for Kujula thus comes to 4 B. C. and supports the Chinese Annals in a striking manner. It must be noted, however, that Director von Sallet regards the similarity as only

fortuitous (vide A. von Sallet, Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien und Indien, Berlin, 1883, p. 56 and p. 81), though on purely numismatic grounds he concludes that Kaniṣka flourished about 70 A. C. Prof. von Oldenberg too relying on the careful studies of von Sallet thought that Kaniṣka started the Śaka era. He has since changed his view and is inclined to place him about 90 A. C. M. Boyer also agrees with him. Dr. F. W. Thomas too partially assented to this view, probably because of his great regard for Prof. von Oldenberg, though he considers the other possibility, viz., of Kaniṣka's starting the Śaka era, as quite possible.

42. We shall now turn to Archaeology and see how far its findings confirm the Śaka era theory. The evidence of archaeological stratification is often of a very strong character and cannot be easily called into question. But that even its apparent inferences are to be checked by extraneous evidence is to be seen in the observations of Prof. Rapson (see Cambridge History of India, 1922, p. 584, paragraph 1). Still in this case it proves with a great amount of certainty that Kujula and Vima flourished before the Kaṇiṣka group, as we shall prove on more solid grounds. Sir John Marshall is at great pains to refute the theory of Dr. Fleet. His refutation of Dr. Fleet's assumption that the Kaniṣka group preceded Kujula and Vima taken along with other facts may be considered final.

43. Thus the collocation of the coins of Kaniṣka, Kujula and Vima in the Manikyala tope no. 2 proves conclusively Sir John Marshall's contentions. Too much has been made of the Ahin Posh find, while the more important and dated Manikyala tope no. 2 (vide F. W. Thomas: The Date of Kaniṣka, JRAS., 1913, p, 645), has been more or less neglected. Hermann von Oldenberg has indeed noticed it in his classical essay on the date of Kaniṣka, but he too fails to grasp its great significance. The vessel which contained the coins is dated in the 18th year of Kaniṣka and in it have been found the following coins: 8 AE of Kujula, Vima and Kaniṣka; 4 AV of Kaniṣka, 7 AR Roman denarii (plates of M. Antony). The coin of Antony shows that the tope must have been built some time after 43 B. C. (allowing for the time occupied by the coins to travel so long a distance from Rome to India). We do not know the exact date of the coin of M. Antony. It may be later than 43 B. C. but in any case not earlier. The evidence of the inscription shows conclusively that it was built in the 18th year of Kaniṣka. The presence of the coins of Kujula and Vima is remarkable. The collo-

cation of the coins shows beyond doubt that Kujula and Vima flourished before and not after Kaniṣka, a thesis maintained with so much learning and ingenuity by the late Dr. Fleet. As a matter of fact Dr. Fleet's theory that Kaniṣka founded the Vikrama era rests fundamentally on his assumption that the Kujula group came after the Kaniṣka groups. As now the collocation of coins disproves once for all that assumption, Dr. Fleet's theory can hardly be maintained. It has been generally supposed that the evidence of the stratification of the ruins at Taxila has proved the posteriority of the Kaniṣka group and has thus laid the axe at the root of Dr. Fleet's theory. But I shall show later on that the evidence of archaeological stratification is not very conclusive for close ranges and as a matter of fact often misleading.

44. We cannot express the archæological argument more clearly than Sir John Marshall. His words are :

"The buildings at the Chir stupa occur in four strata, one above the other ; in each stratum a differnt type of masonry is used in their construction, and with each stratum are associated coins of kings or dynasties indicated in the following table :

	Stratum	Masonry Construction	Coins
1	Uppermost	Semi-ashlar, semi-diaper	Vasudeva and later Kuṣāṇas
2	Second	Large diaper	Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and (?) Vasudeva.
3	Third	Small diaper	Kadphises I and II
4	Fourth	Rubble and Kanjur	Śaka and Pahlavas

"In the city of Sirkap also precisely the same stratification is found so far as the third, fourth and earlier strata are concerned, but the city was deserted before any buildings of the second and first classes came to be erected, and consequently there are no coins here of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka or Vasudeva, but thousands on the other hand of those of Kadphises I and II, of the Śaka and Pahlava kings and of the Greeks" (JRAS, 1915). Thus, Sir John Marshall maintains that the evidence of stratification proves conclusively the posteriority of Kaniṣka and his successors to Kujula and Vima. But this type of evidence for close ranges is not really so unerring as Sir John would have us believe. Prof. Rapson himself gives some reasons for making Gondopharnes and Kujula Kadphises contemporaries, though their coins were found in separate strata. As for the conjectures of Sir John regarding the age of the buildings, they

cannot be regarded with too much scepticism. The finding out of the date of a structure from consideration of style and materials is too difficult and debatable and the data at our disposal do not warrant anything like precision.

45. It remains for me to show that palæography and archæology too support the conclusions I have drawn. The evidence of Palœography is, however, very hazy and uncertain, for such renowned palæographists as Prof. von Bühler and Dr. J. F. Fleet differ by more than 200 years when they happen to find out the date of an inscription on palæographic grounds only. We shall, however, offer a summary of what von Bühler has to say in this connection. We shall translate from his celebrated work Indische Palæographie, Strassburg, 1896 (vide pp. 40 and 41, article 19, paragraphs A and B). "Unquestionably the latest form of Sunga types in the oldest Mathura inscriptions closes itself with those of the Northern Kṣatrapas on the coins and inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula or Ramjubula and of his son, the Mahākṣatrapa Sodasa or Sudasa of Mathura (of the first century before or after Christ) * * *. The next step in the development of the Brāhmī in the north is found in the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vasuṣka or Vasudeva, among whom the first made an end of the rule of the older Śaka in western and southern Punjab. In spite of the great variety of the detached letters which often in the earlier inscriptions show the more modern forms and in the later dated ones the older forms of the Northern Kṣatrapa Inscriptions, the general character of the types is very strongly stamped, and anybody who has seen the deep broad forms of the Kuṣāṇa period will hardly ever fail to recognise them."

46. These are the words of von Bühler. They show that on palæographic grounds, he considered the Kuṣāṇas to be later than the Northern Kṣatrapas but earlier than the Western Kṣatrapas. Prof. von Bühler holds that the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa kings must be dated either in the Śaka era or in the fourth century of the Seleucidan era, and he advances some weighty palæographic arguments in support of his view. The Seleucidan era theory has never been seriously entertained by scholars. M. Boyer has made a detailed study of this topic in his paper on L'Epoque de Kaniṣka (Jour. As., 1900, xv). But he has been able to add but little to the facts noted before him by von Bühler. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has dealt with the problem at great length in his valuable article

called "The Scythian Period of Indian History (Ind. Ant., 1908). After a minute and careful study of the palæographic peculiarities of the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas and the Kuṣāṇas, he too more or less confirms the deductions of von Bühler and holds that the inscriptions of Kaniṣka must be dated in the Śaka era. So we find that Palæography too supports our thesis.

47. It will be interesting at this stage to examine the arguments which have generally been urged against the theory of Sir John Marshall. It is superfluous to mention that our previous conclusions make Sir John's theory untenable. We shall, however, raise one further objection against Sir John's theory and at the same time examine the validity of the current objections to the 125 A. C. hypothesis. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri ably summarises the arguments against Sir John Marshall's theory. We shall quote from him in extenso: "According to Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and several other scholars Kaniṣka's rule began about 125 A.D., and ended in the second half of the second century A.D. Now we learn from the Sue Vihar Inscription that Kaniṣka's dominions included the Lower Indus Valley. Again we learn from the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman, that the Mahākṣatrapa's conquests extended to Sindhu and Sauvīra. Rudradāman certainly lived from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. He did not owe his position as a Mahākṣatrapa to anybody else (svayam adhigata Mahākṣatrapa-nāma). If Kaniṣka flourished in the middle of the second century A.D., how are we to reconcile his mastery over the lower Indus Valley with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradāman? Again Kaniṣka's dates 3-18, Vaśiṣka's dates 24-28, Huviṣka's dates 31-60 and Vasudeva's dates 74-98 suggest a continuous reckoning. In other words, Kaniṣka was the originator of an era. But we know of no era which commenced in the second century A.D." (vide Political History of Ancient India, 1923, p. 250). These are no doubt arguments against the 125 A.C., but they are not conclusive. On the other hand, the arguments are fallacious. For the validity of the first argument it must be tacitly assumed that Rudradāman held Sindhu and Sauvīra some time from 136 A.C. at least. But this cannot be proved. So the weight of this objection rests on an unproved assumption. The second argument involves a petitio principii. It assumes that Kaniṣka started an era, merely because it suits our purpose. Still these common arguments have some weight. I have, however, observed a fact which strongly negatives the 125 A.C. theory. Lüders informs us that a

Kuṣāṇa inscription has been discovered at Sanchi, which appears to have belonged to the time of Vaśiṣka. The date is not quite legible, but from other considerations, it is certain that it must have been inscribed some time between the years 24 and 28 of the era used by Kaniṣka. Most probably it is dated in the year 28. It is certain that at that period Sanchi was included in the Kuṣāṇa empire. If Kaniṣka commenced his reign about 125 A.C., the date turns out to be the year 153 A.C. Now from the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, we learn, that the Sanchi region at that period was certainly included within the territory of the Mahākṣatrapa, who did not owe allegiance to anybody. So here is a real conflict and we can say that Kaniṣka could not have begun to reign about 125 A.C.

48. As can be easily perceived, my purpose in writing this thesis has not been so much to disprove other theories or to enter into a detailed examination of them, as to find and marshal facts which establish the 78 A.C. theory. It has often been said before that at present the substantial controversy is between the advocates of the Śaka era theory and those who adhere to the 125 A.C. theory. I have attempted to disprove the latter theory and to support the former. As is naturally to be expected from the vagueness and the paucity of the data at our disposal, the same set of facts has often been utilised in support of rival theories. In these circumstances it is a *sine qua non* to look for some details which can be explained only on one of them. As the German logician Ueberweg says, "One single circumstance, which admits of one explanation only, is more decisive than hundred others which agree in all points with one's own hypothesis, but are equally well explained on an opposite hypothesis."

49. My endeavour has been to find out crucial data which support only the Śaka era theory. The careful examination and comparison of the facts recorded regarding the Ta Yueh-chi in the First Han and the Second Han histories as well as of one or two sets of facts observed for the first time by me offer a few such instances. My mathematical demonstrations disprove to some extent the theory of Sir John Marshall. I believe that the combined probative value of such instances is so overwhelming that they absolutely negative the 125 A.C. hypothesis and at the same time confirm the Saka era theory.

HARI CHARAN GHOSH

Vasubandhu and the Vādavidhi

In his recent article, *Vasubandhu and the Vādavidhi*,[1] Dr. Keith has been pleased to review my position in detail and point out reasons why it cannot be accepted as conclusive. In the course of the article he has also examined the views of Dr. Ganganath Jha and Dr. H. N. Randle and found it irresistable to conclude "that the evidence is lamentably inadequate to overthrow the view of Dr. Satisacandra Vidyabhusana." But on re-examination of the question in the light of new facts, I am inclined to believe that the theory of Dr. Vidyabhusan has not a single fact for its support.

Uddyotakara in his *Nyāyavārtika* mentions two treatises on logic, viz. the *Vādavidhi* and the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*[2] and also quotes the definition of *Pratijñā* found in the *Vādanyāya*,[3] now extant only in Tibetan. Dr. Vidyabhusana, according to Dr. Keith, has "reinforced this view" by holding that Uddyotakara knew also the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* which he cites on I. 1. 33 and 41 in respect of the definition of *Pakṣa* and *Vāda* respectively, and that the Tibetan version of the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* of Vinītadeva proves to contain passages substantially identical with those cited by Uddyotakara, and is therefore identical with the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*.[4] On the basis of these two identifications the Doctor has further drawn the conclusion that Uddyotakara and Dharmakīrti are contemporaries as is believed to have been referred to by a pun of Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*.[5]

In my previous article contributed to JBORS[6] I took exception to the views of the Doctor and pointed out, that the definition of *Pratijñā* of the *Vādavidhi* cited by Uddyotakara is similar to, but not identical with that of the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti, and that it is not safe to establish on bare similarity the contemporaneity of the authors of the two works. In pleading for the view, Dr. Keith takes substantial identity of the passages as sufficient ground for identifying the texts and explains away the difference in the title of the texts as "errors in citations." But substantial identity cannot

1 IHQ, vol. IV, 2. 2 NV, I,i, 33 (Benares edition, p. 117).

3 dam bcaḥ pa yin bsgrub bya bstaan paḥi phyir ro (*Mdo*, ce, fol. 399). 4 JRAS, 1914, pp. 601-6.

5 JRAS, 1914, p. 1102. 6 JBORS, xii, 587-91.

by itself be taken as a safe ground for supporting the identity of the texts. Any definition of *Pratijñā* has to be substantially identical with any other definition of *Pratijñā* in any treatise on logic.[1] There ought to be literal identity as well. Both the conditions are satisfied in the case of one of the definitions of *Pratijñā* quoted and criticised in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diṅnāga.[2] "Sādhyābhidhānaṃ" is the definition of *Pratijñā*, which, according to Diṅnāga's comments in his *Vṛtti* on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, is alleged to be a fragment of the *Vādavidhi* of Vasubandhu,[3] and is the very definition cited by Uddyotakara as belonging to *Vādavidhi*. In addition to this fragment we come across many others, which have been noticed for criticism by Uddyotakara in his *Vārtika* like the definitions of *pratyakṣa*,[4] *anumāna*,[5] *pakṣa*,[6] *hetu*[7] and *dṛṣṭānta*,[8] identified

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1 Cf., for instance, the definition, *Sādhyanirdeśaḥ pratijñā* of the Nyāyasūtra with the *Sādhyābhidhānaṃ pratijñā* of the Vādavidhi.

2 PS (= *Pramāṇasamuccaya*), iii, 5 : de bshin byed brjod pa laṅ.

3 PS-Vṛtti : -de bshin te rigs pa can rnams la skyon brjod pa de bshin du *rtsod pa sgrub pa* la yin = evaṃ naiyāyikeṣu doṣa uktaḥ tathā Vādavidhāv [api].

NV, p. 118 : yo naiyāyikapratijñāyāṃ doṣa uktaḥ sa iha prasaktaḥ.

4 PSV, I, 15 : don de las skyes rnam pa ças pa mṅon sum yin shes bya ba.

Cf. NV, 40: Apare punar varṇayanti tato'rthād vijñānaṃ pratyakṣam iti.

5 PSV, ii, 74 : rtsod pa sgrub pa nas ni med na mi ḥbyuṅ baḥi don mthoṅ ba de rig pa rjes su dpag paḥo shes brjod do ||

Cf. NV, 54 : Apare tu bruvate nāntarīyakārthadarśanaṃ tadvido'numānam iti.

6 PSV : rtsod pa bsgrub par ni bsgrub bya brjod pa tsam dam bcaḥ ba ma yin gyi ḥon kyaṅ phyogs kyi chos bsgrub byaḥo phyogs gaṅ yin pa rnam pa dbye par ḥdod paḥi don phyogs yin te //

Cf. NV, p 115 (NV 106)—evaṃ vicāraṇāyām iṣṭo'rthaḥ pakṣa ity atrāpi iṣṭagrahaṇam anarthakam.

7 PSV, III, 36 : re shig rtsod pa bsgrub par ni de lta baḥi med na mi ḥbyuṅ baḥi chos ñe bar bstan pa ni gtaṅ tshigs so snes bya ba/

Cf. NV, p. 55 : tādṛg avinābhāvi dharmopadarśanaṃ hetur ity anye.

8 rtsod pa sgrub pa nas de dag ḥbrel ba ñes par ston ni dpe ste bum pa bshin no shes brjod pa lta baḥo/

Cf. NV, p. 137 : etena tayoḥ sambandhanidarśanaṃ dṛṣṭānta iti pratyuktam.

as fragments of the *Vādavidhi* of Vasubandhu by Diṅnāga in his *Vṛtti* on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and some of his identifications are corroborated by Vācaspati in his *ṭīkā* on the *Vārtika* of Uddyotakara. This indicates that Uddyotakara had really access to and made use of the *Vādavidhi* of Vasubandhu. Explicit references, then, to the *Vādavidhi* in the *Vārtika* of Uddyotakara can only be to the *Vādavidhi* of Vasubandhu and never to the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti. It is highly improbable and strange that one who had access to the *Vādavidhi* would cite *Vādanyāya* as *Vādavidhi*.

It may, however, be argued that, though *Vādavidhi* and *Vādanyāya* are different from each other, *Vādavidhi* may itself be a work of Dharmakīrti. But there is hardly any evidence to support it. *Vādavidhi* is nowhere mentioned as a work of Dharmakīrti. We learn, on the other hand, from the Chinese sources, that it is there known as *Ronki* and ascribed to Vasubandhu. Diṅnāga, a disciple of Vasubandhu (this we have shown more than once) regards it as a work of Vasubandhu. If it were a work of Dharmakīrti, why should Vācaspati, who is familiar with the works of both Dharmakīrti and Vasubandhu, ascribe the fragments cited by Diṅnāga as belonging to *Vādavidhi*, to Vasubandhu and never to Dharmakīrti ?[1]

No doubt the question of the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* still remains unsettled. Dr. Keith complains that I am silent on this question and believes that my position would be strengthened by "facing the problem at the same time". But it may be stated that the object of my paper was to dispel the illusion created by Dr. Vidyabhusana regarding the identity of the two texts, the *Vādavidhi* and the *Vādanyāya*, and to establish the authorship of *Vādavidhi* by Vasubandhu. The reference to the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* by Uddyotakara was only used as an argument against the Doctor's conclusions. Now that Dr. Keith attaches much importance to the problem it is indispensible to investigate it in detail.

In criticising Diṅnāga's definition of *pakṣa*[2] Uddyotakara extracts a passage from the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* which is clearly an improved definition of *pakṣa*[3] on those of an anonymous writer and of a Bhadanta. The author of the *Vārtika* refers to the improvement on the definition

1 NVTT, I. 1,4 (p. 99) : tadevaṃ pratyakṣalakṣaṇaṃ samarthya Vāsubandhavaṃ tāvat pratyakṣalakṣaṇaṃ vikalpayitum upanyasyati.

2 NV, p. 116.

3 NV, p. 117 : sādhayatīti śabdasya svayaṃ pareṇa ca tulyatvāt svayam iti viśeṣaṇam.

by the addition of *svayaṃ* as *viśeṣaṇa*, and proceeds to refute the explanation and finally falls back upon the original definition without the suggested improvement. A few lines above Uddyotakara quotes and criticises in his *Vārtika* certain passages[1] of the *Vādavidhi* which is a work of Vasubandhu. Next appears the definition of *pakṣa* ascribed to 'apara'. It is unquestionably a legitimate conclusion from the discussions that the Vārtikakāra is here referring to the definition of Vasubandhu and is further supported by Vācaspati in his comments on the passage.[2] But the passage in question has not been ascribed to *Vādavidhi* either by Uddyotakara or by Diṅnāga. It is not therefore clear what relation the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* bears to the *Vādavidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara. But this much is certain that it has nothing to do with the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* of Vinītadeva.

The identification of the two texts, the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* and the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, is beset with great difficulties. There is at the outset the insurmountable chronological difficulty which Dr. Keith has not lost sight of. If the two texts are one, not only Dharmakīrti, but even Vinītadeva, author of the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, would become a contemporary of Uddyotakara. This is against all facts and accepted conclusions. Prof. Tucci[3] has pointed out why Dharmakīrti cannot be regarded as a contemporary of Uddyotakara. It, therefore, goes without saying that Vinītadeva cannot be a contemporary of Uddyotakara. The passage[4] in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, which is

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1 NV, p. 115-116.

2 NVTT, p. 273 (Benares edition): pakṣo yas sādhayitum iṣṭa ity atrāpi Vasubandhulakṣane.

The Vijayanagaram edition of the text, however, reads Subandhu for Vasubandhu. Evidently *ca Subandhu* is either the printer's or the scribe's error for Vasubandhu; the more so, because *ca* would be superfluous after *api*. It is this simple error that has given occasion for various explanations by Dr. Ganganath Jha and Prof. Randle. I agree with Dr. Keith that the ascription of the Vādavidhi to Subandhu is purely conjectural and that there is no justification in taking Subandhu either as a variant or as an abbreviation of Vasubandhu as Kīrti is of Dharmakīrti.

3 JRAS, April, 1928, pp. 377ff.

4 bdag ñid ma yin paḥi ṅo bo ni bdag ñid kyi ṅo bo ni gshan gyi ṅo bo ma yin no shes bya baḥi don to, *Mdo.* Ze, fol. 50 (according to Dr. Vidyabhusana).

taken to be substantially identical with the one cited by Uddyotakara from the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*, may be restored into Sanskrit as "Anātmarūpam ātmarūpaṃ pararūpaṃ na bhavatīty arthaḥ," and it is, on the face of it, absurd to identify it with the citation, "sādhayatīti śabdasya svayaṃ pareṇa ca tulyatvāt svayam iti viśeṣaṇam."[1]

The definition of *vāda* from the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*,[2] however, if restored into Sanskrit would read as 'Vādiprativādinoḥ svaparārthasiddhyasiddhārthavadanād (or vacanād) vādaḥ' and is, as Dr. Vidyabhusana holds, substantially identical with the definition of *vāda*,[3] cited by Uddyotakara at I, ii, 1. But it has been clearly ascribed to Vasubandhu by Vācaspati[4] and nowhere is it stated that it belongs to the *Vādavidhānaṭīkā*. It would indeed be a too bold argument if one were to identify the two texts, *Vādavidhānaṭīkā* and *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, on the basis of substantial identity of a passage and establish the contemporaneity of their authors. The only explanation that would be offered for substantial identity is that the definition of *vāda* of Vasubandhu became a stock definition and appeared in the same form in later works on *vāda*.

The pun of Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*, 'Nyāyatattvam iva Uddyotakarasvarūpām bauddhasaṅgītim iva sālaṅkārām', which is taken by Dr. Vidyabhusana in support of his contention, appears in a different garb in some versions[5] of the text, and therefore gives the impression that the passage is interpolated. Even if it be an integral part of the text, it can only be taken to refer to two works whose authors need not necessarily be contemporaries.

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1 NV, p. 117.

2 rgol ba daṅ phyir rgol ba dag gis (*Read* gi) raṅ daṅ gshan gyi don grub par byed pa daṅ (ma) grub paḥi don du brjod nas rtsod pa yin no// *Mdo*, Ze, fol. 41 (according to Dr. Vidyabhusana).

3 Apare tu svaparapakṣayoḥ siddhyasiddhyarthaṃ vacanaṃ vādaḥ—NV, P. 150 (cf. NV, p. 121).

4 NVTT, p. 317: tadevaṃ svābhimataṃ vādalakṣaṇaṃ vyākhyāya *Vāsubandhavaṃ* lakṣaṇaṃ dūṣayitum upanyasyati.

Here also the Vijayanagaram edition reads: *saubandhavaṃ* for *Vāsubandhavaṃ* (p. 218). Cf. also I-1-37 (p. 207), and Benares edition, p. 298

5 Satkavikāvyaracanāṃ ivālaṅkāraprasādhitām. See S. K. De: *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 20.

The pun has been variously interpreted by scholars. Prof. Lévi believes that *alaṅkāra* in the passage does not refer to any work of Dharmakīrti.[1] Prof. Lüders, on the authority of the discoveries in Central Asia, contends that it alludes to the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāta, otherwise known through Chinese translations as the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* of Aśvaghoṣa.[2] The passage may, however, be taken to allude either to the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa or to the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga, the brother of Vasubandhu.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the position of Vidyabhusana is untenable. The *Vādavidhi* is not the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti, but a work of Vasubandhu and that on no ground can the contemporaneity of Uddyotakara and Dhamakīrti be established.

H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR

The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj

Of the Hindu dynasties that ruled in North India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest of the country, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj rank in the forefront. From the time of the Vardhanas onward the rulers of Kanauj have always played the rôle of the paramount sovereigns of India. They held Kanauj under their sway from the last quarter of the 11th century to the first quarter of the 13th century A.C. and during this period their influence extended all over India, even to the distant south where there is an inscription at Gaṅgāikoṇḍacoḷapuram, the Cola capital. They carried on successful warfare with their neighbours and to the last stoutly resisted the Muhammadan invaders of India. They were powerful rulers and able administrators, orthodox Hindus and great patrons of literature. Their history thus forms a chapter of interest and importance in the history of North India.

Though for the reconstruction of the history of the Gāhaḍavālas we have ample materials in the numerous stone and copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty, yet it is a pity that scholars have not

1 Bulletin de l'Ecole d' Extreme Orient, 1903, p. 18.

2 Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, Preface, viii.

paid such attention to it as it deserves. The Early History of India[1] and the Cambridge History of India[2] give meagre account of only two or three rulers of the family. The only connected account of the Gāhaḍavālas is to be found in Vaidya's Mediæval History of India.[3] But the latter also has not utilised all the available sources of information.

The leading authorities for the history of the Gāhaḍavālas are the numerous copper-plates and stone inscriptions. The copper-plates number more than three scores. They belong to the following rulers :—

3 c. p. of Candradeva[4]
1 c. p. of Candradeva and Madanapāla.[5]
1 c. p. of Madanpāla and his queen Pṛthvīśrīkā.[6]
3 c. p. of Govindacandra of the reign of his father.[7]
30 c. p. of Govindacandra.[8]
2 c. p. of Govindacadra and his mother Rālhaṇadevī.[9]
1 c. p. of Govindacandra and his queen Nayanakelidevī.[10]
1 c. p. of Govindacandra and his queen Gośaladevī.[11]
1 c. p. of Govindacandra and his son Asphoṭacandra.[12]
2 c. p. of Govindacandra and his son Rājyapāla.[13]
1 c. p. of the reign of Govindacandra recording a grant by the Singara prince Vatsarāja.[14]

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1 4th ed., pp. 399-400.
2 Vol. III, p. 42, 512.
3 Mediaeval History of India, III, p. 210ff.
4 EI, IX, p. 302; XIV, p. 192.
5 IA, XVIII, p. 11.
6 JRAS, 1896, p. 787.
7 IA, XIV, p. 105; XVIII, p. 15; EI, II, p. 359.
8 JASB, XXXI, p. 123; XXVII, p. 242; LVI, pt. I, p. 108, 119; IA, XIX, p. 249; EI, IV, p. 97; VIII, p. 149; V, p. 113; XI, p. 20; XVIII, pp. 218-224.
9 JASB, LVI, pt. I, p. 115; EI, V, p. 113.
10 EI, IV, p. 97.
11 EI, V, p. 115.
12 Ibid., VIII, p. 149.
13 Ibid.; IA, XVIII, p. 21.
14 EI, IV, p. 150.

2 c. p. of Vijayacandra and his son Jayacandra.[1]

14 c. p. of Jayacandra.[2]

1 c. p. of Hariścandra.[3]

The stone inscriptions[4] number five, the most important of which is the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī.[5] The inscriptions are all written in Nāgari characters. The language is Sanskrit. And they are composed in both prose and verse. These inscriptions do not chronicle historical events of any particular value. They record only grants of land and building to private individuals. They give the names of the princes and their ancestors and thus enable us to build up a correct genealogy of the dynasty. At the same time the dates recorded on them afford invaluable evidence for fixing the chronology of the dynasty. Besides, the titles assumed by the princes give us some clues as to their doings.

Much ink has already been spilt over the question of the origin of the Gāhaḍavālas and it is still far from being solved.[6] The inscriptions uniformly name the progenitor of the family as Yaśivigraha. They state that Yaśivigraha came to rule the earth when the line of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven.[7] The rulers referred to here seems to be the Pratīhāra rulers of Kanauj who as we know traced their descent from the Sun.[8] Yaśivigraha's son was Mahiyāla, Mahiala or Mahitala. The Rahan plate[9] of Madanapāla and Govindacandra informs us that Mahiyāla defeated a host of enemies and enjoyed permanent comfort. It is worthy of note here that no royal title is attached either to the name of Yaśivigraha or Mahiyāla. The royal title Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramamāheśvara is first borne by the third ruler of the

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1 Ibid., IV, 117-18; IA, XV, p. 7.

2 IA, XVIII, pp. 130, 135, 137, 138, 140, 142; XV, p. 10.

3 EI, X, p. 93; JASB, N. S., VII, p. 756.

4 The Hathiayadal Pillar Inscription of Gośaladevī, Cuningham, ASR, I, p. 96; the Jaunpur Pillar Inscription, Ibid., XI, p. 125; the Bodh Gayā Buddhist Inscription, JASB, 1880, p. 77; the Belkhara Inscription, JASB, N. S, VII, p. 756; the Sarnath Inscription of Kumarādevī EI, IX, p. 329.

5 EI, IX, p. 319.

6 Vaidya, op. cit., III, p. 217; IA, XL, p. 183; EHI, p. 429.

7 EI, VIII, p. 199. 8 Ibid. 9 IA, XVIII, p. 15.

dynasty, Candradeva. He is the real founder of the Gāhaḍavāla supremacy in India. Of him it is written in almost all the records of the dynasty that he acquired the sovereignty of Kanauj by the prowess of his own arms.[1] We have no less than four copper-plates of the time of Candradeva.[2] The earliest one[3] is dated V. S. 1148 (1090-1 A.C.) and the latest one[4] V. S. 1156 (1098-99 A.C.). As in the Candrāvatī plate[5] of V. S. 1158 Candradeva is called "Lord of Kanauj," it is permissible to conjecture that he conquered that city before that date. Now who was the ruler of Kanauj from whom Candradeva conquered the city? The answer is not a very easy one. For the history of Kanauj after the fall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras is very dark. The last known date of the last known Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Trilocanapāla is 1028 A. C.[6] The next known ruler of Kanauj was one Yaśaḥpāla who is mentioned in an inscription of 1036 A.C.[7] Of his pedigree we know next to nothing. Kanauj was then probably conquered by Karṇa,[8] the Kalacuri-Haihaya king of Cedi (c. 1040-80 A.C.). This fact may be inferred from the Basāhi grant[9] of Govindacandra, which states that "when Śrī Bhojadeva became a guest of the eyes of the women of the gods and when Karṇa remained only in renown and the earth was troubled, the husband whom the earth chose from love and the protector in whom she placed confidence was king Candradeva." This shows that the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva came to the throne of Kanauj after the demise of the two great emperors Bhoja and Karṇa. King Bhoja referred to here is not the Paramāra Bhoja of Malwa as C. V. Vaidya[10] supposes but the Bhoja of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty.[11] Karṇa mentioned here is undoubtedly the Karṇadeva of the Kalacuri-Haihaya dynasty of Cedi. These identifications are based on the evidence of the Rahan c. p.[12] of Madanapāla and Govindacandra which makes the statement that Candradeva came to rule over the earth

1 Nijabhujōpārjita-Kānyakubjādhipatya-ŚrīCandradeva.
2 EI, XIV, p. 192; IX, p. 302; IA, XVIII, p. 11.
3 EI, IX, p. 302. 4 Ibid., XIV, p. 192. 5 Ibid.
6 Jhusi plate, IA, XVIII, p. 34.
7 The Karra Inscription, As. Res., vol. IX, p. 434; JASB, V, p. 731; Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II, p. 278.
8 R. D. Banerji, History of Bengal, I, p. 248.
9 IA, XVIII, p. 19. 10 MHI, III, p. 166.
11 C. 840-890 A.C. EHI, p. 393. 12 IA, XVIII, p. 15.

when the two great royal families of the solar and the lunar races had perished. The two great royal families of the solar and the lunar races are undoubtedly the Gurjara-Pratīhāras who claimed to have been born in the solar family,[1] and the Kalacuri-Haihayas who claimed their descent from the moon.[2] The solar family mentioned here cannot allude to the Paramāra Dynasty of Malwa, for they in their inscriptions claim their descent not from the sun but from the fire.[3] Vaidya's identification of Bhoja is therefore untenable. When these two inscriptions are read together they imply that prior to the rule of the Gāhaḍavālas, imperial power in North India was held successively by the solar and the lunar races, of which the two most renowned princes were Bhoja and Karṇa respectively. That Karṇa did actually come to wield the imperial power in North India is also referred to by the inscriptions of his own dynasty.[4] Karṇa ruled from c. 1040 to 1080 A.C. After his death the imperial power in North India passed on to his son Yaśaḥkarṇadeva.[5] We have an inscription[6] of 1120 A.C., by which Govindacandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty transfers a land originally granted by king Yaśaḥkarṇa. In the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandī's Rāmacarita[7] (II, 5) Bhīmayaśāḥ, king of Magadha and Pīṭhi has been called Kānyakubjarājavājinīgaṇṭhanabhujaṅga. From the same work we know that Bhīmayaśāḥ was a contemporary and feudatory of Rāmapāla, the famous king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, who came to the throne c. 1084 A.C.[8] From the Bheraghat Inscription[9] of Alhaṇadevī we learn that Yaśaḥkarṇa devastated Campāraṇya. Campāraṇya is modern Champaran in Bihar, which at that time was held by Bhīmayaśāḥ of Magadha and Pīṭhi. It seems probable that at the battle of Champaran Bhīmayaśāḥ defeated Yaśaḥkarṇa. As Yaśaḥkarṇa was then the ruler of Kanauj so Bhīmayaśāḥ in the commentary on the Rāmacarita has been called Kānyukubjarājavājinīgaṇṭhanabhujaṅga.[10] From Yaśaḥkarṇa Kanauj probably passed on to Gōpāla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty who in a Sethmahet inscription[11] has been called king of Gādhipura i.e. Kanauj and is also

1 EI, VIII, p. 199. 2 MHI, III, p. 187. 3 Ibid., p. 187.
4 Benares c. p. of Karṇadeva, EI, II; Nagpur and Bheraghat Inscriptions, Ibid.; Karanbel Inscription, IA, XVIII, p. 217.
5 R. D. Benerji, op. cit. 6 JASB, XXXI, p. 124.
7 R. D. Banerji, op. cit. 8 EHI, p. 416.
9 EI, II, p. 11. 10 Rāmacarita, II, 5.
11 IA, XVII, p 63; JASB, LXI, pt. I, p. 60.

referred to in the Badaun inscription[1] of Lakhaṇapāla. It was probably from Gopāla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty that Candradeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty conquered Kanauj.[2] This succession of several royal dynasties within a very short time need not cause surprise, for we must remember that this was the most troublous time in the history of India when every ambitious prince was trying to possess Kanauj which was an Indian Rome, at once the crown of honour and bone of contention to all vijigīṣus or aspiring Siegfrieds whether Hindu or Moslem.

Having made himself master of Kanauj Candradeva set himself to conquer other princes. No less than five such princes are mentioned in his inscriptions.[3] They are Gajapati, Narapati, Triśaṅkupati, Giripati, and a king of Pañcāla. Who these princes were we do not know,[4] but the king of Pañcāla probably refers to the king of Kanauj. Him he probably pursued from place to place, for the epithet 'capala' is coupled with his name. He is further said to have acquired the holy places of Kāśī (Benares), Kuśika (Kanauj), Uttara Kośala (Oudh) and Indrasthāna (Indraprastha?),[5] and protected these sacred places from the attacks of the Moslems.[6] He was thus looked upon as an ideal Hindu prince who made Āryāvarta immune from the troubles of Moslem inroads and domination. This trouble is referred to in the word 'kṣmātyaye' in the Basāhi Inscription[7] as well as in general terms in a passage of another inscription[8] which has been translated as follows:—"King Candradeva, who allayed the troubles of all peoples by his greater valour." In the Sarnath Inscription of Kumarādevī[9] also it is stated, "By the tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist Candradeva the waters of the Yamunā forsooth became darker". In almost all Gāhaḍavāla grants, among the sources of revenue there is reference to a tax called turuṣkadaṇḍa. This is also mentioned in the Candrāvatī plates[10] of Candradeva. The true import of this term is not clear. It has been variously translated as a tax on "aromatic reeds"[11] and "Maho-

1 EI, p. 61. 2 JASB, 1925, p. 103.
3 EI, XIV, pp. 193.
4 For Vaidya's suggestions, see MHI, III, p. 212.
5 EI, IX, p. 302. 6 EI, XIV, pp. 193f.
7 IA, XIV, p. 103. 8 Ibid., XVIII. 9 EI, IX, p. 329.
10 EI, IX, p. 302 ; XIV, p. 192. 11 JASB, LVI, pt. I, p. 113.

ıedan amercements."[1] According to Vaidya[2] it is the tribute aid to Ghazni by the ruler of Kanauj. V. Smith[3] thinks that it ras a tax imposed on the Indians to raise money to ward off the Muhammadans. According to S. Konow[4] it was a tax on the Muhamadan settlers in the country and this seems to be a plausible explanation. From the Muhammadan historians[5] we know that there vere Muhammadan settlers in the country about the Jumna from the ime of Mahmud and down to the 12th century. The Gāhaḍavālas ook some action against such Muhammadan settlers and this tax ;ives us a hint as to the nature of this action.[6]

Candradeva was a very religious king. He exerted himself a great leal for the restoration of orthodox religion, so much so that he was ooked upon as an incarnation of Brahmā, the creator himself. This is clearly stated in the Rahan c. p.[7] of Madanapāla and Govindacandra: "... ... the creator thinking that the whole world is nearly void of the sound of Veda-recitation inclined his mind to incarnate himself to re-establish the ways of religion ... ... Then there was born in the above family king Śrī Candradeva, crest-jewel of kings, and the dispeller of the darkness caused by the insolent soldeirs of the enemy." Candradeva worshipped Sūrya, Śiva and Vāsudeva alike.[8] But Vaiṣṇavism seems to have received special favour. His inscriptions begin with an invocation to the goddess Śrī, consort of Viṣṇu, while on the seals of the inscriptions appear a flying figure of Garuḍa and a conch-shell which also illustrate the Vāsudeva faith of the king.[9] He believed that the giving of lands leads one to the attainment of the abode of Hari, Hara, Brahmā and Indra.[10] In conformity with this belief he made numerous land grants to Brahmins—in one case to no less than 500 Brahmins at a time.[11] Though only 4 grants of Candradeva have been discovered up to date, yet there is reason to believe that the king issued grants many times that number. This is apparently referred to in the Candrāvatī plate[12] of 1156 V.S., where it is stated that his copperplates bearing grants of land, when they were being engraved with rows of closely written lines, caused so much sound that the universe

1 JASB, LVI, pt. I, p. 113. 2 MHI, III, p. 211.
3 Elliot, H I, II, p. 250 ff. 4 EHI, p. 400 f.n.
5 EI, IX, p. 329. 6 EI, IX, p. 329.
7 IA, XVIII, p. 15. 8 EI, XIV, p. 192.
9 Ibid. 10 Ibid. 11 Ibid. 12 Ibid.

has become deafened. Besides land grants Candradeva also made a munificent gift of gold and other valuables equal to the king's weight (tulāpuruṣa) and a thousand cows before the beautiful image of the illustrious Ādikeśava.[1] Another c. p.[2] also refers to the king's tulāpuruṣa :—"After he had obtained the holy places of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara Kośala and Indrasthāna, he incessantly bestowed on the Brāhmaṇas gold equal in weight to his body, hundreds of times he marked the earth with the scales on which he himself had weighed." Candradeva founded a city called Candrāvatī.[3] Candradeva's reign ended sometime after 1099 A.C. the latest known date on his inscriptions.[4]

Candradeva was succeeded by his son Madanapāla (also called Madanadeva and Madanacandra). Dr. Fitz Edward Hall[5] held the view that Madanapāla came to the throne in 1097 A.C., for according to him the date of the inscription of V.S. 1154 refers to the time when the deed was ordered to be drawn up by Candradeva's son Madanapāladeva. But this is untenable because we have since then an inscription[6] of Candradeva himself bearing the date 1099 A.C. Kielhorn[7] rightly pointed out that the inscription of V. S. 1154 merely recorded the certification by Mahārājādhirāja Madanapāladeva of the grant of the village of Ahuama in Benares by Mahārājādhirāja Candradeva. The date on which this grant was made by Candradeva was stated but not that of the certification by Madanapāladeva. Up to date we have no c. p. recording grant made by Madanapāladeva himself. We have several copper-plates in all of which Madanapāladeva is described as the reigning sovereign but they record grants made by his son and his queens. The earliest of these copper-plates is dated V. S. 1161 (1104 A.C.). It is the well-known Basāhi plate.[8] It was issued from Āsatikā on the Jumna, and it records the grant of the village of Basāhi in the Etwah district. In this inscription Madanapāla is described as the reigning prince and Govindacandra as Mahārājaputra. In the last sentence the c. p. is said to be issued with the consent of the Purohita Jāgūka, Mahattaka (minister) Vālhaṇa and Pratīhārī (chamberlain) Gautama. The second c. p. is dated V. S. 1162 (1105 A.C.). It is the Kamauli plate described

1 IA, XVIII, p. 15. 2 Ibid., p. 19.

3 The site of his inscr. ; cf. Karṇāvatī, Rāmāvatī, Lakṣmaṇāvatī etc.

4 EI, XIV, p. 192. 5 JASB, XXVI, pp. 228-29.

6 EI, XIV, p. 192. 7 IA, XVIII, p. 9. 8 Ibid., XIV, p. 103.

in E I, II. p. 359. It was issued from Viṣṇupur on the Ganges and records the grant of a village in the Pañcāla country. In line 23 of the plate it is said to have been made with the consent of the officers named in the Basāhi plate as also of the queen mother Rālhaṇadevī. The third grant is dated V. S. 1163.[1] It was issued from Vārāṇasī to record a grant by queen Pṛthvīśrīkā for Madanapāla on the occasion of Sūryagrahaṇa. The fourth inscription is dated V. S. 1166. It is the Rahan plate described in I A, XVIII, p. 15. It was issued from Āsatikā on the Yamunā on the occasion of Sūryagrahaṇa to record a grant made by Mahārājaputra Govindacandradeva, "during the reign of Madanapāladeva," and does not refer to any consent of any state officials. It is curious that all these grants were made by the Mahārājaputra and the queens while Madanapāladeva himself was on the throne. C. V. Vaidya[2] infers from this that Madanapāladeva by reason of illness did not rule personally during these years and authorised his son and queens to make grants and do other acts which are solely the functions of royalty. That Madanapāla authorised his son and queens to act for him there is no doubt. But a more plausible reason of this transfer of royal functions seems to be Madanapāla's absence from the capital on account of war. For we know that Madanapāla was not an impotent king frittering away his days on sick-bed. The Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī[3] describes him as "a crest-jewel among impetuous kings," "the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valour being great and mighty and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory." This was neither vanity nor exaggeration, for we shall soon see that the Gāhaḍavālas about this time participated in the politics of East India, where the fall of ancient ruling families and the rise of new ones were the order of the day. The reign of Madanapāladeva terminated sometime before 1114 A.C., for we have a c. p.[4] of that year recording the grant of a village by the reigning prince Mahārājādhirāja Govindacandradeva. Madanapāladeva had at least two queens, Rālhaṇadevī and Pṛthvīśrīkā. The former was the mother of Govindacandra.

Mahārājādhirāja Govindacandra, the son and successor of Madanapāladeva was the greatest prince of his dynasty. Nearly two scores of plates of Govindacandra have been discovered up to date. They

1 JASB, 1895 p. 786. 2 MHI, p. 214.
3 EI, IX, p. 329. 4 Ibid., VIII, p. 149.

bear dates from 1114 A.C. to 1156 A.C. Smith[1] includes the years 1104-1114 A.C. in the reign of Govindacadra. This is manifestly wrong for we have seen that in the records of 1104-09 A.C. Madanapāladeva is expressly described as the reigning sovereign. Govindacandra's reign was the high-water mark of the power and prestige of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. Immediately after his accession he set himself to the consolidation of his empire by wielding his conquering arms in all directions. He is often described in the plates[2] as strengthening the newly founded kingdom by his arms as with ropes and creepers. His war elephants are described as moving in three directions without rest. While still a yuvarāja Govindacandra fought with the Gauḍa king in the east and the Muhammadans in the west.[3] The Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī[4] states that Govindacandra protected Vārāṇasī from the wicked Turuṣka warriors. Now what Muhammadan invasions do these inscriptions refer to? We are told that the only Muhammadan invasion that penetrated into the interior of India during this time was the one sent by the Ghaznivide king Sultan Masud.[5] Thus the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri[6] tells us that the Ghaznivide king Sultan Masud (1090-1115 A.C.) sent an expedition into India which crossed the river Ganges in order to carry on holy war in Hindustan and penetrated to a place where except Sultan Mahmud no one had reached so far with an army before. They captured Kanauj the "capital of Hind."[7] It was this Muhammadan invasion which was repulsed by Govindacandra. It was probably on this occasion that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Madanapāla of the Badaun Inscription,[8] as a vassal of the Gāhaḍavālas, helped them to ward off the Muhammadan raiders.[9]

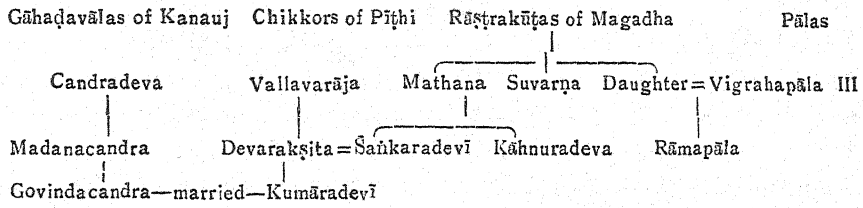
Govindacandra is described in the inscriptions of the dynasty as the conqueror of the three kingdoms of Aśvapati, Narapati, and Gajapati. The same fact is also alluded to in the colophon of a Nepalese Ms. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā found by Mm. H. P. Sastri.[10] We have already pointed out that who these princes were we do not know. The Gagaha plate[11] of Govindacandra states that he captured the

1 EHI, p. 400.
2 MHI, p. 211.
3 IA, XVIII, p. 15.
4 EI, XI, p. 329.
5 Ibid.
6 Raverty's trans. p. 107.
7 Elliot, HI, IV, p. 526.
8 EI., I, p. 61.
9 JASB, N. S., XXI, p. 103.
10 Quoted in EI, IX, p. 321.
11 EI, XIII, p. 216.

elephants of nine kings. Some of these princes probably belonged to East India. For about this time we find definite proofs of the eastward extension of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavālas. We have already mentioned that Govindacandra while a yuvarāja fought with the Gauḍa king in the east. The inclusion of Magadha within the empire of Govindacandra is testified to by two of his inscriptions.[1] Thus in the year 1129 A.C. he granted the villages of Gunāve and Padalī in the Maniāri Pattala (modern Maner in the Dinapore subdivision of the Patna district of Bihar) to one Gaṇeśvaraśarman. The Lar plates of Govindacandra of 1146 A.C. prove that by that year he had advanced as far as Mudgagiri or Monghyr. This occupation of Magadha by Govindacandra was by no means a temporary one as we shall see that it was also held by his successors. The then political condition of East India was favourable to the eastward extension of the Gāhaḍavāla empire. The empire of the Pālas after lasting for three centuries was fast collapsing. During the reign of Vigrahapāla III or immediately after his death the Kaivartas under Divvoka rose in rebellion in North Bengal. The effete Pālas were unable to quell them down and the Kaivartas remained in power in North Bengal. Divvoka was succeeded by his brother Rūdaka, after whom came Rūdaka's son Bhīma[2] (Bhīma was not a son of Divvoka as C.V. Vaidya supposes). But the Pālas soon had a very powerful and capable king in Rāmapāla, a son of Vigrahapāla III. The first endeavour of Rāmapāla, immediately on his accession, was to retrieve the lost fortunes of his dynasty. From Sandhyākara Nandī's Rāmacarita[3] we come to know that in this endeavour Rāmapāla was assisted by his maternal uncle king Mahana or Mathana of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Magadha. This is also corroborated by the Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī.[4] Bhīma was conquered and the Pāla rule in N. Bengal was restored.[5] There is reason to believe that in this war Devarakṣita of the Chikkora family, a king of Pīṭhi marched against Rāmapāla; for in the Sarnath Inscription of Kumarādevī[6] it is stated that the Aṅga king Mahana, the venerable maternal uncle of kings, conquered Devarakṣita in war and maintained the glory of Rāmapāla, which rose in splendour, because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed. After defeating Devarakṣita Mathanadeva gave his daughter Śaṅkaradevī in marriage to him. The

1 JASB, 1922 p. 81 ; EI, VII, p. 98.
2 Rāmacarita, 1, 39. 3 Ibid., 2, 8. 4 EI, IX, p. 329.
5 R. D. Banerji, op. cit., p. 283. 6 EI, IX, p. 320.

offspring of this marriage was Kumāradevī, the famous queen of Govindacandra and the grantor of the Sarnath Inscription. The course of events that led to this marriage is, however, not known. This inscription thus clearly brings home to us the intimate relation that existed between Govindacandra and Rāmapāla. This relation may thus be illustrated:—



The light which shone in Bengal soon flickered away. The successors of Rāmapāla were very weak. This gave advantage to the adventurous Senas who were at this time carving out for themselves a kingdom in Rāḍha.[1] In the wars of rivalry that followed between the Pālas and the Senas, the Pālas were helped by their relatives, the Gāhaḍavālas.[2] So we constantly hear of the Senas leading expeditions to Upper India. Thus the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena[3] tells us that the king sent a naval expedition towards the west up the whole course of the Ganges. As Vijayasena was a contemporary of Govindacandra it is natural to suppose that Vijayasena sent this naval expedition in order to chastise Govindacandra who offended him by backing the cause of the Pālas.

Govindacandra not only participated in the politics of East India but also in the politics of South India. An incomplete inscription of Govindacandra was found immediately after a record of Kulottuṅgadeva of A.C. 1110-11 at Gaṅgāikoṇḍacolapuram.[4] This is creditable for Govindacandra, for it is a far cry from Kanauj to Gaṅgāikoṇḍacolapuram.

The mind of Govindacandra was not only bent on war but also on religion, charity and learning. He issued a large number of land grants. He is described in almost all Gāhaḍavāla records as vividhavicāra-vidyā-vācaspati. Being himself very learned he was also a great patron of learning. Lakṣmīdhara, the author of Vyavahārakalpataru, a treatise on law and procedure, was his Sāndhivigrahika.

1 R. D. Banerji, op. cit. 2 Ibid., p. 318.
3 EI, I, p. 211. 4 Venkayya, ASR, 1907-08, para 58.

C. V. Vaidya[1] incorrectly states that Govindacandra had only two queens. From inscriptions and literature we learn of at least five queens of Govindacandra. One of them, the Paṭṭamahādevī Gosaladevī, is known from the Bangawan plate[2] of V. S. 1208 in ASR, vol. I, p. 96. Sir A. Cunningham mentions an inscription on a pillar at Hatiyadal of the time of Gosaladevī, queen of Govindacandra of Kanauj. Another queen, Paṭṭamahādevī Nayaṇakelidevī, is known from the Kamauli grant[3] No. F. of V.S. 1176. Führer refers to another queen Dalhaṇadevī.[4] The Sarnath Inscription[5] introduces to us a fourth queen Kumāradevī, daughter of Devarakṣita of Pīṭhi. She was a Buddhist. Another Buddhist queen of Govindacandra named Vasantadevī is known from the colophon of a Nepalese Ms. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā discovered by Mm. H. P. Sastri.[6] Govindacandra had at least three sons. The Gagaha plate[7] of V. S. 1199 records a grant by Mahārājaputra Rājyapāladeva. Another plate[8] records a grant by Yuvarāja Asphoṭacandra. These princes probably died before their father, for after his death his son Vijayacandra became king.

Vijayacandra was not an unworthy successor of his father. In the inscriptions of his son he is said to have made a conquest of the quarters. In the Benares c.p.[9] of Jayacandra, Vijyacandra is described as an expert in destroying the hosts of hostile princes, as the lord of the gods was in clipping the wings of the mountains. In the same inscription he is also said to have achieved more fame and success than his father in war with the Muhammadans. "He swept away the affliction of the globe by the stream (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the Hammira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth." This passage probably refers to some conflict with one of the successors of Sultan Mahmud, who at that time were residing at Lahore having abandoned Ghazni out of fear for the Ghori kings. The Pṛthvīrāja Rāsā states that Vijayapāla, king of Kanauj, attacked the Somavaṃśī king Mukundadeva of Kaṭaka, who gave his daughter in marriage to Vijayapāla's son Jayacandra to whom a daughter named Saṃyogitā was born. It is further stated in the Rāsā that king Vijayapāla attacked king Anaṅgapāla

1 MHI, III, p. 215. 2 EI, V, p. 113.
3 Ibid., IV, p. 97. 4 JASB, IV, p. 115.
5 EI, IX, p. 329. 6 Ibid. 7 IA, XVIII, p. 21.
8 EI, VIII, p. 149. 9 Ibid., IV, p. 119.

of Delhi but was defeated by the combined armies of Anaṅgapāla and Someśvara. The Rāsā next states that Vijayapāla attacked Bholābhīm of Pattanapura.[1] Though these statements of the Rāsā have lately been proved to be wrong[2] and though we admit that there is much that is imaginary and legendary in the Rāsā, yet there seems to be some grains of historical truth at the bottom of these statements, for we have already mentioned that in one of the inscriptions of his son there is reference to a digvijaya of Vijayacandra. Vijayacandra seems to have also fought with the Senas. The Mādhāinagar grant[3] of Lakṣmaṇasena informs us that Lakṣmaṇasena while quite young defeated the king of Kāśī. The Madanapāḍa grant[4] of Viśvarūpasena says that he erected sacrificial posts at Benares and Prayāga to celebrate his victories. We have already seen that Magadha was included in the empire of Govindacandra. The Tārācaṇḍī Inscription[5] of Pratāpadhavala dated 1169 A.C. shows that the Sahabad district formed an integral part of the Gāhaḍavāla empire in the time of Vijayacandra. At this time the Senas who had established their rule in Bengal were trying to extend it westward. This brought them into conflict. In course of such a war Lakṣmaṇasena appears to have advanced as far westward as Benares and Prayāga.

The only dates known of Vijayacandra from inscriptions are 1168 and 1169 A.C. The former date is known from the Kamauli[6] c.p. and the latter date from the Jaunpur Pillar Inscription[7] as well as from a c.p. described in IA, XV, p. 7. Vijayacandra was not long on the throne after that date, for we have a c.p.[8] of 1170 A.C. recording a grant made by the reigning prince Mahārājādhirāja Jayacandradeva, the son and successor of Vijayacandradeva. This grant was issued on the occasion of the abhiṣeka of the king. Jayacandra's grants number some 14. They bear dates ranging from 1170 to 1187 A.C. He is said to be the most reputed prince of his time. The contemporary Muhammadan historians call him the King of Kāśī and assigns extensive dominions to him.[9] Magadha still remained under the Gāhaḍavālas, for in the year 1175 A.C. he granted a village

1 JBBRAS, 1928, p. 166. 2 Ibid.
3 JASB, V, p. 472. 4 Ibid., 1896, pt. I, p. 9.
5 JAOS, VI, p. 548. 6 EI, IV, p. 117-118.
7 Cuningham ASR, XI, p. 125. 8 IA, XV, p. 7.
9 EHI, p. 400.

in the Maniari-pattala, modern Maner in the Patna district of Bihar.[1] The Pṛthvīrāja Rāsā informs us that Jayacandra performed a 'Rājasūya Yajña' and celebrated a 'Svayaṃvara' for his daughter Saṃyogitā, in which he invited Pṛthvīrāja of Ajmere. But Pṛthvīrāja declined the honour, upon which Jayacandra caused public dishonour to Pṛthvīrāja by erecting a gold image of him at the post of the door-keeper. Exasperated at this open insult Pṛthvīrāja invaded the dominions of Jayacandra and having defeated him took away Saṃyogitā whom he married soon. But there is no reference either to the 'Rājasūya' or the 'Svayaṃvara' in any of his inscriptions. Even the Rambhāmañjarī Nāṭikā of Nayacandra Sūri of which Jayacandra is the principal hero records no such facts.

Jayacandra's mind like that of his grandfather was also bent on religion and learning. He performed the gift of a tulāpuruṣa.[2] He highly honoured Śrī Harṣa, the author of the Naiṣadhacarita.[3]

The Ghazni kings of Lahore referred to above did not long remain unmolested. The Ghori kings soon invaded India and supplanted them. About the year 1191 A.C. Shiha-bud-din Ghori made up his mind to wage a holy war upon Āryāvarta. The misunderstanding among the Cāhamānas and the Gāhaḍavālas was advantageous to the Moslems. Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna was not blind to the danger that now threatened Āryāvarta. He asked the kings of North India to join him and they all did. At the Battle of Tarain, Shiha-bud-din was defeated. But next year he returned with a mightier force. The Hindus were unprepared and they were defeated. Pṛthvīrāja was captured and murdered in cold blood. Delhi and Ajmere fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. Next year Shiha-bud-din invaded Kanauj. A battle was fought at Candwar and Jayacandra fell fighting.[4] Smith says that the Muhammadans then devastated Kanauj and occupied it.[5] This is not true. The account of this expedition is given in many Muhammadan histories but only three of them deserve our credence for they were written at the time of the event.[6] They are:—

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1 JASB, 1922, p. 81. 2 EI, IV, p. 124-25.

3 JASB, VII, p. 757,—"tāmbūladvayam-āsanaṃ ca labhate yaḥ Kānyakubjeśvarāt."

4 EHI, p. 400. 5 JRAS, 1908, p. 791.

6 JASB, N. S. VII, pp. 757ff.

1. Taj-ul-Ma'asir
2. Kamil-ut-tawarikh
3. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.

These histories, though they give detailed accounts of the subjugation of Delhi and Ajmere, have not a single word to say about the capture of Kanauj. In fact, we have positive evidence to show that Kanauj was not captured by Shiha-bud-din Ghori.

The epitaph on the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj was not written on the battle field of Candwar. The discovery of the Macchlisahr grant of Hariścandra has opened a new page in the history of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. Though the full significance of this grant and of another inscription, namely the Belkhara Inscription of 1197 A.C., has been emphasized by R. D. Banerji[1] as early as 1912, yet it is a pity that the students of Indian history who have subsequently written on the Gāhaḍavālas have not utilised the informations contained in this learned paper. This inscription proves that Kanauj was not conquered by Shiha-bud-din and that after the death of Jayacandra his son Hariścandra became king and made a land-grant in 1200 A.C. A son of Jayacandra named Hariścandra is known to us from two of Jayacandra's own inscriptions, which were issued on the occasions of Jātakarma[2] and Nāmakaraṇa[3] of the prince. The Macchlisahr grant introduces to us Hariścandra as a ruling prince. It is dated V. S. 1257 (1200 A.C.). In this grant Hariścandra has adopted the same title as those of his predecessors, namely, Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramamāheśvara-gajapati-narapati-aśvapati-rājatrayādhipati-vividhavidyāvicāravācaspati-Śrīmad-Hariścandradeva-vijayī. In it Hariścandra is eulogised as one who spread his unequalled fame spotless in the world and who eclipsed the splendour of the sun by means of the dust that was raised by the hoofs of his innumerable horses which pervaded the circle of the earth and gradually encompassed the sky.

Hariścandra was only eighteen years of age when he was called to the throne in 1193 A.C. At this tender age he had to face an enemy who was almost invincible and who had at that time the resources of the kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmere at his command. Yet such an enemy, at whose sight many a war-worn veteran would have turned pale, Hariśchandra kept at bay.

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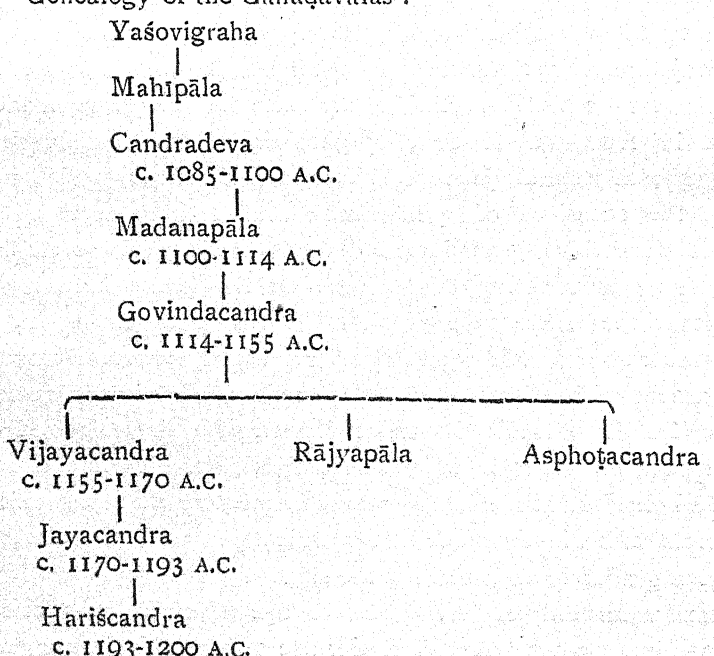
1 Ibid.

2 EI, IV, pp. 126-27. 3 IA, XVIII, p. 136.

The Belkhara Inscription is dated V. S. 1253. It records the erection of the pillar on which the inscription is incised by one Rānaka Vijayakarṇa of Veḷaṣarā (i.e., Bel khara). It does not, however, mention the name of Rānaka's Gāhaḍavāla overlord but simply refers to him as Śrīmat-Kānyakubja-vijayarājye. According to R. D. Banerji[1] this Rānaka was probably a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavāla empire, who after the fall of Jayacandra continued to maintain himself in independence in the fastnesses of the Vindhya Ranges. He never declared his independence openly, but continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the Gāhaḍavālas so long as they existed in Kanauj.

Hariścandra was the last of the Gāhaḍavālas. The Macchlisahr grant is dated V. S. 1257 (1200 A.C.). How long he was on the throne after this date we do not know. The ancient city of Kanauj was not conquered by the Muhammadans before 1226 A.C.

Genealogy of the Gāhaḍavālas :



ATUL KRISHNA SUR

1 JASB, N. S., VII, pp. 757ff.

On some points connected with the land revenue administration in Bengal during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries A. C.

The records that throw light upon the methods of land-revenue administration in Bengal during the period of the Gupta Emperors and their immediate successors consist in the first place of a series of seven copper-plate inscriptions which may be serially numbered as follows :—

I. Dhānāidaha (mutilated) copper-plate inscription of the time of the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta I, dated $\frac{113 \text{ G.E.}}{432\text{-}433 \text{ A.C.}}$

II. Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta I, dated $\frac{124 \text{ G.E.}}{443\text{-}444 \text{ A.C.}}$

III. Do. dated $\frac{129 \text{ G.E.}}{449\text{-}450 \text{ A.C.}}$

IV. Do. of the time of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta (date and year lost).

V. Do. of the time of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta (date and year lost).

VI. Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta, dated $\frac{159 \text{ G.E.}}{479\text{-}480 \text{ A.C.}}$

VII. Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of the Gupta Emperor Bhānu (?)gupta, dated $\frac{214 \text{ G. E.}}{533\text{-}534 \text{ A.C.}}$[1]

To these have to be added another set of four inscriptions of a

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1 For references see Ep. Ind., XVII, 23 (revised reading of No. I); Ibid., XV. 7 (reading of Nos. II, V, and VII); Ibid., XVII, p. 193 (for correction of dates). For information about contents of No. 6, I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. N. Dixit who is editing it in the Ep. Ind.

very similar character from the Faridpur District of Eastern Bengal which have been assigned on palæographical grounds to the latter half of the sixth and the first part of the seventh centuries. We propose to number them serially as follows :—

A—Faridpur grant of the time of the Emperor Dharmāditya, dated his third regnal year.

B—Do. of the time of the Emperor Dharmāditya, without date.

C—Do. of the time of the Emperor Gopacandra, of his 19th regnal year.

D—Ghāgrāhāti grant of the time of the Emperor Samācāradeva.[1]

The first question that arises in connection with these sets of records is the nature of the lands disposed of and the condition of their tenure. As regards the first point the most complete description is given in No. VII which comprises the following items :—

revenue-free (*samudayabāhya*),
untilled (*aprahata*),
fallow land (*khila kṣetra*).[2]

As the rate of sale mentioned in this particular grant is also used in II, III and V and as all these four inscriptions belong to the same district of Koṭivarṣa, it is reasonable to conclude that the same class of lands is to be understood in all these cases. The same also seems to be the case with Nos. III and VI where the lands apparently belong to different districts and the rate of sale (viz., two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of land)[3] is also different from the above. Indeed the land is

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1 For references to these inscriptions see IA, 1910 (A B and C) and JASB, 1911 (D). The authenticity of these grants denied by R. D. Banerjee (JASB 1910, pp. 432-434) and vindicated by F. E. Pargiter (JASB 1911, pp. 492-498) has since been established by the discovery of the Dāmodarpur plates.

2 The above follows the translation of R.G. Basak (Ep. Ind., XV). In the present paper the following abbreviations will be used. R.G.B = Radha Govinda Basak ; F. E. P = F. E. Pargiter ; A M J C = Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2.

3 The gold coins of the Gupta Emperors consisted of the *dīnāras* connected with the Latin '*Denarius*,' and the native *suvarṇas*. *Kulyāvāpa*, tr. by F. E. P. (IA 1910, p. 214) as 'so much land as is usually sown with a *kulyā* of seed'.

expressly declared in III to be, as in the other cases, revenue-free, not previously settled, fallow land. These terms, we think, can only refer to the unappropriated waste lying on the outskirts of the settled villages. Indirect evidence to this effect is furnished by the vague descriptions of the situation of the assigned lands, and above all by the fact that the lands at the time of being made over to the assignees are required to be severed according to the specified measures.[1] This can only mean that the lands before this time formed part and parcel of the unappropriated waste. Whether such lands after their disposal continued to be revenue-free is a question which is not answered in the inscriptions, but the probability is that they became subject to a progressively increased taxation till the normal limit was reached. If this were to be the case with the waste lands, we may be justified in concluding that the cultivable village area was not only assessed for the usual taxes but also surveyed for revenue purposes according to the prevailing standards of land-measurement.

As regards the conditions of tenure these grants are contemplated or declared to be held—

according to the custom of non-destruction of the principal[2].....I,

in perpetuity, according to the custom of (non-destruction of) the principal[3].....II,

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1 The unit of land measure mentioned in the above groups of inscriptions is 8×9 reeds (I, IV, VI) and 8×9 reeds "by the hand of the famous and upright Śivacandra" (A & C). This unit, as Pargiter explains, was evidently an oblong consisting of 8 reeds in breadth and 9 reeds in length. With it Pargiter aptly compares the *kāṇi*, the commonest land measure in East Bengal which is not a square but an oblong measuring 24×20 or 24×16 or 12×10 reeds, each reed consisting of a certain number of cubits. An earlier instance of this kind is furnished by the measure called *Prajāpati's hand* in the Arthaśāstra (II, 19).

2 R. G. B. reads "*nīvidharmakṣayeṇa* and tr. 'on condition of destruction of non-transferability'. As this would run counter to all other inscriptions of the same group, I suggest the reading *nīvidharmākṣayeṇa* which I explain as a *tatpuruṣa* compound meaning 'according to the custom of non-destruction of *nīvidharma*'.

3 I follow tr. of *nīvidharma* by R. G. B.

with the right of perpetual endowment, and according to the custom of non-destruction (as above)[1].....
.....III,

in perpetuity, according to the custom of non-destruction (as above), and without the right of alienation[2]
.....IV,

with the right of perpetual endowment.....VII.

A perusal of the above list shows a substantial agreement as regards the conditions of tenure among all the inscriptions of the first group. The land grants in every case are perpetual, but non-transferable. It would thus appear that the State reserved its right to the unappropriated waste to such an extent as to exclude possessors by right of sale from alienation of their holdings.

A few words may next be said as regards the authorities entrusted with the disposal of the waste lands. Nos. II, III and VII refer to the authority that receives the application (*vijñāpya*) for purchase, obtains its verification from the record-keepers (*pustapālas*), secures the sale-price and conveys the land, but nothing is mentioned about its identity. No. I distinctly mentions the heads of families[3], named and unnamed Brāhmaṇas, and the officer in charge of 8 *kulas* in the village[4] as receiving the application while it mentions neighbouring heads of families[5] as conveying the land after severance according to the specified measures. No. IV expressly indicates the officer in charge of the *kulas*, the village headman, the heads of families and the leading

1 I construe *apradākṣayanīvi* (F. W. Thomas's amended reading in Ep.Ind.,XV, p.133) as *aprada=akṣayanīvi* in the light of the expressions *apradādharma* in VII and *akṣayanīvi* in VI, and explain as above. Mr. R. G. B. construes the above as *apradāksaya°* or *aprada-akṣaya°* and tr. as 'according to the custom of nullification or continuation of the condition of non-transferability' (AMJC, p. 481).

2 *Apratikara* in the original.

3 *Kuṭumbins*, usually tr. as householders. I prefer to take it in its stricter sense of heads of households. Cf. Yāj., II, 45 who distinguishes clearly between the *kuṭumbins* and the *rikthins*.

4 I adopt R. G. B.'s restoration and translation of *grāmikāṣṭa-kulādhikaraṇa*.

5 *Prativāsikuṭumbins* in the original.

men[1] of Palāśavṛndaka[2] as receiving the application, while they send information of the same to the principal *prakṛtis* (subjects), the heads of families and the Brāhmaṇas of Caṇḍagrāma,[3] while the officer (in charge of 8 *kulas*), heads of families and the leading men and so forth convey the land after inspecting it and severing it as above. No. VI mentions a district officer and the office of the district head-quarters at Puṇḍraravardhana as receiving the application, while they send information of the same to the Brāhmaṇas, the leading men and the heads of families.

The difference in the nature of the superintending authority in the foregoing records corresponds to other differences as well. While Nos. II, III and VII refer to the same district (Koṭivarṣa), No. I refers itself to the district of Khāta- or (Khāda)pāra. No. IV mentions only the division (*bhukti*) of Puṇḍraravardhana but not the district (*viṣaya*), while No. VI mentions neither the one nor the other but merely the capital town of the same name. With this may be mentioned the fact already noticed that the prevailing rate of sale in Nos. IV and VI is different from the prevailing rate in Nos. II, III and VII. It is possible that we have here two sets of administrative arrangements for the disposal of the unappropriated waste. In the one group (Nos. I and IV) the administrative authority consists of the officers in charge of the 8 *kulas*, the leading men, the heads of families, the village headmen and so forth. It would thus seem that we have to deal with a mixed body of officials and non-officials. As regards the other group (Nos. II, III, VI and VII) it will be noticed that No. VI expressly contemplates the distict officer and the office of the disrict head-quarters as receiving the application. Moreover, in No. VII which alone has preserved the seal intact the legend shows that the charter was issued by the office of the district head-quarters of Koṭivarṣa.[4] From this it would follow that the authority charged with the disposal of the waste lands was

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1 I adopt the tr. of *mahattara* by F.E.P. (IA, 1910, p. 213). For the implication of this term see below.

2 Apparently, as R.G.B. thinks, the head-quarters of the provincial government.

3 Probably the village on whose outskirts the land was situated.

4 *Koṭivarṣādhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇasya* in the original. *Adhiṣṭhāna* by itself means only a locality or a town but, as here used, it must mean the head-quarters of the district.

at least in the first instance the head-quarters office of the district in whose jurisdiction the land was situated. A connecting link between these two groups is furnished by Nos. IV and VI which contemplate the Brāhmaṇas, the leading men and the heads of families apparently of the near-most village as receiving information of the application for purchase, possibly to enable them to offer their objections, if any.[1]

While on this subject we may say a few words on the constitution of the office of the district head-quarters just mentioned. Nos. II, III, V and VII describe the district officer under different titles as carrying on the administration of the office with a guild-president, the leading merchant, the leading artisan and the leading scribe[2] at the top. This has been variously interpreted to mean 'an administrative board of the district',[3] 'the royal tribunal in a city'[4] and with less justification as 'the office and probably the court of a district officer', and 'a secretariat and advisory council'.[5] None of these explanations helps to throw light upon the affinities and the true character of the *adhikaraṇa*. An interesting side-light is thrown upon this point by the references in the general literature and specialiy in the famous Sanskrit drama called the Mṛcchakaṭika whose generally acknowledged date falls within the limits of the present period. A court of justice called *adhikaraṇa* is mentioned in the Daśakumāracarita and judges called *Dharmādhikaraṇas* are referred to in the Pañcatantra.[6] Above all, Act IX of the Mṛcchakaṭika describing the famous trial scene refers to the king's judges (called *adhikaraṇikas* and *adhikaraṇabhojakas*) sitting in the court-house (*adhikaraṇamaṇḍapa*), who are assisted by the guild-president (*śreṣṭhin*), scribes (*kāyasthas*) and so forth. It will be noticed that the leading scribe of the epigraphs is represented by the scribes, of the drama, while the guild-president is

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1 *Akṣudraprakṛtikuṭumbins* of No. IV evidently corresponds to the *brāhmaṇottaramahattarādikuṭumbins* of No. VI.

2 *Nagaraśreṣṭhī, sārthavaha, prathamakulika, prathamakāyastha* in the original. For the third term I adopt the tentative rendering of R. G. B.

3 R. G. B. (AMJC).

4 R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, 2nd ed., Add. and Corr.

5 Beni Prasad, *The State*, p. 297.

6 See Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 134.

common to both. It would thus appear that the *adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa* of the Gupta Empire had its prototype in the *adhikaraṇa* at the capital contemplated in the drama, which by a natural extension of meaning (such as is seen in the later word *cutchery*) came to be applied to the office of the district head-quarters as well. The above comparison, moreover, shows that in the place of the vague list of unspecified officers of the drama the inscriptions mention the leading artisan and the leading merchant besides the guild-president and the chief scribe. If it be supposed that the *adhikaraṇa* of the drama represents the loosely organised institution of earlier times, that of the Gupta empire would be a development of the same with a well defined organisation and with the addition of administrative functions as well. The reversion of the Gupta institution to the type of administrative boards ascribed by Megasthenes to the Maurya empire is no doubt a witness of the enduring influence of the popular *pañcāyets.*

We have thus found two sets of authorities entrusted with the administration of the waste lands, viz., a selected body of officials and the office of the district head-quarters. In the remaining group of inscriptions the administering authority is more uniform but not so well-defined. There the authority receiving the application for purchase and disposing of the same is described as—

the *adhikaraṇa* and the *prakṛtis* headed by eighteen specified leading men of the district[1].....(A),

the *adhikaraṇa* headed by named chief scribe[2] and leading men of the district.....(B),

the *adhikaraṇa* headed by named chief scribe and leading men as well as unnamed principal *vyāpārins*.....(C),

the *adhikaraṇa* headed by named chief scribe, the leading men of the district and other leading men as well as unnamed principal *vyavahārins*.....(D).

In A, B and C, these authorities are also directly addressed by the applicant for grant of the land concerned to him and in the

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1 *Viṣayamahattara* tr. as above by F. E. P. who compares the *janapada-mahattara* of the *Daśakumāracarita.*

2 *Jyeṣṭhakāyastha.* Less satisfactory trs. are 'oldest official' (F.E.P.) and 'chief secretary' (R. G. B.). A chief secretary would be out of place in a district office and a better equivalent for *jyeṣṭhakāyastha* would be the Sheristadar of the Collector's office in British India at present.

first-named inscription they expressly signify the sale of the land by their own direction. The vague and indefinite character of the agency contemplated in the above inscriptions is obvious at the first sight. Of its constituent parts the *adhikaraṇa* headed by the chief scribe evidently corresponds to the Gupta institution of the same name. For the rest the leading men of the district and the other leading men are apparently not private individuals, but are persons concerned with the administrative functions, for the *mahāmahattaras* and *mahattaras* are included in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla[1] in a list of persons entrusted with the administration of the district (*viṣayavyavahārins*). The *vyāpārins* of C are evidently identical with the *vyavahārins* of D both meaning administrative agents.[2] With them may be compared the *vyavahāri-jānapadas* of the Tippera plate of Lokanātha and the unnamed *viṣayavyavahārins* mentioned in the grant of Dharmapāla aforesaid. We are inclined to identify them with the *prakṛtis* of A, though the latter has the general sense of 'subjects.' It would thus appear that the authority charged with the administration of the land concerned consisted, in this case, of the district office and many named and unnamed minor officials. With this may be connected the fact that the legends on the seals of the inscriptions in all the cases in which they are preserved (A, B and C) refer to the office of the district (*viṣayādhikaraṇa*) in which the lands are evidently situated.

We are now in a position to discuss the question whether in the aforesaid cases the State shared the ownership of the land with private parties. A definite answer to this question is suggested by

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1 Ep. Ind., IV.

2 *Vyāpārins*, translated as 'principal traders of the district' (F. E. P.) and 'chief business-men' (R. G. B. in AMJC); but '*vyāpāram kurvati*' is frequently used in the inscriptions in the sense of carrying on affairs of state, e.g., in the grant of the time of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor Mahendrapāla II (Ep. Ind., XIV, No. 13). Also compare *vyāpārāya* in C said with reference to the district officers. *Vyavahārins*, translated as 'men of business' (F. E. P.) and 'administering agents or business men' (R. G. B.); but *samvyavarati* is used in all the above inscriptions in the sense of 'administering' and translated as such by R. G. B. The *vyavahārin* is mentioned in a list of officials charged with the execution of the land grant in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (Ep. Ind., XII, No. 13).

Professor R. G. Basak[1] who rejects the idea of State-ownership of the lands concerned on the following grounds :—

(a) That the State could not alienate lands "without the consent or approval of the people's representatives, the *mahattaras* and other business men of the province and the district, and sometimes even the common folk."

(b) That the Faridpur grant No. I [A above] mentions "in very clear terms that 1/6th of the sale proceeds in these transactions will go to the royal exehequer according to the law." "It seems very clear, then, that the remaining 5/6th of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies."

His own idea, vaguely suggested, rather than indicated, is that the ownership of the land belonged jointly to the State and the people, or that it belonged (on the analogy of South Indian village assemblies) to the village assemblies subject to the supervision of the king. In the same context he takes these grants to "belong to a period when the crown began to be recognised as absolute owner of all land" in place of the people who were the original proprietors.

A careful consideration of the above arguments shows that they are not based upon sufficient grounds. We have already shown reasons for holding that the persons whom Mr. Basak understands to be the people's representatives were more likely minor officials. In the two instances (IV and VI) in which the Brāhmaṇas, the principal subjects and the heads of families are mentioned, they merely receive information[2] of the application for purchase, it may be, for the hearing of any possible objections on their part. In any case the idea of "consent or approval" of these persons being necessary for the performance of the sale is not warranted by the evidence.

The second argument is based upon a mistranslation of the term *dharmaṣaḍbhāga* which Mr. Basak, following the authority of the late Mr. Pargiter[3], translates as 1/6th of the sale proceeds. We may compare it with the similar clauses in IV and VII *dharmaparatāvāptiḥ* meaning that the Emperor would thereby gain spiritual merit and still more the clause in VI '*arthopacayo* [*dharm*]*maṣaḍbhāgāpyāyanañ ca bhavati*' meaning that the emperor would acquire increase of wealth as well as promotion of 1/6th of the spiritual

1 AMJC, pp. 486-491.

2 *Anudarśayanti* in IV, *anubodhayanti* in VI.

3 JBSB, 1910, p. 197.

merit[1]. Now this comparison shows that the spiritual merit (*dharma*) is distinguished from the sale proceeds. The true explanation of the above phrase is to be found in the sacred texts[2] making the king eligible to 1/6th of the spiritual merits as well as demerits of his subjects. As in all these cases the applicant for purchase of land signifies his intention of disposing of it for pious purposes, it is evident that the king in granting the application would share in the resulting spiritual merit.

The mention of South Indian village communities in this connection seems to us to be wholly inappropriate. In the Cola empire the village assemblies which had a well-defined constitution and functions themselves exercised the right of purchase and sale of the village lands, the intervention of the State officers (*adhikārins* and so forth) being only occasional in character. In North Bengal under the imperial rule of the Guptas the village headman and heads of families who may be held to be representatives of the village community administered the State lands only in some cases with the association of officers in charge of S. Kulas, while in other cases it was the district office that formed the administering authority. In East Bengal under the rule of the independent sovereigns of this period the representatives of the village community, if there were any, do not figure at all in connection with the administration of the land, which is entrusted to the district office and minor officials. Due weight must also be given to the fact that the charter for the disposal of the lands in the above cases was issued, as the surviving seal-legends show, by the district office alone. Nor must we omit finally to mention the elaborate official procedure of the above transactions consisting usually of three district processes, viz., formal application by the intending purchaser, verification of the application by record-keepers, and severance of the land, sold together with conveyance of the same on payment of the sale-price.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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1 Also cf. the maxim quoted in D for justifying the grant, viz., that the land infested by wild animals is profitless as regards wealth that should accrue to the king, while land which is made fit for enjoyment by calves brings wealth as well as spiritual merit to the king.

2 Cf. Mbh., V, 131, 12 ; XII, 69, 79ff ; XIII, 75, 5-10 etc.

Studies in the History of Vijayanagar

I

Sources of the History and their Value

One who happens to visit the magnificent ruins of Hampi and sees the broken palaces, dilapidated temples, shattered foundations, fallen underground structures, and crumbling fort-walls, feels an unbounded curiosity to know what should have been the splendour of the city during its palmy days when it was the capital of a living empire. The spectacle is so imposing in all its deadly silence that one yearns to get an idea of the history of the city; but alas! nowhere does one find a continuous and unbroken history of the empire. One reads in the literary works of the age, and in the few accounts of the European travellers who visited India during the 15th and the 16th centuries, about the greatness and splendour of the city which was graced by the courts of mighty monarchs who were men of exceptional attainments, whose wealth and power were simply dazzling and whose armies were dreaded all over southern India.

Modern research has not thrown much light on the subject. Ferishta's chronicle, the narratives of a host of foreign travellers who visited the city during the 15th and the 16th centuries, the Śāsanas issued by the kings of Vijayanagar as well as their feudatories and the literary works of the age constitute the only sources of its history.

The chronicle of Ferishta is generally regarded as the primary basis for the construction of the history of Vijayanagar. The chronicler was born about 1570 A.C., and had probably finished his work by the year 1608. A detailed study of his work convinces us that his book cannot be accepted as an authentic source of the history of the Hindu empire. In the first place, he was a Muhammadan by birth and was honoured at the courts of Ahmednagar and Bijapur as a court-poet by Nizam Shah and Adil Shah who 'heaped favours on him.' Enjoying the patronage and bounty of the Muhammadan Sultans, he tells us that he was 'urged' by them 'to compile a history of the conquests of Islam in Hind, of the sovereigns of Delhi and of the Bahamini kings of the Deccan.' To show his gratitude and [illegible] the task and we read in his Preface

that his object was 'to commemorate the deeds of the illustrious monarchs.' A work which was written under such circumstances, with the avowed object of paying tribute to his patrons, to extol the Muhammadan Sultans in glowing terms, and to depreciate their rivals and opponents, the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, cannot be accepted as a trustworthy historical account. Still another defect in Ferishta is that the author did not begin his writing till about 1608 A.C., and was not in any sense a contemporary recorder. In preparing his work, he had no other source except the prejudicial materials which were gathered from all quarters of the Muhammadan dominions and placed before him. With all his desire to present the real facts, he does not seem to do so. His preface gives us a long list of the books he consulted; but they are all Muhammadan accounts, and not one record of the Hindu kings, bearing the stamp of their testimony, is quoted in all his work. He made no use of either the Śāsanas which were issued by the Rājās of Vijayanagar or the literary works of the age.

The following quotation from his preface to his work in Briggs' translation shows that he wrote more as a zealous Islamite than as an impartial historian:—"The height of his ambition amounts only to the desire that his history may rank in comparison with theirs, as the Caaba at Mecca does with the holy Temple of Jerusalem and as Ally ranks with the prophet Mahomed."

Sewell, the author of 'A Forgotten Empire', is so impressed with the partiality of Ferishta that, although he was obliged to use the book as his primary source, he tells us in more than one place that 'we must never forget that the narrative of Ferishta is necessarily tinged with bias in favour of the Musalmans.' If he misrepresents the character and achievements of the Hindu Rājās, he magnifies the greatness of his co-religionists and patrons in several ways. He does not make any reference to the fanaticism of some of the Sultans and their iconoclastic zeal. In the writing of his narrative he considered it his chief business to describe the victories of his sovereigns, leaving aside the defeats which they sustained at the hands of the Hindu kings. Still more regrettable is the fact that some of the powerful Rājās are pictured as impotent sovereigns. Thus while Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya received the unstinted praise of all the travellers, poets and other writers of the age as a versatile monarch of wonderful military, administrative and literary talents, Ferishta describes him as a weak

and glorious achievements of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the splendid architectural structures which were built by him and some of which still remain as a monument of his greatness, do not find even a passing reference in the chronicle of Ferishta.

The defect of Ferishta lies not only in the misrepresentation, but also in the ignorance, of actual facts. He confused the dates and the names of the kings of Vijayanagar. He called Bukka I 'Kiṣen Roy' throughout his work. He collected information of the Saṅgama dynasty more than two hundred years after the expiry of the dynasty, and misnamed the kings of the first dynasty; but it is curious that even in the account of the last dynasty, information about which he could have easily obtained, he committed similar mistakes. Veṅkaṭādri was killed in the battle of Tallikota; but Ferishta speaks of him as if he survived the battle and confuses him with Vīra Veṅkaṭapati, son of Tirumala Rāya. For these reasons we cannot rely too much upon the chronicler in reconstructing the history of Vijayanagar.

The accounts of the various foreign travellers who visited the city of Vijayanagar in the 15th and 16th centuries and who left records of their personal observations as well as of the information which they obtained from hearsay, form no doubt a valuable source of the history of Vijayanagar. The narratives of Paeas, Nuniz, Frederic Barbosa and of other travellers, although insufficient to gratify the curiosity of the twentieth century reader, possess one great advantage over the Muhammadan chronicler in that they are impartial accounts of unbiassed observers. But these accounts, given by European travellers who visited the city during different periods of its history, have their own drawbacks. Being foreigners to India, they could hardly be expected to be conversant with the language, manners and customs of the people whom they observed, with the result that they could not give a correct picture of the age. A study of their accounts leaves the reader in ignorance of some of the important problems in the history of the country.

The travellers were struck more with the outward splendour and glory of the city, with the glare and glitter of the royal courts or Durbars of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, than with the exact internal conditions of the people, the actual relations of the Hindu kings with the Muhammadan Sultans and such other vital facts which are more valuable and interesting to the historian of a later day. Even if they should make any stray statement on such topics, we can lay but little trust on their evidence; for, the foreign

travellers could scarcely be expected to have a proper grasp of the situation. If we are to doubt the correctness of their accounts on matters that happened during the period when the travellers actually stayed in India, we should attach much less importance to their accounts of events which happened before they set foot on the counry. Viewed from this point, the travellers throw any appreciable light on but a few and short periods in the history of Vijayanagar.

The most authentic and accurate information is obtained from the inscriptions or the Śāsanas which were issued by the kings of Vijayanagar. The inscriptions, which are now at our disposal, are of varied character. They were engraved on plates, on boulders, on pillars and on walls in Sanskrit, Kanarese and Telugu. The Śāsanas, collected together and arranged chronologically, contain a treasure-house of information, indispensable to the historian. They in general describe the achievements of the king who issued them, the pedigree of the reigning king and the year (generally counting from the Śaka era) when he ruled. No doubt they furnish invaluable material for the history of the country and supply what are almost the only genuine aids available for the compilation of a history. But they perplex the historian in a number of ways. Grants were made not only by the reigning Rājā but also by his sons, grandsons, the nobility of the country, etc. The donors of these grants are very often entitled as 'Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara' 'Rājādhirāja' 'Mahārāja' 'Vīrapratāpa' and so on. In such cases, the problem as to which of the grantors was the ruler remains unsolved by the plate. Another difficulty, for instance, is that side by side with the inscriptions of Deva Rāya II, the Saṅgama king, there are also found those of his sons Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa and those of the founder of the second dynasty, Saluva Narasiṃha. The difficulty in this case is that we are not in a position to ascertain with any amount of precision the line of succession and the particular period when each of them ruled the country. Unless the owner of the 'Śāsana' styled himself in it the Rājā of Vijayanagar we cannot believe that he was the ruling prince; for, a host of inscriptions are found bearing all the titles or birudas which according to traditional custom are put after the name of every distinguished prince, king or no king, of Vijayanagar. Still another difficulty that confronts the historian is that these inscriptions generally include literary compositions of established scholars and court-poets who are liable to exaggeration. Specially the Carnata Inscriptions, with all the valuable information they

contain, include to a large extent very high eulogies. A typical example is quoted below :

"The world of gods having been taken as his portion by Kṛṣṇa-Rāya, after him his younger brother of meritorious deeds, king Acyuta took the world of the earth for his portion, subduing his enemies, surpassing Indra and fulfilling the desires of the learned. The moon of his fame moves in the world in all the *tithis*, and is ever waxing, ever giving joy to the Cakora birds, shining by day as well as by night, hateful to the lotuses. Swifter than thought or the wind are his horsemen, the trampling of whose hoofs turns the world to clouds of dust,—why mention the slow-paced horses of Indra ? Fanned with cāmaras by groups of the wives of hostile kings, distinguished as Rājādhirāja, the terror of foreign kings, and by many other titles ; often had he made the sixteen manner of gifts in Gokarṇa, Saṅgama, Nivṛtti, Suvarṇa, Śaṅkha, Śoṇādri, Parvata, Viriñcipura ..... Supreme is this king Acyuta established on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara, rejoicing in the fulness of fame, excelling Nṛga, Nala, Nahuṣa and other inferior kings, the home of unequalled valour and generosity ... ..." (Epigraphica Carnatica, vol. 3, part I, Maṇḍya Taluq, p. 45.)

It may be observed that the king on whom all this praise is lavished was Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's 'degenerate successor whose feebleness, selfishness, cowardice and cruelty paved the way for the final destruction of the Empire'; and who is described by Nuniz, a personal observer of the king as "a man of very little honesty who gave himself over to vice and tyranny and whose people and captains were much discontented with his evil life and inclinations."

Last but not the least in importance are the literary works of the age. Works written in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese contain valuable information, throwing light on some of the most disputed points in the history of the kingdom. The time when the city attained the very acme of its power saw an intellectual awakening which resulted in the production of innumerable works of splendid poetry. These works place before us a succession of sovereigns ruling over a vast empire in which the people enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity to an extent unheard of in the annals of the history of India. The special value of the poets' accounts is that they are given by men of the age who enjoyed the glories of the period. Besides giving general pictures of the Empire in its glory, every poet describes in the beginning of his work the genealogy of the ruler

to whom the work is dedicated and these genealogical tables are of use to us in that the poets were the men whom we may expect to be best acquainted with the ancestry of their patrons. We may therefore rely on the poets so far as their genealogical tables go; but when they begin to enumerate the achievements of the kings we should indeed be more cautious. In such places we are to look upon them with as much suspicion, and perhaps more, as when we read Ferishta's accounts of the work of the Sultans.

Among such works of the age, Narapativijayam, otherwise known as Rāmarājīyam may be taken as typical. The author of this work, Venkayya, describes the genealogy and the glories of the Narapati princes; but the work does not contain the particulars of Rāma Rājā's conflict with the Muhammadan princes and his death in the battle of Tallikota in 1564. To gratify his lord whose lavish bounty he enjoyed, the poet not only avoided referring to the defeats of the Narapati Rājās but also used too much hyperbole to make his work trustworthy.

These are the several kinds of sources of the history of Vijayanagar and with the help of some of them, Sewell constructed his 'A Forgotten Empire.' He is the first historian who has attemped to give a continuous and connected history of the kingdom which was as good as lost to us. Before the publication of his work, the very existence of the Empire was hardly remembered even in its native land and we owe him a heavy debt of gratitude for having brought to light the greatness of the Hindu Empire. Excellent as his work is, it cannot be accepted as a full and perfect history of the Hindu kings. It suffers from the neglect of some of the best sources available. In producing his work he took Ferishta as his primary basis. Besides, he used the information he obtained from the narratives of two Portuguese travellers, Paeas and Nuniz, whose accounts he translated and appended to his work. In points where Ferishta and the travellers are silent, Sewell, perhaps, tried to fill up the gap by guessing the approximate truth. Thus he says that, "Tuluva Narasiṃha murdered the two sons of Saluva Narasiṃha, seized the throne and held it till his death" (A Forgotten Empire, p. 110). There is epigraphical evidence that Saluva Narasiṃha's son, Immadi Narasiṃha, actually ruled the country (vide Epigraphica Indica, vol. VII, p. 74, Devulapalli Śāsana). Another such error is where Sewell says that after the battle of Tallikota "in 1568 Tirumala murdered his sovereign Sadāśiva and seized the throne for himself" (A Forgotten Empire,

p. 212). There are many strong epigraphical evidences to show that Sadāśiva ruled as *de jure* king for many years after the battle of Tallikota and that Tirumala steered the ship of state keeping him as the nominal king (vide Epigraphica Indica, vol. IX, p. 338 and Inscriptions on Copper-Plates and Stones in Nellore District collected by A. Butterworth and V. Venugopalachettiar, vol. II, p. 869). More of such historical errors in 'A Forgotten Empire' will be shown in the articles that follow upon this subject. The point that needs mention here is that Sewell did not make proper use of the Śāsanas and the literary works of the age and that some of his statements do not stand on substantial grounds. The literary works of the Hindu authors of the age and the epigraphical records have to be given more importance than the sources upon which he mainly depended in constructing the history of the Hindu Empire.

V. NARASIMHAM

The Karoura of Ptolemy

Writing about the year 150 A.C., Ptolemy mentions the following as the inland cities of Limyrike between the Pseudostomos and the Baris[1] :—

PASAGE, MASTANOUR, KOURELLOUR, POUNNATTA, where is beryl, KAROURA, the royal seat of KEROBOTHRAS, AREMBOUR, BIDERIS, PANTIPOLIS, ADARIMA, KOREOOR.

This royal seat of Kerobothras still remains one of the puzzles of ancient South Indian history; for according to the early classical writers the capital of this prince was MOUZIRIS which was also an entrepôt of trade and this city of MOUZIRIS is mentioned by Ptolemy as "an emporium" on the coast along with TYNDIS, the mouth of the river Pseudostomos, KOREOURA, BAKAREI, and the mouth of the river Baris.[2] The river, Pseudostomos, has been identified as the river PERIYAR, in the present Cochin state, and Baris as the KALLADA which pours its waters near Quilon in the Travancore state.

1 Mc.Crindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 180.

2 *Ibid*, p. 48.

Among the classical writers Pliny is the first to make a definite reference to the ports and kingdoms on the west coast of South India. His *Natural History* was completed in 77 A.C., two years before his death. In it he says :—"From thence (Ocelis) they sail with the wind called Hippalos in forty days to the first commercial station of India named Muziris.....The ruler of the country at the time which I speak was *Coelobothras*" (according to another manuscript *Celobotras*).[1] In the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,* "written a little later after the death of Pliny between the years A.C. 80 and 89,"[2] we have as follows :—"Then follow NAOURA and TUNDIS, the first marts of LIMURIKE, and after these MOUZIRIS and NELKUNDA, the seats of government. To the kingdom under the sway of KEPROBOTRAS, TUNDIS is subject, a village of great note situate near the sea. MOUZIRIS which pertains to the same realm is a city at the height of prosperity."[3]. The next writer to allude to these places is Ptolemy.

It is agreed on all hands that LIMYRIKE stands for DAMIRICE or Tamilakam, MOUZIRIS is Muyiricotta or Muyirikodu comprised within the limits of the present town of Cranganore and TUNDIS or TYNDIS is Kadalundi a few miles from Calicut. It is also certain that Kepro-, Celo-, and Cœlo- bothras is identical with the KERALAPUTRAS mentioned by Asoka.[4]

What were the limits of the territory of Keralaputra ? Bishop Caldwell says :—"The name in Sanskrit, and in full, is *Keralaputra,* but both *Kera* and *Kela* are Dravidian abbreviations of *Kerala.* They are Malayalam, however, not Tamil abbreviations and the district over which Keralaputra ruled is that in which the Malayalam language is now spoken."[5] He confines, therefore, the dominion of Keralaputra to the country west of the Ghats, to the narrow coast strip between the mountain and the sea. But *Kera* does not seem to have been an abbreviation of the Sanskrit Kerala ; instead, *Kerala* itself seems to have been a variant of CHERA. "Cheraman," says Dr. Gundert,[6] "is the name of the whole dynasty of Chera or Kerala rulers ; for these two names are the same, Kerala being only

1 Quoted in Logan, Malabar Manual, vol. I, pp. 250-251.
2 McCrindle, The Periplus, Introduction, p. 5.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.
4 V. A. Smith, Asoka, p. 160.
5 Comparative Grammer of the Dravidian Languages, p. 95.
6 Quoted in Sangunny Menon, History of Travancore

the Kanarese pronunciation as appears from the Deccan inscriptions of W. Elliott Esq. in which no Chera is associated with Pāndya but only a Kerala." Further, Pandit Saurirayan in the course of a learned article discussing the etymology of the words CHERA and KERALA says[1]:—"It is a well-ascertained fact that in Kanarese the initial palatals of Tamil words change as a rule into gutturals e.g.,

Tamil Cheyidan (He did) = Kanarese Geyidanu
Chevi (ear) = Kivi
Chenni (head) = Kenne

There are many instances as these and the same phonetic process was met by the Tamil word *Cheralam* and is naturally pronounced *Keralam*. Thus we can have no hesitation in saying that *Chera* is a contraction of *Cheralam* and that *Cherala* and *Kerala* are etymologically and historically the same."

Karoura, then, was the capital of the Chera ruler. Bishop Caldwell identifies this place with Karur, a few miles from Erode on the Erode-Trichinopoly branch of the South Indian Railway. "Karur," he observes[2] "is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient capital of the Chera, Kera or Kerala kings, and is generally identified with Karur, an important town in the Coimbatore district, originally included in the Chera kingdom.....Ptolemy's word, *Karoura*, represents the Tamil name of the place with perfect accuracy." Following this lead, an attempt has been made to find in the "PUNTURAKKON," (the lord of Puntura), one of the titles of the Zamorin, a reference to *Perindurai*, a village in the Coimbatore district and a station on the main railway line to Madras from the west coast and to trace the origin of his dynasty to some place on the banks of the Kaveri.

High as the authority of the learned bishop is, there are weighty reasons against his identification. CHENGUTTUVAN was the emperor of the Cheras when Ptolemy compiled his geography. In the "CHILAPPATHIKARAM" and the "MANIMEKHALAI" two Tamil works composed in this period, the one by no less a person than the younger brother of the Emperor, the other by his protégé, VANCHI or TIRUVANCHIKULAM, figures the capital of the Chera ruler about a mile and a half from the *Mouziris* of the classical writers. After a critical examination of the geographical background of the *Chilappa-*

1 The Tamilian Antiquary, vol. I, no. 4.
2 Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, pp. 96-97.

thikaram, the fauna and flora of the country traversed by Chenguttuvan, the presents laid at the royal feet by his subjects, and the routes taken by Kannagi and the party sent in search of her, Mr. Ponnambalam Pillai had no doubt that the capital of Chera was Tiruvanjikkulam and not Karur in the Coimbatore district.[1] Further it is to Tiruvanjikkulam as the capital of the Cheras and the centre of learning and philosophy in the west coast that Manimekhalai, the the daughter of the hero of the *Chilappathikaram* comes to find consolation.

Further the choice of such a town as Karur so far away from the sea is also opposed to the peculiar conditions of the Chera empire as the premier sea-power of the south in those days. The prosperity of the "three crowned kings" of the south depended on their seaborne commerce. It was for the convenience of trade that Karikala, the great Chola king, built a new capital at the mouth of the Kaveri and shifted his residence from the inland Uraiyur. The first two capitals of the Pandyan kingdom were situated, the one on the sea and the other at the confluence of the Tampraparni with the sea. And when this was submerged and the third capital, the present Madura, was founded on the banks of the Vaigai, KORKAI or KOLKHOI of the *Periplus* at the mouth of the Tampraparni became the commercial capital of the kingdom and the seat of the heir-apparent.

To the Cheras overseas commerce was no less important. The greatest wars of the Cheras had been probably those with NANNAN of Tulunad and his allies the KADAR-KADAMBA pirates. "Their particular service to civilization," it has been remarked, "consisted in their suppression of this post of piracy on the west coast which both the first Chera known to us and his son took so much pains to suppress, while other Cheras perhaps subordinate chieftains did make substantial contribution towards achieving this object.[2]" The Tamil poet Paranar compares Chenguttuvan to a fisherman who constantly engaged himself on the sea to get rid of his enemies with a view to making the articles, coming over sea, available to those inside his own territory.[3] Another Tamil poet, Nappalcaiyar, alludes to the

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1 The Tamilian Antiquary, vol. I, no. 9: The Origin of the Cranganore Temple, p. 39.

2 S. Krishnaswamy Ayyanger, The Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 233.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 231

Chera sea power in the following comparison of himself with other poets :—

"No rival bard I sing ! We are little barks
That sail not on the western main,
Where Cheran's warlike fleets are seen."[1]

It does not stand to reason that Tiruvanjikkulam, consecrated by the installation of the PATTINIDEVĪ at which were present many kings including Gajabāhu of Ceylon, associated with the memories of the exploits of his ancestors, the trade centre of the empire in maintaining the security of which against the pirates his father lost his life and he himself spent the best part of his long reign, should have been lightly given up by Chenguttuvan, the contemporary of Ptolemy, in favour of a place which was situated in the north-eastern frontier of his empire and which has nothing to recommend it as an imperial capital and seat of government except the sanctity of the river on which it stands.

Too much has been made in the past of the accuracy of Ptolemy's geographical knowledge. Ptolemy compiled his account from various sources. He did not possess, as the author of the *Periplus* did, first-hand knowledge of the countries and towns which he mentioned in his geography. "Ptolemy's is a map of utter confusion," says Mc Crindle,[2] "out of which it is very difficult to extract in a few instances any definite conclusions. He misconceived the form and configuration of the Indian peninsula. He had to fit his data derived from various sources such as maritime and land itineraries based upon real experience into a framework to which they were wholly unsuited and this could be effected only by some Procrustean process or rather by a repetition of such processes concerning which we are left wholly in the dark."

The separate mention of MOUZIRIS and KAROURA as the emporium and the royal seat respectively can be explained. MOUZIRIS was the port, where ships were unloaded and KAROURA was the name of the place where the palace was situated—a mile and a half from the port. The earlier writers—Pliny and the author of the Periplus—did not make any distinction between the bazaar and the royal palace. The KAROURA of Ptolemy could not therefore have

1 Pope : *Purnanuru*, The Tamilian Antiquary, vol. I, no. 6, p. 66.

2 Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 31.

been the Karur of Bishop Caldwell; it must have been nothing else than Vanchi, the ancient capital of the Cheras in the neighbourhood of MOUZIRIS. The whole argument is clinched by the authoritative statement in the Tamil metrical dictionary, Tivakaram, that the modern name of Vanchi is Karur.[1]

K. V. KRISHNA AYYAR

Condition of Education and Architecture in the Bahmani Kingdom

In discussing the educational policy of the Bahmani sovereigns we should remember, at the very outset, that we shall err grievously if we apply the standard of modern age to a kingdom of the fourteenth or the sixteenth century whether in the East or in the West. In those days in the East and the West alike, encouragement of education and diffusion of knowledge among the people in a kingdom or empire depended mainly on the character of the reigning sovereign. If the king or the emperor was a lover of art and literature, much could be expected from him—he patronized them with a fostering care, subsidised schools and colleges in his kingdom or empire, appointed worthy men to act as teachers and professors and increased the dignity and grandeur of the court by collecting round him the rare intelligentsia of the age. It was in this way that, at one time, the court of Ghazni sprang out as the most splendid and dignified court in the whole of Asia. In Indian History, during the Pre-Mughal period Sultan Nasiruddin, Muhammad Tughlaq, Firuz Tughlaq, and during the Mughal period Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib were all men of letters who patronized literature and science with a very open and liberal mind. Many of them even invited scholars from other parts of Asia to adorn their courts. Under the fostering care of these sovereigns, education increased among the people, and schools and colleges were established in many parts of the Empire with good foundations for their support. Thus on the one hand as we find a very promising and glowing picture of the condition of education in Mediæval India, on the other hand, we also

1 Gazetteer of the Malabar District, p. 31.

find that there were many sovereigns like Ruknuddin, Masud or Kaiqubad who were not only wanting in the capacity to encourage art and literature but also in a way, direct or indirect, hampered their spontaneous growth by giving rise to unnecessary commotions and civil strife in the Kingdom. Under the suzerainty of these sovereigns the natural consequence was that many schools had to be dissolved for want of fund and royal patronage, and teachers starved and education dwindled.

Thus, in going through the pages of Mediæval Indian History we have to move from one extreme to the other. All on a sudden amidst confusion and disorder, a court sprang up as the most dignified and full of literary ornaments—a sublime and hallowed atmosphere of literary activities flowed throughout the country, new schools and colleges were started with fresh subsidies, but the next moment the sovereign died and happened to be succeeded by a man of different temparament ; good attempts fell to the ground and the scholars had to find out means elsewhere to support themselves. In these days neither in the East nor in the West was there a Department of education and special provision to finance it—the main determining factor being the sovereign. If he was favourably inclined, he might, by one stroke of the pen, do everything for the diffusion of knowledge and education among his subjects but if he took a different attitude, educational institutions dwindled for want of fund and royal patronage. Such was the condition of education in the Mediæval period.

Happily for us, the kingdom of which we are going to speak shows a bright picture in regard to this matter. Mr. Iswari Prasad is perfectly justified when he says "The Bahmani kings—sometimes even the most tyrannical of them—were patrons of art and letters and encouraged education." [Mediæval India by Mr. Iswari Prasad, page 350 ; see also Dr. N. N. Law's Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule (pp. 80-91) which is a very learned treatise on the subject.]

The first two sovereigns—Allauddin Hassan and Muhammad Shah I devoted their energies more to the annexation and consolidation of their kingdom than to any peaceful cultivation of art or literature.

Muhammed Shah II was of a somewhat different nature. He was a lover of peace and he directed his attention to the peaceful cultivation of literature and the spread of education among his subjects. "He founded masjids established public schools and

monasteries" (Burhan-i-Maasir by J. S. Mill, pages 32-33) in his kingdom "with ample foundations for their support" and took special care to uplift the social and moral condition of the people. Ferishta says—"He established orphan schools at the cities of Kulburga, Bidar, Kandahar, Elichpur, Dowlatabad, Choal, Debul and in some other great towns" (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II pp. 349-50) and "appointed stipends for the expounders of the scriptures."

He had a "taste for poetry and wrote some elegant verses." His liberality brought to his court many learned men from the various peoples of Central Asia, and Ferishta says, "The fame of the king's taste, his affability and munificence spread so widely that the celebrated poet of Shiraj, Khwaja Hafiz, determined to visit the Deccan," in response to his invitation by the Sultan but was prevented by an accident. He, however, wrote an ode and sent it to the king who was so highly pleased to receive it that he "entrusted a thousand pieces of gold to Muhammad Kasim Meshidi, one of the learned men at at Kulburga, to purchase whatsoever, among the productions of India, was likely to prove most acceptable in order to send them to the poet at Shiraj." (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 349).

Firuz Shah was a prince of great culture and literary attainments. "He was a good poet, often made extempore verses, was well-acquainted with several sciences and particularly fond of natural philosophy. On Saturdays, Mondays and Thursdays, he heard lectures on botany, geometry, and logic generally in the day, but if business interfered, at night. It is said, that he even excelled Muhammad Tughlaq in literary attainments." (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, pp. 368-69). "He had so excellent a memory that he could converse in many languages," such as, Arabic, Persian, Guzrati, Bengali, Marathi etc. "He used to say that kings should draw around them the most learned and meritorious persons of all nations, so that from their society thay might obtain information, and thus reap some of the advantages acquired by travelling into distant regions of the globe." (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 369).

His brother Ahmad Shah was also a lover of culture and educution and his generosity and munificence extended to all learned men in his kingdom. Shaikh Azari, one of the greatest poets of the age, "visited the Sultan's court and composed two verses in eulogy of this palace (palace at Bidar) and the Sultan was so pleased that he presented him with 700,000 Dakhami tankah." (Burhan-i-Maasir by J.S. Mill, p. 62).

Allauddin II was also a lover of literature and science and en-

couraged education among his subjects. It was during his reign that Mahmud Gawan first landed in the Deccan and he was attracted to this part of India not only by its rich commerce but also by the famous literati of the age who illuminated the court of the Bahmani sovereigns.

He was a good scholar, well-versed in Persian, both in prose and poetry and had a very good knowledge of Mathematics. Pozat-ul-Insha and Diwan-i-ashr are, according to Ferishta, the two most important productions of this versatile genius. He established a magnificent college at Bidar to which he attached a library consisting of 3000 books (Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 514). Whenever he was free from the bustles and turmoils of state affairs, he found pleasure to visit this college where he spent his time in the society of the learned and pious men. His munificence was not confined to the people of the Bahmani kingdom alone but it extended to many learned men in Central Asia as well.

A careful perusal of the account of the Bahmani kingdom both in the Burhan-i-Maasir and Tarik-i-Ferishta furnishes us with a glowing impression that the eminent and distinguished learned men in the kingdom enjoyed a very high position in the state.

Now, let us turn to architecture. The Bahmani sovereigns, it is true, did not erect buildings of great architectural importance like Jaunpur, but still the palace at Bidar and some beautiful mosques and mountain-fortresses which were built by them commanded admiration from travellers for many centuries. The palace at Bidar is thus described by Athnasius Nikitui—"The Sultan's palace has seven gates.....this palace is very wonderful ; everything in it is carved or gilded, and, even to the smallest stone, is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully".

At Kulburga, the first capital of the Bahmani sovereigns, several beautiful buildings and mosques were built. Of the mosques built by the Bahmani sovereigns there was the great mosque at Kulburga which was as Fergusson remarks "one of the most remarkable of its class in India and in some respects unique". In this mosque there was some novelty in its "arrangement of the roof and arched screens" which attracted special attention. Instead of placing the arched screens "in the usual way in front of the diwan or sanctuary and sometimes in front of the corridors on the side facing the court-yard, they roofed over the whole area of the courtyard, about 126 feet by 100 feet, by a series of sixty-three small domes of the

usual Hindu construction supported on columns, the corridors on the three sides of the quadrangle being covered by a similar series of transverse vaults. To admit light into this covered area the usual screens of quasi-Saracenic arches had to be placed on the outside of the quadrangle, the four corners of the latter being roofed over by domes of 25 feet in width. The sanctuary was roofed by one large dome of forty feet, raised on a clerestory, and flanked on either side by six small domes similar to those which covered the inner courtyard. The placing of the pointed arches on the extension of the quadrangle makes this mosque appear to be more Saracenic in its design than usual" (Havell, Indian Architecture, pp. 60-63).

"Besides the mosque, there is in Kulburga a bazar 570 feet long 60 ft. wide, over all, adorned by a range of sixty one arches on either hand, supported by pillars of a quasi-Hindu character and with a block of buildings of a very ornamental character at either end". (Indian and Eastern Architecture by Mr. Fergusson. p. 553).

The magnificent college which Mahmud Gawan built at Bidar was also one of the most beautiful buildings which for many centuries proclaimed the artistic grandeur of the Bahmanids (Burhan-i-Maasir by Mr. J.S. Mill pp. 104-105 ; Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II, p. 510).

Of the forts built by the Bahmani sovereign, those at Normala, Gawaligarh, Parenda Ausa and Govul deserve special mention, some of them because of their architectural beauty and some of them because of their strategic importance. Meadows Taylor was simply charmed to see these mountain fortresses, which he described as "choice expressions of graudeur of design of mountain fortresses and tasteful and munificent execution".

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURI

MISCELLANY

A Note on the Vastrāpatha-māhātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa

The value of the Purāṇas as "the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition" has long been recognised by scholars, and the dynastic lists contained in them have been largely utilised in reconstructing the political history of Ancient India. Unfortunately attention has hitherto been focussed mainly on the *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* sections, and one famous author makes himself responsible for the dictum that "all the historical statements of the Purāṇas are given in the form of prophecy, in order to maintain the appearance of great antiquity in the books, which in their oldest forms were undoubtedly very ancient."[1] As the account of the "future" kings in these prophetic passages "stops with the imperial Guptas and their contemporaries," the value of the Purāṇic texts as sources of Post-Gupta traditional history has not been sufficiently examined.

It will be my endeavour in this short note to call attention to a legend in the extant Skanda Purāṇa (Vaṅgavāsī Edition) in which we come across certain historical allusions that are not given in the form of prophecy, and can be made to yield information about kings who flourished long after the passing away of the Imperial Guptas.

In the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa, there is a section called Vastrāpatha-māhātmya which is a collection of tales about the sacred sites of Vastrāpatha or Girnar in Surāṣṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ. The most conspicuous features of this region are the Mount Raivataka and the river Suvarṇa-rekhā or Svarṇa-rekhā[2], perhaps identical with the Suvarṇa-sikatā which is mentioned along with the Palāśinī in the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of the great Śaka Satrap Rudradāman.[3] Regarding the sanctity of this holy spot we have the following story:—

In the days of yore there lived in Kānyakubja (Kanauj) a king

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1 Smith, EHI[4], p. 23.

2 Etad Raivatakaṃ kṣetraṃ Vastrāpatham iti smṛtam/
Suvarṇarekhā yatrasthā nadī pātakanāśinī//
—Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, Vastrāpatha-kṣetra-māhātmya, I. 2-3.

3 Ep. Ind., VIII. 46.

named Bhoja.[1] Once upon a time there came to him a *Vanapāla* (Warden of the Forests) who said, "Sire (*deva*) I have seen a woman with the face of a doe roaming with a herd of deer in the forests at Raivataka."[2] The king's curiosity was roused. Collecting his troops he marched towards Raivataka and encircled the hill with a net. The deer-maiden was captured by the *Balādhyakṣa* (general), and was taken by the king to Kānyakubja, where she recounted the story of her previous births, and spoke about the spiritual efficacy of the holy waters of the Suvarṇa-rekhā. The king was much impressed with what he heard about Surāṣṭra and its holy spots from the maiden and a Brāhmaṇa from Kurukṣetra, and expressed his resolve to abdicate in favour of his son,[3] so that he might be free to undertake a pilgrimage to those sacred spots.

There are details in this, as in other priestly legends, which belong to the domain of fairy tales, and are absolutely unworthy of serious consideration. But there are three points which deserve examination. These are (1) the mention of a king Bhoja who reigned at Kanauj, (2) the connection of that king with Surāṣṭra as evidenced by the appointment of a *Vanapāla*[4] and the despatch of an army,[5] and (3) his abdication in favour of his son.

As to the first, inscriptions discovered at Barah[6] (near Cawnpore), Daulatpurā[7] (in Jodhpur State), Deogaḍh[8] (in Jhansi), Gwalior,[9] Pehevā[10] (in Karnal) and Āhār[11] (in Bulandshahr District), prove that there was actually in the Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty of Northern India a king named Bhoja who had his capital at Mahodaya or Kanauj[12] and whose dates probably ranged from V. S. 893 to H. S. 298

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1 Kānyakubje mahākṣetre rājā Bhojeti viśrutaḥ/
Purā puṇyayuge dharmyaḥ prajādharmeṇa śāsati/
—Vastrāpatha-māhātmya, VI. 20.

2 Ibid., verses 22f; 127-129 "Surāṣṭradeśe bhavitā.....mṛgī Raivatake girau."

3 Ibid., X. 15. 4 Ibid., vi. 22f.

5 Ibid., vi. 25f. 6 Ep. Ind., xix (1927). 15f.

7 Ep. Ind., v. pp. 208f. JRAS, 1909, p. 265. 8 Ep. Ind., iv. 309f.

9 Ep. Ind., i. 157f; xviii. 99. 10 Ep. Ind., i. 184f.

11 Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol. iii. The Ahar Stone Inscription by C. D. Chatterjee.

12 In Ep. Ind., xix (p. 17) Mr. H. Śāstrī opines that Mahodaya was not Kānyakubja, and that Skandhāvāra does not mean 'rājadhānī,'

i.e., A. D. 836 to 904-5. The name Bhoja was also borne by one of his grandsons, as we learn from the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāladeva issued[1] from Mahodaya.

Regarding the second point we should note that Nāgabhaṭa II, grandfather of Bhoja, is known to have held the hill-forts of Ānarta (in Kāthiāwāḍ),[2] and the supremacy of Mahendrapāla I, son and successor of Bhoja, was acknowledged by Śrī Dhīka, Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II Yoga who ruled over parts of the "Saurāṣṭra Maṇḍala."[3] As (Vāhuka) dhavala, great-grandfather of Avanivarman II, claims to have defeated Dharma (pāla), the great rival of Nāgabhaṭa II, great-grandfather of Mahendra, it is not improbable that the family of Avanivarman II had entered into feudatory relations with the Imperial Pratīhāras as early as the time of Nāgabhaṭa II, and it was apparently under his banner that Vāhukadhavala marched against Dharmapāla.[4] In view of the political relation between Surāṣṭra and Kanauj existing from the time of Nāgabhaṭa II to that of his great-grandson Mahendrapāla, the episode of the Vastrāpatha-māhātmya acquires a new significance. The Haḍḍālā plates of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva,[5] supply us with an additional link in the chain connecting Kāthiāwāḍ with the Pratīhāras of Kanauj.

Regarding point (3) viz. that relating to the alleged abdication of Bhoja, king of Kanauj, we should refer to the anomaly presented by the inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla I, dated 893-94, and the Āhār stone inscription furnishing the dates 864-865, 865-866, 867-868, 886, 886-887, 888-889, 902-903 and 904-905 and purporting to belong

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Regarding the identity of Mahodaya, see *Śabdakalpadruma* : "Mahodayaṃ Puraviśeṣaḥ—tatparyāyaḥ Kānyakubjaṃ Gādhipuraṃ Kauśaṃ Kuśasthalam iti Hemacandraḥ." Cf. Śrī Kānyakubja of the Khālimpur Ins. of Dharmapāla and Mahodaya-śrī of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇa-pāla; also Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act X, 86-90, and Kāvya Mīmāṃsā, p. xxiii. As to Skandhāvāra, see Pavanadūta, "Skandhāvāraṃ Vijayapuram ity unnatāṃ rājadhānīm."

1 Kielhorn, Northern Ins., No. 544.

2 Sāgar Tāl. Ins., Arch, S. I. R., 1903-4, 281; Ep. Ind., xviii, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, p. 108.

3 Ep. Ind., IX, 1f

4 R. D. Banerji, Bāṅgalār Itihāsa, p. 167.

5 Kielhorn, Northern Ins., No. 353.

to the reign of his father Bhoja. Mr. C. D. Chatterjee seeks to explain the anomaly in two ways. "One of them is to assume that a portion of the (Āhār) inscription was engraved in A. D. 865-866 during the administration of Bhoja I, but other portions were added later on." The other is to surmise that "the mention of the different dates, for the different gifts brought together for record in one and the same inscription, indicates that there was a transfer to stone of a copy of all the deeds made on less durable materials, later than 904-905 A. D." But the possibility that Bhoja actually abdicated temporarily about A. D. 893 cannot be entirely excluded in view of the king's resolve alluded to in the Skanda Purāṇa :—

Tyaktvā rājyaṃ priyān putrān pattyaśva-ratha-kuñjarān
Putraṃ rājye pratiṣṭhāpya gantavyaṃ niścitaṃ mayā.[1]

In the Rājatarańgiṇī we have the instance of king Ananta abdicating in favour of his son Kalasa and again resuming control over a part of the kingdom.[2] There are certain indications which point to the fact that Bhoja I was not the only king of the Pratīhāra line of Kanauj whose reign ran into that of his son. The reign of Vināyakapāla, (931-954)[3] for instance, is in part co-eval with that of his son Mahendrapāla II (946 A. D.),[4] and Mahendra's brother or cousin Devapāla (948-49).[5] It is easy to suggest that we have to do with two different Vināyakas, one flourishing before Mahendrapāla II, and the other after Devapāla. But anything in the nature of a proof is not forthcoming, and conjectural duplication of kings in such cases is not always a satisfactory solution of the problem, specially in view of the fact that simultaneous rule of father and son[6] or of uncle and nephew,[7] and the abdication of a father in favour of his son,[8] and resumption of control on account of the son's in-

1 Vastrāpatha-māhātmya, X. 15.

2 Taraṅga VII. 231-233, 245, 322 f.

3 Majumdar, Gurjara Pratihāras, pp. 54 (esp. the footnote) and 62.

4 Ep. Ind., XIV, p 176 f.

5 Kielhorn, Northern Ins., No 31, Ep. Ind., I, 173, XIV. 179-180.

6 Camb. Hist. Ind., vol. I. 572-573, Smith, E H I⁴, p. 486 (conjoint reign of Cola kings).

7 Camb. Hist. Ind., vol. I, 574, 578.

8 Cf. the case of Ananta in the Rājatarańgiṇī, and of Vigrahapāla.

capacity,[1] or other reason, are not rare phenomena in Ancient Indian History.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI

Date of Ballālasena

The question of the time when Ballālasena, the greatest of the Sena kings of Bengal and one of the most prominent figures in the history of Bengal, reigned has given rise to a good deal of controversy among scholars. It is true that in some Mss. of two of his works—the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*—there are found verses which expressly refer to the time when the works were composed. Thus one verse in the *Dānasāgara* mentions 1091 Ś. E. (1169 A.D.) as the time when the *Dānasāgara* was composed[2] and from two introductory verses found in some Mss. of the *Adbhutasāgara* we learn that the book was begun in 1090 Ś. E. (1168 A.D.) but the king raised his son to the throne before he could complete it.[3]

But the dates as given in these works have been rejected by some scholars, for they are suspected to be spurious, not being found in all Mss. of the books.

The genuineness of these verses and the dates contained in them were sought to be proved from definite external evidence in a paper published in *IHQ.*, vol. III, pp. 186 ff., in which I deduced the date of accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena from a verse occurring at the end of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, an anthological work by Śrīdhara-

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"Tapo mamāstu rājyaṃ te dvābhyām uktam idaṃ dvayoḥ
Yasmin Vigrahapālena Sagareṇa Bhagīrathe."
(Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla).

1 Cf. the case of Kalasa in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. In the Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas etc., p. cxxiv ff. Rapson points out that the satrap Jīvadāman reigned twice, and the two reigns are separated by a long interval during which his uncle Rudrasiṃha I appears twice as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa.

2 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the India Office Library*, p. 545.

3 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss.* (1887-91) p. lxxxv.

dāsa, a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, being the son of Vaṭudāsa, a *mahāsāmantacūḍāmaṇi* and friend of the king.

I have now come across some additional internal evidence which leaves little doubt regarding the genuineness of the verses and clearly confirms the dates given therein.

In the *Adbhutasāgara*[1] itself in more than one place, explicit reference is made to the year of commencement of the work which agrees with what is given in the introductory verse.[2] Various astronomical calculations are referred to that year. Thus in the sections dealing with *Parveśvaragaṇana* (p. 59), *ṣaṣṭyabda-yugagaṇana* (p.125) and *Varṣādhipagaṇana* (p.235), the calculations are all made from the year when the book was commenced.

The introductory lines in each of the above cases record this fact in definite terms [e. g. *athādbhutārambha-Śakābdāt parveśvara-gaṇanam* (here begins the calculation of *parveśvara* beginning from the year when the *Adbhutasāgara* was commenced)]. These all refer to 1090 Ś. E. in identical terms (viz. kha-nava-daśa). It is not reasonable to hold, even for the sake of argument, that all these consistent passages were interpolated by some designing person or persons. It is thus quite clear that Ballāla was reigning in 1090 Ś.E. i.e. 1168-1169 A.D.

In another place again in the *Adbhutasāgara* the date of accession of Ballālasena is clearly referred to thus: "*bhuja-vasu-daśa-mita-śake Śrīmad-Ballālasena-rājyādau varṣaikaṣaṣṭibhogo munibhir vihito viśākhāyām.*"

(In the Śaka year *bhuja* (2) *vasu* (8) *daśa* (1082 Ś.E.) in the beginning of the reign of Ballālasena, the *munis* had remained 61 years in the asterism of Viśākhā.)

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1 Edited by Paṇḍit Muralīdhar Jhā Jyotiṣācārya and published by Prabhakari and Co., Benares Cant., 1905.

2 The reading of the introductory verse giving the date of composition of the work as given in the published edition referred to above does not seem to be quite correct. It reads *Śāke navāṣṭa-khendvākhye* (1089 Ś. E.) instead of *Śāke kha-nava-khendvabde* (1090 Ś. E.) as usually met with. Of course, this makes a difference of one year only. But as we shall presently see, 1090 is the year consistently referred to in other places of the work as the year of commencement. Further the use of *ākhye* (named) is not quite happy as evidently 1089 is not the [illegible]

Manomohan Chakravarti was the first man to draw the attention of scholars to this passage (JASB, 1906, p. 17 f. n.). But he read *munir-vinihito viśeṣāyāṃ* which was apparently a wrong reading conveying no sense. He also curiously interpreted *bhuja-vasu-daśa* as referring to 1081 though *bhuja* (arms) always indicates *two* and not *one*.

Mr. Harit Krishna Dev, M. A. has contributed the following note on this verse :—

The beginning of Ballālasena's reign is here referred to as the year 1082 of the Śaka era, when, it is added, the *munis* (*i.e.* the Saptarṣis) had been 61 years in Viśākhā (nakṣatra). According to the Saptarṣi cycle, the Saptarṣis are said to remain for 100 years in each of the 27 nakṣatras a complete revolution being effected in 2700 years.[1] In the present passage, the Viśākhā centennium is taken to have commenced in A. D. 1099 (=Śaka 1082—61). Viśākhā being the 16th nakṣatra, counting from Aśvinī, the next previous Aśvinī centennium thus began in B.C. 402 (=1500-1098). Counting back 2700 years, we arrive at B.C. 3102 (=402+2700) as the starting point of the earlier Aśvinī centennium.

We notice here a departure from the usual Saptarṣi reckoning, which places the initial point of the Saptarṣi cycle in B.C. 3077-6. For this departure, the following explanation may be suggested. There was a tradition placing the Bhārata War in B.C. 3102.[2] The author of the *Adbhutasāgara* seems to have combined the view that the Saptarṣi cycle began about the Bhārata war with the idea that the beginning must be with Aśvinī as the first nakṣatra. In ch. 13 of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāha Mihira (6th cent. A.D.), we are told vaguely that 2526 years before the Śaka era, in the time of Yudhiṣṭhira, the Saptarṣis were in the Maghā nakṣatra. In the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, (5th-6th cent. A. D.) the Saptarṣis are stated to have been in the Maghā nakṣatra in the time of Parīkṣit.

It may reasonably be hoped that the facts put forward above will be able to put a stop to the long standing controversy regarding the date of Ballālasena and finally settle it.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

1 For an explanation, see JASB, 1925, pp. 229ff.

2 Cf. JRAS, 1911, pp. 675ff.

Was the Equation of Time known to the Vedic Sages ?

There are evidences in a few Vedic hymns which go to prove that the Vedic sages had a distinct idea of the equation of time and have described it in an allegorical story. We have a number of ṛks in the First, Fourth, Fifth and Eighth Books of the Ṛv., which deal with the conflicts between the Sun and a horse-god Etaśa in which Indra intervened. In Ṛv. I, 121, 13, Etaśa is said to draw the chariot of Indra. In Ṛv. I, 61, 15 and XIII, 1, 11, Indra is said to have helped and protected Etaśa in his conflict with the Sun. In Ṛv., IV, 17, 14, it is said that Indra urged the chariot-wheel of the Sun forward, but checked Etaśa who was speeding on his way. In Ṛv., IV, 30, 6 we find that Indra took the Sun as an enemy and protected Etaśa. In V, 29, 5 we see that Indra obstructed the motion of the Sun's horses moving forward for Etaśa. Lastly it is said in I, 175, 4 and V, 31, 13, that Indra, having previously stolen one of the two wheels of the Sun's chariot, obstructed the way of the same, when there was a conflict between the Sun and Etaśa.

The whole story, when constructed from these scattered and fragmentary notes runs like this : There was a conflict between the Sun and Etaśa. Indra intervened in the contest. On one occasion he helped Etaśa and stole away one of the two wheels of the Sun's chariot so as to lower the speed of the Sun in favour of Etaśa ; on a second occasion, he enhanced the speed of the Sun and made him go faster than Etaśa by checking the latter.

Now we come to interpret the actual natural phenomenon depicted in this allegorical story. The horse Etaśa, in our opinion, is the *mean sun*. The conflict between the Sun and Etaśa is simply the meeting together of the true or apparent sun and the fictitious or mean sun. Now what has got Indra to do in this conflict ? Indra is the god of the summer solstice. This has been definitely proved beyond doubt in Plunket's Ancient Calenders and Constellations, p. 115. We know that the equation of time has two components, one of which is the obliquity of the ecliptic and the other is the eccentricity of the orbit of the earth. The equation of time due to the first cause makes the true, and mean sun meet (that is, becomes O) in the two equinoctial and solstitial points. But the combined effect is to place the meeting point, not exactly in these places but very close to them. Indra, on one occasion, made the speed of Etaśa slower than that of the sun ; this means that the mean sun was

slower than the true sun, that is, the equation of time was *minus*, which is actually the case when the Sun runs from the vernal equinox to the summer solstice. On another occasion, Indra made the speed of the Sun slower than that of Etaśa ; this indicates that the true sun was slower than the mean sun, that is, the equation of time was *plus*, which is the case when the sun passes from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox.

This is the only feasible explanation which can be given of the myth referred to above. It is my humble request that the oriental scholars may consider this problem seriously as it has an important bearing on the vexed question of the libration of the equinoxes in Hindu Astronomy.

EKENDRANATH GHOSH

Date of the Mṛcchakatika

I am surprised to see the note written by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1928, on my paper "The Date of Mṛcchakaṭika from astrological Data." This note tries to minimise the value of my astrological investigation and ascertainment of the date of the Mṛcchakaṭika.

My article appeared in JDL, vol. xiv (C.U.). Rai Bahadur Hiralal says that my paper contains *only two* discoveries which are really Pandit Hirananda Sastri's, viz. (1) that Mars is adverse to Jupiter and (2) that it is mentioned by Varāhamihira and that therefore the Mṛcchakaṭika is older than Varāhamihira. Here I would point out to the readers that if they read my paper they would find much more than these two things only. With regard to the first point the text of the Mṛcchakaṭika has "*Aṅgārakaviruddhasya prakṣīṇasya Bṛhaspateḥ.*" So if there is any credit for this discovery it goes to the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika and not to H. Sastri. Now, as to the alleged second discovery about this theory of friendship of planets being known to Varāhamihira, I would say that it is known to all astrologers inasmuch as these passages occur in that extremely popular manual of Astrology, namely the Bṛhajjātaka. But what do those passages alone prove and wherein does Pandit Hirananda Sastri's discovery lie? Rai Bahadur Hiralal means to say that H. Sastri is the first to discover the clue to the date of

the Mṛcchakaṭika in these passages of Varāhamihira. In his Introduction (which I had not the good fortune of reading before now), H. Sastri says that the Mṛcchakaṭika is posterior to the Mānavadharmaśāstra and anterior to Varāhamihira. According to Jolly, Mānavadharmaśāstra belongs to *not later than* the 2nd or 3rd century A.C., and Prof. Keith gives the limit as 200 B.C. to 200 A. C. (History of Sans. Lit., p. 441). H. Sastri has indicated that the Mṛcchakaṭika was written somewhere between the 3rd century B.C. and the 5th century A. C., i. e., somewhere within a period of 800 years. On the contrary, any reader would find that in my paper I have ransacked the whole astrological literature from the earliest period down to the present times and have found out a Posterior Yavana School and have fixed the time-limit of the drama within a hundred years only.

In conclusion, I would request the readers to go through my article in the JDL in full and carefully note how my arguments are *not based upon only one or two passages* of the Bṛhajjātaka alone, but upon a comparative study of the whole domain of astrological literature, and how my ascertainment of the time-limit (viz., a space of 100 years only) differs from that of H. Sastri. Indeed, the ascertainment of an author's time within a space of 800 years profits very little the history of Sanskrit literature.

J. C. GHATAK

Maṭilakam

There is a place called Maṭilakam, about four miles to the north of Cranganur. It originally belonged to Cochin. Now it is a deśam in Pāppinivaṭṭam, the southern aṃśam of the Ponnani Taluk in the Malabar District. There are a post office and a police station there now; and a fair is held on every Monday. The people of that locality are mostly Mussalmans and Christians who have their mosque and church respectively. Maṭilakam means a place within a wall or walls. We shall presently see how it came to be called so.

In ancient days, there was a famous temple in that place, dedicated to Śiva, and common to all the sixty-four grāmams of the Nambūṭiri Brahmins. The wealth and status of the temple may easily be inferred from the fact that the daily ordinary offering to the deity consisted of food prepared from 101 paras of rice. The

north to south boundary walls of this temple extended from Ṭṛppekkuḷam in the north to Nārāṇjerikkuḷam in the south, a distance of about a mile and a half. These tanks must originally have been very large; but the major part of the former has been converted into an extensive cocoanut plantation, while all but a small portion of the latter is a paddy-field to-day. Ṭṛppekkuḷam was used by the priests of the temple for their daily baths and ablutions; and it contained lotuses of diverse colour and exceeding beauty. Besides these two cisterns, there was a tank on the western side of the western wall, called Chempāḻikkuḷam, intended for the cleaning of the vessels which belonged to the temple. It now is so filled up with earth that it is used for raising crops of paddy, and is called Chempāḻippātom. It was in the upper hall of the tank-shed of this reservoir that the parliament of the Perumals sat on all working days. It was called the Vidvalsabhā, the assembly of the wise, a sort of witenagemot, to direct studies, to enact laws and even to give the last word on political matters.

When Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, one who is known as the last of the Perumals, renounced his temporal powers, he gave the jurisdiction of the whole of Cranganur (Kodungallūr Nāṭṭakam) to Paṭiñjāttyeṭaṭṭ Bhaṭṭaṭiri, the grāmādhāyakṣhan, the headman of the Airāṇikkuḷam village. But the temple affairs were left in the hands of Tekkeṭett and Vaṭakkeṭett Nairs. Even during the rule of the Perumals, these Nairs, as the Ūrāḷers, were managing the affairs of the Maṭilakam temple unquestioned.

After the abdication of Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, these two Nair families wanted to erect six more walls round the temple at convenient distances and to permit people of different castes to occupy each enclosure. This decision created a disturbance among the Nambūṭiris of the Iriññālakkuday grāmam as the outermost wall would have to be built inside their saṃkeṭam. The Nairs began to build this one first. Importunities were of no avail; open hostilities against these powerful families were beyond question. So a few of the prominent and enthusiastic Brahmins and some of their adherents from other creeds protested and lay in the trenches made for the erection of the wall. The Nambūṭiris were imprisoned, and an order was passed that the foundation be built over the bodies of those others who refused to leave the ditch. Next they resorted to another artifice called the Paṭṭiṇi. Old and religious Nambūṭiris, well-versed in mantravādam, the science of spells and magic, were invited from all

parts of Kerala, to perform the necessary ceremonies to tide over their evil days. A sumptuous feast was prepared for them; but when at mid-day, after their prolonged prayers, all were seated for their meals and nice things served, one man stood up and requested the rest not to touch even a morsel of the food until their object was accomplished. Then all went out, washed their hands and gathered round the sacrificial pit into which all the eatables were thrown and they began to chant the incantations for the destruction of their foes. For forty-one days this fasting and this *homam*, oblation went on, and during that period, they subsisted on water and fruits alone. The tradition says that this procedure had the desired effect. Over a trifle, the Nair chieftains quarrelled, and their dissensions, in course of time, led to the decline and fall of those two families and of the famous Maṭilakam temple.

Maṇimekhalā and Śilappaḍhīkāram are two of the pañcakāvyas, five epics, of the Tamil literature. The former describes the circumstances under which the heroine, Maṇimekhalā, the daughter of Kovilan, a rich merchant, renounced the world and took the vows of Buddhism. She comes to Vañci (Ṭiruvanchikkuḷam in the Cochin State) to complete her higher studies, and to worship Kaṇṇaki, her step-mother. In the Cera capital she sought instruction from the professors of the Vedic, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Ājīvaka, Nigrantha, Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika religions. Śilappaḍhikāram is by Iḷam-ko-Aṭikal. This young ascetic prince was the second of the two sons of Śoṇa Devi, the consort of Bāṇa Varman Neṭumcheranāṭan, the Perumal who ruled Kerala from 115 A. C. to 129 A. C. He became a Buddhist monk and lived not in the caitya near his father's palace but in the one at Maṭilakam, which place is also called Ṭrgguṇavāyil Koṭu, Ṭrgguṇa-Maṭilakam, Ṭrkkaṇṇāmaṭilakam (the maṭilakam of Śiva). He was appointed as the president, the examiner of the Vidvalsabhā at Maṭilakam by Imaya Varman Chenkuṭṭavan, his brother's son, who succeeded his father. It was this Perumal who set up the image of Kaṇṇaki at Cranganur, and had it consecrated by great priests in the presence of the kings of the Kongu, Malava and Lanka. Śilappaḍhikāram commemorates the lives of Kovilan, the father of Maṇimekhalā and of Kaṇṇaki, his wife. Before we leave these two classics, allow me to say in passing that Maṇimekhalā had her studies in Maṭilakam where the assembly of the wise, Vidvalsabhā served the purpose of a great University as well, and was adorned by the presence of renowned Sanskrit and Tamil poets.

Buddhist and Jaina scholars and erudite paṇḍits in every department of knowledge, temporal and spiritual. Both these epics were for the first time published by the assembly of the wise at Maṭilakam. Chiṭṭala Chāṭṭanār, the author of Maṇimekhalā, and Iḷam-ko-Aṭikal were great friends. Later on, at the time of the composition of the Śuka-sandeśa-kāvya in which the forlorn lover at Rameswaram sends his message to his lady-love at Maṭilakam, the aspect of this place must have been greatly altered. For in that we find Bhadrakālī to be worshipped in the temple which was originally dedicated to Kaṇṇaki; and there is no allusion in the description of Maṭilakam to a caitya, a vihāra or a witen-agemot but only to the Śiva temple of the place.

The date of this beautiful lyrical poem Pūrva-sandeśa is variously given; but all are agreed that it cannot be later than the close of the 15th century A.C. The sandeśam no doubt speaks of a period when the Perumals ruled; and the absence of references to the other salient features of Maṭilakam, Vanchi and Cranganur can only be attributed to the ignorance of the poet of the history of its ancient days with which he was dealing. It is perhaps relevant to state that the date of the two Tamil poems already referred to was the 2nd. century A.C.

It is remarkable from several points of view that there should have existed two Buddhistic caityas and a Nigrantha monastery in the vicinity of the palace of the Perumals and very near the famous Śiva temples of Maṭilakam and Ṭiruvanchikkuḷam. It is stated that, somewhere about the middle of the first century B.C., during the time of Kovilan, the ninth ancestor of Kōvilan of the epic fame, a Buddhist monk, Dharmaśāsana by name, came from Ceylon on a visit to the then Perumal at Vanchi and got his leave to build one of the aforesaid caityas. The word caitya is from Sanskrit *citā*, a funeral pyre. There are two sorts of caityas, the solid ones and the hollow ones. The former commemorate some important events, and the latter contain relics of great persons. These caityas gradually become places of worship like the graves of Mussalman saints. Is the Cranganur temple an instance of this evolution? The date of the Śuka-sandēśam remains to be correctly ascertained.[1]

T. K. KRISHNA MENON

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1 Let me state here with gratitude that, in the preparation of this paper, I made use of an article in Mitavadi, two articles in Rasika-

Sankisā as a Jaina Tīrtha

Sankisa is a village in the Farrukhabad district of the United Provinces, and it contains an ancient site, which has been explored and partly excavated by the Archæological Department of the Government of India. It represents the old city of *Sāṅkāśya*. Fa-Hian, the Chinese traveller called it by this name[1]; but Hiuen-Tsang named this very locality as *Kie-pi-tha* (Kapitthika)[2] as well. And he is right in doing so, for, it is apparent from the evidence of the Sanskrit literature that Kapitthika, Kāmpilya and Sāṅkāśya are synonymous terms for the one and the same locality. According to Mahīdhara's commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka*, Kāpitthika is the village of Kāmpillya[3] and Kāśikāvṛtti of Pāṇini (iv, 2, 121) makes it synonymous with Sāṅkāśya. This identification is also supported by the Jaina tradition. The Jainas say that the place of the birth, renunciation and *Bodhi* or *Kevalajñāna* of their 13th Tīrthaṅkara Śrī Vimalanātha is Kāmpilya, which is described in the Jaina Śāstras as a very large city[4]—comprising in it a large area of many miles of the country lying around the modern village of Kampilla (the old Kāmpilya) in the Kaimganj *tahsil* of the Farrukhabad district. Modern Kampilla and Sankisa are, also, not far off from each other. Thus Kampilya and Sāṅkāśya were identical to one and the same locality at a certain time and the connection of Jainism with them is also apparent.

Raṅgiṇī, Keraḷacaritam by Mr. G. Krishna Pisharody, Tamils 1800 years ago by Mr. Kanakasabha Pillai, a Primer on Tamil Literature by Mr. Purnalingam Pillai, two pamphlets on Saṃgam Age by Mr. K. G. Sesha. [Tr. Maṇimekhalā by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Dr. K. Sankara Menon's Introduction to his edition of Bhadanta Nagarjuna's Rasa-vaiśēṣika Sūtra, I found, contain relevant matter for my paper. But I regret I could not make use of them, as these came into my hands only after the paper was read before the Kerala Society.]

1 Fa-Hian (Hindi Ed. Indian Press), p. 35-36.

2 The Ancient Geography of India (New Ed.), p. 423.

3 "Kāpitthake Kāmpillākhye grāme"—quoted by Mr. Hīrānand Śāstrī in the 'Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume,' pt. I, p. 231.

4 See the Vimalanātha-purāṇa.

When Fa-Hian reached *Sāṅkāśya*, he found the Jainas and the Buddhist quarrelling among themselves over this sacred place. The Jainas claimed it to be their own *Tīrtha* and the Buddhists, too, brought forward the same claim.[1] However, the latter were triumphant so the Chinese traveller says : Whatever may be the case, no doubt Jainas lost their influence over this place long ago, though they remained sticking to it. So there still survives a Jaina temple in the vicinity of Sankisa at the village of *Sarai*.

I look upon Sāṅkāśya as the very place, where Lord Vimalanātha renounced the world and gained the supreme knowledge by destroying the influence of evil *Karmas* (*aghas*). This identification has an independent support other than the above Jaina tradition, from a surviving small village by name *Aghatia*, which is situated in the neighbourhood of Sāṅkāśya and contains a mound—from which a very nice and ancient Jaina image was discovered in the last year. Its very name is significant, inasmuch as it appears to be the corrupt form of *'Agha-hata'-sthāna*, i.e. the place of destroying the *aghas* (evil karmas), which could be connected with the above Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. If only the mound of *Aghatia* could be excavated, I am sure, it will yield some very important things about Jainism.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

Praśnottararatnamālikā

In the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, Buddhist Manuscripts, 1917, pp. 177-178, Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Sastri describes "A broken palm-leaf, written in the Bengali character of the twelfth century" which is found in a codex (No. 9995). "Only one side" of the leaf "can be read, the other side being darkened with ink." Then he gives twelve lines in Sanskrit contained in that leaf beginning with

°kaḥ paravaśatā kiṃ saukhyaṃ sarvasaṅgativiratir yā

and ending in

kutra vīdheyo yatno vidyābhyāse'pyoṣadhipradāneṣu
kāvadhīraṇā.

1 Fa-Hian (Hindi), p. 35-36.

As there is nothing mentioned in the catalogue with regard to its identification it may be pointed out that the above lines are from the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* (or °*mālā*) a small treatise containing moral precepts in the form of a dialogue. It is attributed to the great Śaṅkarācārya.[1] The lines in the fragment are the verses, 12-17½, of the said work of which there are different editions,

There is a Tibetan version of it in the Tanjur (Mdo, Gi, 93^{b}1—95^{a}, 5 ; Go, 172^{b}, 2—174^{a}, 5 ; Cordier III, pp. 344, 483), and is called *Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā* (dri.-ma. med.-p'i. dris. lan. rin.po.-che'i. phreṅ.-ba. zes, bya.ba). The authorship is here ascribed to Mahārāja paramakavi mahācārya Amoghodaya (rgyal.-po chen.-po. sñan. ṅag. mkhan-gyi dam. pa. slop. dpon-chen.-po. don.-yod. 'char). It seems that one may read in the Tibetan text *char* for *'char*, and thus the name of the author will be Amoghavarṣa and not Amoghodaya.

This Tibetan version was published for the first time with his German translation by Schiefner in 1858, and then by Foucaux together with the original Sanskrit and his own French translation in 1867. In the introduction Foucaux says that the Sanskrit original is in prose ("texte Sanskrit qui est en prose"). But in reality it is in verse composed in *Āryā* metre. It appears that as the work is in the form of a dialogue and the short sentences are written in the text separately that fact escaped his notice.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACARYA

1 But according to a Ms. no. 2628 in the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Fort William*, published by J. Prinsep in 1838, it is ascribed to one Guru Asitapaṭa or Guru Jaina Asitapaṭa. See Cordier, vol. III, 344.

Notes on Dravidian

II

IV. Alveolar d and tt in Tamil-Malayāḷam

The Alveolar plosive *t*, produced with the tip of the tongue on the roof of the mouth above the gums, occurs as a separate phoneme in Tamil-Malayāḷam, and is absent in other modern Dravidian dialects. Compare the following forms with different meanings :

tt	*tt*	ṭṭ
patti (hood of snake)	pa*tt*i (stuck)	paṭṭi (dog)
kutti (pierced)	ku*tt*i (post)	kuṭṭi (boy)
vāttu (duck)	vā*tt*u (drain)	vāṭṭu (to cause to fade)
kotti (pecked)	ko*tt*i (stork)	koṭṭi (sounded)
kāttu (having guarded)	kā*tt*u (wind)	kāṭṭu (to show)

The origin of Tamil-Malayāḷam *t* has to be traced to certain ancient phonological changes still peculiar to this group of languages. r (alveolar) and *ṛ* (the latter much more than the latter) are sometimes pronounced with a certain amount of trilling in Tamil and Malayāḷam, and in this process of trilling, an alveolar *t* and, rarely, a retroflex *ṭ* are incorporated. This was presumably so common a feature of ancient Tamil that even when *ṛ* occurred singly it was sometimes pronounced as *tr* or *dr*, e.g.

mūṛu (three) ≻mu*t*ru ≻mū*d*ru ≻mūnru (the value given to it in current Tamil)

āṛu (six) ≻ā*t*ru ≻ā*d*ru

Ancient verbs with the suffix-r like ūr (to fix) retain alternative forms like ūn*d*ru even today.

The change of *t* ≻*d* and the production of the nasal in mūn*d*ru are to be accounted for by the fact that in Tamil, intervocal plosives, and plosives in contact with voiced consonants always become sonants. The *t* in such combinations became *d*, a voiced variety of the alveolar plosive ; often in such cases a spontaneous nasal intrusive also crept in.

When the *ṛ* was stressed[1] as it had to be in some cases for the

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1 Attempts have been made to discredit what Caldwell in his grammar has described as the doubling of the surds and of *ṛ* in the formation of certain inflexional terminations, causative verbs and

production of new grammatical forms, as for instances, the causal verb, and the adjectival components of Samāsas, the sound that resulted was *tt* r, the doubling (of the symbol and then of the sound) being possible only in the plosive surds. Thus we have

*ét**t**r*u (to raise)—causal of éru

Kaya*t**t**r*u (to pull up)—causal of Kayaṟu [payaṟu

pa*yatt*r (ankāy) *kind of beans*,—adjectival or transitival form of

A second occasion for the production of the same sound arose in the assimilative process involved in the contact of certain alveolar sounds like l and n with the dental plosive. The new sound produced here is only *t* but owing to confusion with the *t*r sound produced from the trilling of ṟ, it came to be combined with *t* so that Śen*d*ru, Kon*d*ru etc., came to be the ultimate values given to sel+tu, kol+tu etc.

Śel (to enter)+tu (suffix of past time) ≻śeldu ≻sel*d*u ≻śen*d*u ≻ śen*d*ru.

A third set of cases where the aveolar *t* arose was where an alveolar l, n or r came in contact with a following plosive, in which case l, n or r was changed into the alveolar dental *t*, e.g. nal+pu = na*t*pu etc. It will

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adjectival samāsas. Caldwell's critics postulate the assimilative influence of an older-t in all such cases. It is true that a suffix-t was active in certain inflexional terminations (like the *irregular* neuter nouns of Telugu etc.) and in certain causals (like vīḻtu from vīḻ etc.) ; but these cases, in my opinion, should be distinguished from the older practice of forming new grammatical categories by means of what Caldwell described as doubling but what really is the preservation, under the influence of stress, of the surd value in the case of plosives and the incorporation of the alveolar *t* in the case of *r*. That such an ancient method should have been operative would be clear from

(i) the practice in modern Kūi of converting sonants into surds under the influence of stress; (see Friend-Perura's grammar, pages 17,31);

(ii) the development in Tuḷu of d, through the alveolar *d*, from an older *r* (cf. instances in Tuḷu like kudi, *term* of Tuḷu with ku*r*i) ;

and (iii) the absence of any sound like t in adjectival samāsas like vāḻekkyāy (plantain fruit), uḷḷaḍakkam (restraint), marakkombu (branch of tree) etc., where, if an old t had existed, it could not have been lost ; whereas in the case of similar samāsas like āt*t*ru-ttaṇṇīr (river-water), ve*tt*rilai (betel leaf) etc. the alveolar *tt* should have been the result of the incorporation of the sound by stressed ṟ.

be observed that in these cases, no r became attached to the pure alveolar plosive.

Thus the alveolar *ṫ* and *ḋ* owe their origin mainly to three different processes operative in Tamil:

1. Trilling of r whereby *ṫ* was incorporated, especially when r was stressed.

2. Assimilation of the dental plosive to alveolar sounds.

3. The change of an alveolar l or r into an alveolar plosive, when in contact with other plosives.

It is worthy of mention here that the scheme of the Tamil alphabet, in so far as the plosives are concerned, has a greater consistency than the Sanskrit alphabet, as it is evaluated[1] today, where dental t is made to correspond to alveolar n, whereas really t corresponds to dental *n̤*, and *ṫ* to n which is an alveolar nasal. The dental *n̤* occurs in combinations in Tamil and Malayāḷam, and initially in Malayāḷam. Tamil seems to have recognised the distinction between n and *n̤* in the alphabet, but it confused *ṫ* with r and tolerated an identical symbol for both. The new plosive, generated in some cases in Telegu under similar circumstances was ṭ, the cerebral, e.g., vāṭi, éṭi etc. found in the inflexional and transitival informs, and forms like vaṭṭu (to be dry cf. Tam. va*ṫṫ*ru); aṭṭi (thus—of. Tam. a*ṫṫ*ru) etc.

The above origin of alveolar *ṫ* may be further illustrated by the following instances:

Primitive Dravidian O meaning *one*+root ir (*to rest* or *to remain*, acting as a common formative) ⪢or in Tamil; or ⪢ o*ṫ*r(u)⪢o*ḋ*ru⪢ on*ḋ*ru (Tamil).

In Kannaḍa, the -r dropped off and the alveolars were converted into dentals: o*n̤*du; the same process happened in Malayāḷam and further nasalisation resulted in o*nn*u.

In Gōṇḍi uṇḍi and Kurukh oṇṭa, the alveolars changed into cerebrals.

The connection between *ṫ* and r is similarly illustrated by the Dravidian word for *three* (mu+ir): ⪢mū*ḋ*ru ⪢ mūn*ḋ*ru.

Another word proving the same relationship is a primitive Dravidian root for "appear": tur which is composed of tu (brightness; cf. Tuḷu) and ir: tur ⪢tu*ṫ*r ⪢tō*ṫ*r⪢tōn*ḋ*r (Tamil)

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1 Everywhere in India today, the sounds l, n and r of the Sanskrit alphabet are given the alveolar values, when used singly.

tur > tuṙ > tuṭ > tūḍ > tsūḍ (Telugu)

tur > tuṙ > tōnḍr > tōnj (Tuḷu, Kūi and Goṇḍi)

The change of *r* to d in Tuḷu in forms like pida (outside), kudi (term), mada (to forget), which correspond to piṙa, kuṛi, maṙa of other Southern dialects, and of *r* to *ḍ*j in Tuḷu in numerous instances like āji (six), oñji (one), kaje (blot), taje (to strike), peji (to choose) which correspond to āṛu, oru, kaṛai, taṛai, piṛakku of Tamil, only confirm the incorporation of an alveolar *ḍ* in stressed ṛ, which alveolar should then have changed to the dental d in some cases and to *ḍ*j in others.

Kūi aska (to cut, cf. Tam. aṙa), peska (to choose cf. Tam. piṙakku), maska (to change cf. Tam. māṛu), āji (six) etc. prove the development of an unvoiced form of j from old ṛ.

V. Brahui dēr (who) and Tamil yār (who)

The interrogative pronouns in Brahui are dēr for persons, ant for inanimate objects and ara used for either.

What, if any, is the relationship between Brahui dēr and Tamil yār?

Light is shed on this point by Brahui words with initial d whose corresponding forms in Tamil have initial vowels:

Brahui has dā, dād (this) corresponding to Tamil ad; the proximate Brahui demonstrative adverbs have all the prefix da, e.g., dasa (now), darek (here), etc. Brahui has dīr (water) while Tamil has ir (also nīr), Gōṇḍi has jēr and Kui has sidru; Kurukh ordinarily uses the Sanskrit-derived amm for *water*, but dialectally it has the form śir. Brāhūi du (hand) is another word with initial d, which may be compared to the non-Brahui Dravidian forms śei, ju (in Pombada), ju (in Burgandi), kei, kai etc. all of which have the meaning "hand."

Can the initial d-of Brahui be a mere analogical intrusive? It has been suggested that d- of dā (this) may have been borrowed from Afghan dā (this), and d- of du (hand) from Persian dost (hand). The following discussion, however, will show that d- should probably have resulted from a process of change native to Dravidian, though it is possible that the foreign forms with initial d- may have accelerated or helped the fixing of initial d in these Brahui words.

Tamil words with initial vowels always incorporate a prothetic on-glide.[1] Therefore a course of changes like the following can be postulated:

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1 The very strong tendency to develop an on-glide before initial vowels of forms is thoroughly characteristic of Dravidian. The question

ār (who) > yār > yēr > jēr > djēr > dēr ; īr > yīr > djīr > dīr.

A different possibility that may be suggested is that these initial sounds may represent an original stage and that they may have dropped off in the alternative instances. This theory is invalid, as we find that the original *roots* with which these forms have to be connected, have only vowels initially.

The development of d from j (voiced form of ś) seems to be a common feature of Tamil, as can be seen from the following instances :

Tamil kośu and kodu (mosquito)
Do. piśukku and pidukku (squeeze)
Do. vāśal and vādal (door)
Do. muśal and Telegu modalu (hare)
Do. paiśal and paidal (boy)
Do. periśu and peridu (big)

Tamil ś (from an original y) appears as-dj and d in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu :—

Tamil	Kann.	Tuḷu	Tam.
tay (strike)	tade	deñji (crab)	Yaṇḍu
payi (to desire)	pade	paji (wet, green)	pai
vey (heat)	bede	padey (to become wet)	payaṅgu
puyai, puśai (fight)	pude	madjepu (to disappear)	mayaṅgu
payir (unripe fruit)	padir	pudar (name)	peyar
		kodjepu (to break)	koy

Cf. also Tuḷu kādi from Urdu khāji, and nadar (sight) from Urdu najar, juga (century) from Sk. Yuga ; Kannaḍa gedi (win) from Sk. jeyi. Indeed, the tendency to evolve d from dj is very common in Tuḷu ; but the above instances will show that in these cases d and dj are derivative and y and ś are the originals represented in Tamil words.

Mention may also be made here of the fact that Sanskrit words with intervocal s are assimilated in Tamil with s changed into d through an intermediate z and dj:—

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of such glides in Dravidian is complicated and deserves a separate paper for itself. I shall content myself with observing that in a number of Dravidian dialects the on-glides have become fixed consonants (see *infra*). The development in certain instances of a few other initial sounds of Dravidian (n-, ñ-, d-, m-, k-) ensues from, or is closely connected with, the production of the on-glides.

āyāsam > āyāzam > āyādam
māsam > māzam > mādam

Thus Brahui d in dēr and dīr has to be traced to an old y which still exists in Tamil, the most conservative[1] of all Dravidian dialects.

The same process of change should account for the relationship existing between Tuḷu dā-(or djā-) in dāne (with its dialectal variant djāne) dādavu (what), dāye (why) and the Kannaḍa alternant forms dāva, yāva (what) and dāru, yāru (which) on the one hand, and the undoubtedly primitive yā forms of common Dravidian on the other. The course of changes here would run thus:

Tulu dāne < djāne (dialectal) < yāne < yān; yān is connected with Tam. ēn, Telegu emi and Kannaḍa enu etc.

Similarly, the Tuḷu forms dādavu and dāge are to be traced to the original yād and yāge.

Kannaḍa shows both the original and the changed forms at the same time.

Compare also Kūi japa (to beg-Tam. yera), jāpa (to get down-Tam. iḷ); and Gōṇḍi dōr (to leak—Tam. śōr); déli (time - Tam. Kann. yel), all of which point to the development of d or *d*j from y.

The usual orthodox explanation, suggested first by Caldwell and repeated with modification by others, is that the da forms arose from ad or id + ane which after the stress-produced apocope of i or a produced

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1 I am aware that the conservative character of Tamil has been seriously questioned by scholars. Prof. Jules Bloch has said that Tamil cannot be said to be a representative of common Dravidian (p. 3 and 4, of Vol. 25 of the Paris *Bulletin de la société de linguistique*); Mr. Tuttle says that "we must look into northern Dravidian, if we wish to understand the history of the southern languages"; and Prof. S. K. Chatterjee is inclined to endorse this view in his Presidential Address at the last Lahore Oriental Conference.

Nevertheless, with due deference to the opinions of these eminent scholars, I have to state that my examination of the northern dialects only tends to show that the forms of southern dialects, and particularly of Tamil, are more conservative than the northern dialects. It is, of course, entirely wrong to identify Tamil with Primitive Dravidian; but a comparative analysis of the northern and southern forms (both from the semantic and the grammatical points of view) reveals only the greater antiquity of the forms of Tamil and of the Southern group of dialects generally.

dāne etc. This explanation (analogic to the development of English *newt* from *an+ewt*) is ingenious, but is not warranted in Dravidian. Nor can the other suggestion that the d-forms are original be accepted in view of what we have stated above.

A similar change of y to ḍ through d may be postulated in the case of Kuvi ḍer (big) and Kūi ḍēr (big).

Dravidian ēr (to ascend, to become big) > yer (with the prothetic glide) > yēr > śēr > jēr > djēr > der or ḍēr (big).

VI. The dialectal alternance of s and h in Kui.

Friend-Pereira in his grammar of Kūi tells us that in this language the sibilant s is sometimes prefixed to words beginning with a vowel and that in the *West Kandh Mals* dialect the initial s in some words is pronounced as h.

Group (1) *Kūi forms with alternative s before initial vowels*:

ēlu (wisdom); sēlu
ōṭe (and); sōṭe
iḍ (which is not); siḍ,

Group (2) *Kūi s-forms alternating with h-forms dialectally*:

Kūi	*Kuvi*
(go) sālmu ;	hālmu (cf. Brahui kharr, Kurukh ka, and Pombada kal (to walk)
(die) sā ;	hā (cf. Brahui kā)
(hill) sōru ;	hōru (cf. Telegu koṇḍa)
(bad) sēḍ ;	hēḍ (cf. Tamil Kēdu and Śettrai)

Group (3) *Kūi forms with initial s—corresponding to Dravidian words with initial vowels*:

Kūi	*Non-Kūi Dravidian*
(plough) śēru	Kannaḍa ēru
(six) sājgi	Tamil ādru (six)
(to give) sī	Tamil-Telegu-Kannaḍa ī (to give)
(above) sendē	Tamil egarndu

Compare also in this connection Kuvi sūḍ (heat) corresponding to the Tamil śūḍ with the same meaning ; Kūi supu (to spit) sūñju (to sleep) etc. where initials < old t.

Group (4) *Kūi non-initial s with corresponding h in Gōṇḍi*:

Kūi (heads) tlaska Gōṇḍi talahk etc.

The large number of s-forms in Kūi alternating with h-forms has led the American scholar Mr. Tuttle on a false track; he postulates an ancient common Dravidian s and derives h from this s,

in the second set of words given above. This postulate is gratuitous, and runs counter to the trend of phonological change in Dravidian.

It should be noted that s in all the above instances is derivative and should go back to older k, t or the prothetic y. The production of h should have occurred in the course of the development of k, t or prothetic y to other sounds. The occurrence of h in prothetic positions in Brahui, the change of p to h in Middle Kannaḍa, the change of t into s and h along independent lines in Tuḷu, the production of the minute h-sound (called *āydam, subtle*) in Tamil,—all these illustrate that h need not have directly developed from s, but presumably arose in the course of the change of old k, t, and prothetic y to other sounds.

The development of s takes place in group (1) and (2) above, according to a natural phonetic law of Dravidian; the prothetic glide y̆ changes into y which, as not unusual in Dravidian, becomes ś from which the dental fricative s is produced:—

ēlu > y̆ēlu > yēlu > śēlu > selu

cf. Kurukh s in the demonstratives and pronouns and the Kurukh alternative forms Iya, Isa, āya and āsa.

s in group (2) above does not change into h directly; there is no instance in any of the Dravidian dialects which would support such a change; and there is no need to postulate Indo-Aryan influence here. The actual change from the root-forms follows two separate lines:

(*a*) Kal (to walk, cognate with Ka of Kurukh, kal of Pombada and kharr of Brahui) > cyal > çal > hal (the form with h); and (*b*) kal > cyal > yal > śal > sal (connected with Tamil śel).

Similarly (*a*) ka (Brahui *to die*) > cya > ça > ha; and (*b*) kā > cyā > yā > śā > sā.

The stage represented by ś exists in Tamil in all the above cases.

In no. (1) above, the original forms are those with initials vowels; s is from the glide through an intermediate ś, while h is developed from the front fricative ç which is incorporated in the production of the glide. That such a front fricative, independently becoming a front plosive later, should have been produced, is clear from the fact that dialects like Kurukh, Malayāḷam and provincial Gōṇḍi possess affricates (c+ś) instead of the mere fricative s in similar positions. The changes therefore will be somewhat as follows:—

y—ś—s in one set of cases;
y—cy—ç—h—in another set;
and y—cy—cś—ch—in a third set.

The sk plural ending of Kūi and hk of Gōṇḍi have to be related thus :—

The final supporting vowel of the word +k (plural ending) gives rise to sk through hk in Kūi[1] hk is retained in Gōṇḍi directly.

Incidentally mention may be made here that there are certain groups of alternative roots in south Dravidian, one set of which has initial i ; and the other set śi: iṛ and siṛ (to tighten); il and śil (branch) (cf. Brahui illing, to leave); iṛa (gu) and sira (gu) *feather*. The forms with the initial vowel being undoubtedly original, the ś in the alternative roots may probably have been derived as shown above from $\breve{y} \prec y \prec i$.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Fifth All-India Oriental Conference, 1928

The fifth session of the All-India Oriental Conference opened at Lahore on the 19th November 1928 with a very successful garden party at the Town Hall Grounds, which was attended by all the delegates and the *élite* of the town. On the same day the Conference formally began in the spacious University Hall when the delegates and writers were treated to the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Dr. Woolner), H. E. the Governor of the Punjab (Sir Geoffrey Montmorency) and the President (Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī). The venerable scholar, to whom the Conference had given a tardy recognition by electing him as its President this session, was still suffering from the effects of an unfortunate accident—he had literally to be carried to and fro in a wheeled conveyance—but his long and interesting address touching principally on the past history and present prospects of Sanskrit learning in India and enlivened by frequent personal touches, sometimes of a very pungent character showed that age and infirmity had not told upon the vigour and vitality of his mental powers. The whole of the two following days (November 20 and 21) and the forenoon of the third were devoted to the addresses of the Sectional Presidents and the reading of papers in the different sections. In this session there were as many as eleven sections, the

1 Compare the production of the Tamil āydam (h) in ahdu (that) from adu etc.

most notable feature being the inclusion of Fine Arts and three modern vernaculars (Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu) in their number. Among the Presidents of the sections special mention may be made of Dr. S. N. Das Gupta (Philosophy), Sir Muhammad Iqbal (Arabic and Persian) and Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (Philology). Other sections were Vedic (Dr. A. C. Woolner), Classical Sanskrit (Dr. V. S. Sukthankar), History and Archæology (Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar), and Anthropology (Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī). The largest number of papers (37) was, naturally enough, presented in the History and Archæology Section, Philology claimed 33 papers, while Philosophy, Classical Sanskrit and Vedic had 27, 25 and 21 papers respectively. During these strenuous days, entertainments were provided for the members of the Conference in the shape of a very enjoyable Garden Party at Shahdara, as well as the performance of the *Svapna Vāsavadattam* drama and of *Mushairas* in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi. An Exhibition of ancient Manuscripts and other antiquities which was arranged in the fine Museum building was also a source of great attraction to the assembled members. The Conference closed its successful session on the 22nd November with a trip to the historic city of Taxila.

U. N. GHOSHAL

REVIEWS

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDA AND THE UPANIṢADS by Arthur Berriedale Keith. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31 and 32, pp. 683 ; 1925.

Professor Keith in this work, which is certainly one of the most important publications on Indology, gives us much more than he promises by the name of his book, for he has even discussed the vexed problems of the original home of the Indo-Europeans, the date of Zoroaster etc. with all his characteristic throughness and brilliance. The great range of subjects which have been reviewed and brought to bear on the contents of this work is surely astonishing but undoubtedly the chief merit of this work is that the author here has delineated in an agreeable way the main features of Ancient Indian Culture—in such a manner that it is interesting even to a beginner in the field of Indology. No such book was in existence, though a work of this kind was urgently necessary. To get acquainted with the religion, philosophy and the mythology of the Vedic period, the student had formerly to consult chiefly Oldenberg's Religion des Veda, Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, Hillebrandt's Vedische Mythologie and Bergaigne's Religion Vedique—all of them excellent and learned works no doubt but they are hardly acceptable to the general reader and least calculated to rouse their interest in the Vedic religion. The same subject has been here dealt with by Keith but from quite a different angle—from a humanistic point of view if we may say so. Keith's account of individual gods is not a mere register of their numerous and contradictory attributes, the exhaustiveness of which merely serves to complete the confusion in the mind of the reader ; he first of all tries to visualise the personality of the individual god and to bring out the myth concerned. Even the dreary contents of Hillebrandt's Ritualliteratur have assumed a living form in the pages of this work.

The flaws in this work, if any, are completely hidden by its brilliant merits, but they should however be touched. The author's sobriety of views is well-known, but it seems that he has sometimes carried his scepticism too far and is cautious to the point of becoming non-committal. At the beginning and at the end of the work he deals with the question of the original home of the Aryans and the age of the Ṛg-veda, and yet it is difficult to ascertain what exactly is

his view on these points. Regarding the age of the Ṛg-veda we have the indirect statement that it was not necessarily in existence at the time of the Boghaz-Köi inscription (14th cent. B.C.) which however cannot be the final opinion even apart from the fact that the whole range of literature from the earliest hymns to the grammar of Pāṇini could hardly have sufficient time for development within a period of less than a thousand years. Neither should we forget that there is not a word about the Aryan migration in Vedic literature, which shows that the first hymns were written when the Aryans were settled in India for a long time and forgotten everything about their migration. Regarding the original home of the Indo-Europeans, he leaves the reader completely at sea. True, it is not safe at present to put forward a definite opinion, but it is also true that one should rather err in trying to solve the problem than never try to solve it at all. Since Keith wrote this book Prof. Eduard Meyer has again probed this problem. After a brilliant survey of the Cappadocian discoveries he makes the rather weak finis that as Indian civilization must date at least from 1500 B. C. and as at about that time, the Indo-Europeans are depicted in the Egyptian sculptures in Syria, the original home of the Indo-Europeans might have been somewhere between Syria and India, probably in the plateau of Iraq.

We have already stated that Keith's portraiture of individual gods of the Veda is particularly brilliant and masterly, but a new stand-point might have been taken to explain many of the anomalies. It has been customary with the workers in this field to seek a myth or a natural phenomenon behind every attribute regarding any particular deity and, curiously enough, no room is left for poetical fancy. It need not be shown here that the Vedic Aryans had developed a novel art of poetry and yet we underestimate their imaginative faculty and hold that every statement made by them was actuated by a myth or a natural phenomenon! One poet described Uṣas to be the wife of Dyaus and another as his daughter; we should quietly take these two statements as poetical fancy and what can be more mistaken than to seek a myth which would reconcile these contradictory statements?

Keith's estimation of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads is singularly happy and unbiassed. We need not be transported to a realm of joy and exult over the profound philosophic tenets drawn out of ambiguous statements and obscure phrases, but still there is its

intrinsic value. It is still too early to ask for a consistent system of thought but we find in the philosophy of the Upaniṣads an expansion of the vague questions raised already in the philosophy of the Ṛg-veda which "asserts as a norm for the future development of that thought, the effort to grasp more concretely and definitely the unity which it asserts as a fact but does not justify or explain in detail."

Keith's scepticism has again gone too far when he considers the interrelation between Greek and Indian philosophy. Of course nobody can be so bold as to assert that the origin of Greek philosophy is to be sought in India or vice versa, but mutual influence between these two countries can hardly be denied. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana has shown that Indian Logic was largely influenced by Greek philosophy. Some of the teachings of Pythagoras—the injunction against bean-eating, for instance, can be explained only if we admit Indian influence on Pythagoras's views; Keith disposes of the prohibition of bean-eating with the theory of a taboo of indigenous growth. Keith himself admits that there was nothing in the way of a cultural relation between India and Greece. It was not only possible but was a fact. Porphyry quotes a passage about Brāhmaṇas from Bardesanes who had acquired authentic information about India from the Indian ambassadors at the Court of Antoninus Pius.[1] It is quite possible that the passage quoted by Porphyry cannot be identified with any particular tenet of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, yet we shall certainly not be justified in denying all influence of the Indian philosophy on the Greek.

B.

JAINA PADMAPURĀṆA (Bengali) by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M. A., pp. iv+48.

The author has given here in Bengali an outline of the extensive Padmapurāṇa of the Jainas. This Purāṇa has been preserved in two versions, one Prākṛt (Paümacariyam) and another Sanskrit. Vimalācāryya, the author of the Prākṛt version, says in the colophon that the work was written 530 years after the decease of Mahāvīra, though, however, from this statement, it will not perhaps be safe to assume, as Mr. Chakravarti has done, that this work actually dates from the first century A.C. The Sanskrit version, it is stated, was written six

1 Garbe, The Philosophy of Ancient India, p. 51.

centuries afterwards, mainly on the basis of the older Prākṛt version. This extensive Sanskrit work in 118 chapters is still unpublished. We are thankful to Mr. Chakravarti for the excellent synopsis given by him of this Sanskrit work, and we hope that the author will soon present us with an edition of this work, which, as he himself has suggested, will certainly help us to clear up the tangle of the history of the Rāmāyaṇa.

By far the most interesting feature of this work is its title. It is nothing but a garbled version of the Rāmāyaṇa and yet it is called the Padmapurāṇa. We have the Buddhist version of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Dasaratha Jātaka which was claimed to be older than the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki by Weber, and here Mr. Chakravarti claims the same antiquity for the Jaina version. I regret to say that I can agree neither with Dr. Weber nor with Mr. Chakravarti. It is difficult to say what portion of the absurdities in the Dasaratha Jātaka is due to the caprice of the Ceylonese monk who introduced it into the sacred literature of the Buddhists or how much the uncertain drift of irresponsible tradition has to do with this process of distortion ; but it is certain that in the Dasaratha Jātaka there has been no attempt to glorify Buddhism except in the conventional way. The Jaina version in this respect is quite the opposite. Everybody, from the young prince to the old king, is here keen on renouncing the world and actually does it at the slightest pretext, and on every side we find temples dedicated to the Jina. All this betrays the hand of the monk who in his pious zeal did not hesitate to distort the Rāmāyaṇa. It was probably he who introduced the names of numerous obscure places in this narration, perhaps because they were well-known Jaina principalities in his day. But another cause of this transformation has been suggested by Vimalācāryya himself in the verse quoted by Mr. Chakravarti in his Introduction, where he has declared that the story had been handed down in tradition for a long time before it was recorded.

But the riddle of the title has not been unravelled. Mr. Chakravarti tells us that this is the account of the Jaina saint Padma or Rāmacandra and therefore there is nothing to wonder at if it has many points of contanct with the Rāmāyaṇa. But there is room for doubt when we consider that the volume under review knows nothing of Padma. Moreover why is it called Padmapurāṇa and not Padmacaritam after the title of the Prākṛt work Paümacariyam ? Was there ever a version of the Rāmāyaṇa going under the

name Padmapurāṇa? Or, did Raviṣeṇa, the author of the Sanskrit version, draw upon the version of the Rāmāyaṇa contained in the Hindu Padmapurāṇa? I venture to speculate on this point in spite of the grave warning given by Mr. Chakravarti that there is no agreement between the Hindu Padmapurāṇa and the Jaina Padmapurāṇa. Mr. Chakravarti has even suggested that Bhavabhūti took the episode of Lava and Kuśa capturing the sacrificial horse from the Jaina Padmapurāṇa. I would rather turn to the Hindu Padmapurāṇa to explain this episode in the Uttararāmacarita. Of course there is the question of the date of the Purāṇa. But when reading the Rāmāyaṇa I was struck with numerous quotations from the Padmapurāṇa in the commentary Tilaka of Rāmavarman. Rāmavarman has quoted many Purāṇas to explain the obscurities and contradictions in the Rām. but by far the most numerous quotations are from the Padmapurāṇa. Most of these quotations may still be seen in slightly variant forms in the Padmapurāṇa of today, and if a few cannot be found it is because the version of the Rām. contained in the Padmapurāṇa has been considerably abridged since the days of Rāmavarman, as may be found at once from a comparison of Rāmavarman's quotations with the present day Hindu Padmapurāṇa. Rāmavarman commenting on Rām. II, 116, 1 gives a very long quotation about the Aindra crow from the Padmapurāṇa, the whole of which may be found almost word for word in the Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 242, 195-211. It is particularly interesting because not a word of this event has been mentioned in the Rām., a fact which precludes the chance of any influence of the text of Rām. on these two texts. Rāmavarman's Commentary on I, 77, 29, has this quotation from the Padmapurāṇa: *tatra dvādaśavarṣāṇi rāghavaḥ saha sītayā| ramayāmāsa dharmātmā nārāyaṇa iva śriyā||* In the Padmapurāṇa (Uttarakh. 242, 182), on the other hand, we read: *tatra dvādaśavarṣāṇi sītayā saha rāghavaḥ| ramayāmāsa dharmātmā nārāyaṇa iva śriya||* Such an agreement cannot be accidental and must have a deep significance. We may assume therefore that the sketch of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Padmapurāṇa is much the same as it was in the days of Rāmavarman who has been placed in the tenth century by Jacobi. As to his date it may be said *en passant* that Rāmavarman has quoted a passage from a commentary on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which is different from the traditional commentary of Sāyaṇa. But we can go still further: perhaps even Kataka, the oldest commentator of the Rām., who has been quoted so often by Rāmavarman, and also the poet

Kālidāsa knew the Padmapurāṇa version of the Rām. A detailed discussion of this point would be too long, but Rāmavarman's commentary on the episode of the distribution of the sacrificial *caru* among the three queens says that Kataka's interpretation of this episode is the same as that of Kālidāsa, and Kālidāsa in Raghuv. 10, 55-57 says exactly what we find in the Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakh. 242, 59-61. In the Rām. we read that Bharata was crowned King by Rāma before he entered the waters of the Sarajū, but Kālidāsa says that Bharata too along with others followed Rāma to the next world. This is exactly what we find in the Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakh. 244, 83-84 ; see also the quotation in Rāmavarman's comment on the Rām. VII, 124, 9.

We can therefore safely assume that the Padmapurāṇa version of the Rām. was already in existence when Raviṣeṇa composed the Sanskrit version of the Jaina Padmapurāṇa and it is very probable that he used this version of the Rām., considering, even apart from the fact that the titles are identical, that even Kālidāsa followed this tradition and not that recorded in the original Rām. But there is another difficulty. The Hindu Padmapurāṇa contains two different versions of the Rām., one complete and another incomplete. The short but complete and decidedly the older sketch in three chapters in the Uttarakhaṇḍa has already been referred to. Most of the quotations in Rāmavarman's Commentary are to be found in this sketch. The Pātālakhaṇḍa, however, from its beginning, has a very lengthy narration of the horse-sacrifice of Rāma, containing also an elaborate description of the battle between Rāma and his twin sons, which cannot be found in the shorter sketch in the Uttarakhaṇḍa. So far as I can see Rāmavarman has given no quotation from the longer narrative, but it cannot be said with certainty that he did not know this version, for in the Uttarakāṇḍa with which this version is concerned, Rāmavarman's commentary is incomplete and full of lacunæ and of course Rāmavarman has given quotations from the Padmapurāṇa only facultatively. It is, however, certain that this longer version is later than the shorter one, because if Kālidāsa knew the longer version with the episode of the battle between Rāma and his sons, as he did the shorter one, he would hardly have omitted to make use of this episode, full of dramatic effect, in the Raghuvaṃśam. Bhavabhūti coming several centuries later fully utilised this episode. We thus see that a new version of the Rāmāyaṇa came into existence sometime between Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, and it left its mark also in the Padmapurāṇa. To all appearance, this later version was utilised

by Raviṣeṇa. I can see no reason why the Jaina Padmapurāṇa version of the Rāmāyaṇa should in any way be older than the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL VOLUME. Published by Prof. J. N. Samaddar, pp. 354+137.

Of the 'Commemoration Volumes' which we have had in India, the one under review deserves special notice in that its late lamented publisher Prof. J. N. Samaddar of Patna undertook the work on his own responsibility and, be it said to his credit, he did not fight shy of this heavy task even under trying circumstances recorded in the Preface and even in the midst of serious illness of which he died a few months ago. It is however some consolation to his admirers that the book saw the light of day before Prof. Samaddar died. He has thus shown most fittingly his deep respect for the great man who has done so much for the resuscitation of ancient Indian culture.

The Volume contains 38 contributions from almost all the leading Scholars, Indian and European, working in the field of 'Ancient India',—historical, philological, philosophical and cultural. The three great controversial topics connected with the Arthaśāstra, Bhāsa and Vikramāditya [with the upshot of which the vexed question of Kālidāsa's date is bound up] have all received due treatment in this Volume. Dr. A. B. Keith in his article on the Authenticity of the Arthaśāstra seeks to show that the book is not the work of Kauṭilya, the minister of Candragupta and that it belongs "to a late date, probably not before 200 A.D. at the earliest." It is impossible to discuss Dr. Keith's views here but one cannot help noticing how weak some of his arguments are, specially when he speaks of Megasthenes' silence regarding Cāṇakya or of the expression "iti Kauṭilyaḥ" which occurs in the book. Besides, the learned scholar seems to have paid little attention to the books written in India in support of views contrary to his. In his article on Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, Dr. M. Winternitz selects a number of topics, e.g. education of princes, duties of King, etc., and gives a synopsis of all the texts where the two Śāstras go over the same ground, and arrives at what he himself calls preliminary conclusions, throwing out the hint however that both may go back to one and the same common source.

Before a real history of Indian Political Science can be written, we agree with Dr. Winternitz, a great deal of minute investigation both of the Arthaśāstra sections in the Mahābhārata and of the references to Arthaśāstra matter in the Dharmaśāstras is necessary, of which the present article is a fine specimen. Dr. Jolly's article on the Old Political Literature of India, we regret, contains remarks which we least expected in a Volume like this. His advice to the Swarajists, his allusion to what he supposes to be Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar's aim of expelling European nations from Young Asia and his patronising reference to the 'patriotic motive which actuates the present day Indian scholar' in writing on a subject like this, make us doubt whether our expectation to have sober and scientific criticism from this venerable scholar on a subject like this will be fulfilled in future. Among Philological contributions, Principal Woolner's article on Prākritic and Non-Aryan Strata in Sanskrit Vocabulary, though scrappy in character, is interesting in that it gives a long list of admittedly Sanskrit words which, far from being Indo-European, are not even Aryan in origin as the writer shows. But we doubt if he is justified in saying that if we take *any* Sanskrit word at random and look for an equivalent in any other I. E. Language, we shall fail to find one. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla's paper on the Horse in I. E. Languages, in spite of its narrow scope, will, we feel, amply repay perusal. In the branch of political history the most illuminating contribution is from the pen of Dr. Krisnaswami Aiyangar who in his article on Vikramāditya brings together facts so far known about Candragupta II and narrates in an exceedingly interesting manner the history of the epoch covered by the reign of this king. But the writer seems to assume that this ruler was the original of the traditional Vikramāditya—a hypothesis for which he gives perhaps only one argument, viz., that Candragupta II (Vikramāditya), Kālidāsa the supposed author of the *Kauntaleśvara-dautyam* and Pravarasena (i.e. Kuntaleśa) were contemporaries, because according to the commentator on Pravarasena's *Setu-bandham*, Kālidāsa revised this Kāvya at the instance of Vikramāditya. Without questioning the testimony of the commentator and without entering into the question whether Kālidāsa really wrote the *Kauntaleśvara-dautyam*, it appears that the chief fact which militates against Dr. Aiyangar's identification is that while Candragupta II's capital was Pāṭaliputra (cf. Fa-hien and the undated record at Udayagiri), that of Vikramāditya was Ujjain. Besides, if Candragupta II has anywhere been referred to as Vikramāditya, Skandagupta also bears

the title on his coins as Prof. Pathak has shown (Ind. Ant., 1912). In fact though Dr. Aiyangar's view has had the support of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and V. A. Smith, one has to dispose of arguments to the contrary before one can take it to be true. That the problem is still unsolved is shown in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's article on the date of Kālidāsa, in which the writer advances new arguments in favour of Dr. Hoernle's theory that the great poet flourished about the middle of the 6th century A.C. and was a protégé of Yaśodharman. The problem of Bhāsa has been tackled with great minuteness by Mr. K. G. Shankar who shows that the poet whose works have come down to us almost intact was identical with King Śūdraka of Malwa (500 A.C.) and that *Cārudatta* is only an abridged version of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (c. 750 A.C.). Dr. P. K. Acharyya contributes a valuable article on the *Mānasāra* which is the standard work on ancient architecture and sculpture, and which the writer places somewhere between the 5th and the 7th century A.C. Architectural matters are no doubt touched on in works like the Agni Purāṇa, Bṛhat Saṃhitā, Matsya Purāṇa, etc., but we have yet to come across another work like the Mānasāra which treats exclusively of this subject and gives details at once so full and so interesting. In less than 30 pages Dr. Acharyya gives not only an excellent résumé of this book but shows how the work was influenced by—and itself influenced—other works dealing with Architecture. 'Śāsana and Jayapatra' is the name of another interesting article, contributed by Dr. Amareswar Thakur, which puts together almost all the information regarding two of the most important varieties of public or royal (*rājakīya*) documents in Ancient India.

Want of space prevents us from referring to the other contributions in the Volume, each valuable in its own way. But we are afraid we cannot help noting that the get-up of the book leaves something to be desired. We fully realise the difficult situation in which the publisher was placed but we feel that some of the mistakes in printing are, to say the least, deplorable. 'Carvings' for cravings (I. 127), 'Basarh' for 'Basrah' i.e. Vaisali (I. 160) दशभुज: for दशभुज: (I. 222), श्राद्धकल्पं for श्राद्धकल्पं (II. 42) and उच्यते for उच्चते (II. 88) are only some of the mistakes, too glaring in a Volume like this. The Volume has been divided into two parts, though the principle of this division is not clear to us. We wish this Volume, like the Bhandarkar Commemorartion Volume, were divided into a number of sections (corresponding to the subjects of study) each containing

serially the articles dealing with the same or similar subject. But these are minor defects compared with the merits of the work which is undoubtedly a very valuable addition to the library of every one interested in the history of Ancient India.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1927, Kern Institute, Leyden

The bibliographical part of the volume contains a list of books and periodicals on Indological subjects published during the year 1927 with a description of their contents. Attempt has been made to make the list as exhaustive as possible. Not only the articles but also the reviews of works published in the journals have been noticed. The Introduction delineates the results of the most notable excavations of recent years. Two of them are noticed below:

The Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus. It is an extract from a paper by Sir John Marshall in the Illustrated London News, January 7 and 14, 1928. The author has shown that the three cities of the latest period that have as yet been excavated at Mohenjo Daro may be assigned to about 2700 B.C., 3000 B.C. and 3300 B.C. respectively. The remains brought to light at Mohenjo Daro tend to show that the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen at this place were far in advance of anything to be found at that time in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile. The discovery of scraps of fine cotton material has confirmed the theory that the Indus valley was the home of cotton growing as is indicated also by the Babylonian and Greek name of Cotton, viz. Sindhu and Sindon respectively. The author concludes with the statement that the Indus civilisation certainly formed part and parcel of the wide flung chalcolithic culture of Asia and Europe which was focussed on the great river valleys of the south, of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Helmund and the Indus.

Further Discoveries on the Site of the Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa. Mr. Longhurst will in due course give a full account of the excavations he has carried on at this spot on the river Kistna which he claims to be the most important Buddhist site in the South of India, but here, by special permission, a short account of this brilliant discovery has been given. The ruins of a great Buddhist Caitya have been found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa along with seventeen dated Brāhmī inscriptions engraved on pillars which, according to these epigraphs, were set up by various queens and princesses of the Ikṣvāku family. There is also a group of sculptures of the Amarāvatī type and there is reason to believe that the Great Nāgārjuna spent his last days in this locality.

Calcutta Review, Third Series, vol. 31, no. 2

H. VON. GLASENAPP.—*Jainism, its historical importance.* The author has tried to show that Jainism has influenced not only the faiths of the various Hindu sects but also Muhammadanism and perhaps even Parsism. In his opinion the Jaina influence on Manichæism is not conclusive.

Indian Antiquary, January, 1929

RICHARD C. TEMPLE.—*Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the Kathā-saritsāgara.*

BENODE BEHARI ROY.—*Harappa is the Vedic Hariyupia.*

Ibid., February, 1929

R. D. BANERJI.—*The Empire of Orissa.* This instalment of the continued article deals with the history of the empire of Orissa during the last quarter of the 15th century and describes the activities of Puroṣottama (1470-1497).

L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.—*Plosives in Dravidian.*

Journal Asiatique, Tome ccxi, no. 2

MELE. M. LALORE.—*La version tibétaine du Ratnakūṭa.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 4, nos. 1 and 2

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Pañcatantra Studies.* Two stories from the *Pañcatantra* viz. of Duṣṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi and also of the Ape and the Crocodile form the subject-matter of this instalment of the studies.

G. N. VAIDYA.—*Fire-arms in ancient India.* After an examination of the usual arguments in favour of the contention that use of gun-powder was known in ancient India, the author concludes that they are all uncertain.

V. S. BAKHLE.—*Sātavāhanas and the contemporary Kṣatrapas.* The author is of opinion that under the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharātas, the people had a voice in the government and enjoyed local self-government. He has discussed the position and functions of the state officials and the 'nigamasabhā'. The author has also given a detailed analysis of the principal inscriptions of the period.

Y. R. GUPTE.—*Archæological and historical Research: Its Scope in the Satara District.* It is a public lecture delivered at Satara. The author has advised the public as to how archæological and historical researches should be carried on and has described some important archæological discoveries.

N. B. UTGIKAR.—*Some Points of Contact between the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas.* This is the fifth of a series of seven lectures on the Mahābhārata delivered at the Bombay University. The author has compared the Mahābhārata and Jātaka versions of several legends common to these two works.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Vedic Studies.* Here has been discussed the meaning of the obscure Vedic word *nireka.*

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—*Epic studies.* The author has here controverted the views expressed by Hermann Weller and Edgerton in their reviews of the first fasciculus of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. I, no. 2

K. G. KUNDAGAR.—*Hosahaḷḷi Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.*

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*The Śālivāhana or Śaka Era.* Following the view of Sten Konow the writer holds that the Śaka Era was "a foundation of Vima-Kadphises, who again subjected India to the sway of the *Śakas*" and adduces reasons why either Hāla or Gautamīputra cannot be the founder of this era.

M. S. COMMISSARIAT.—*The Emperor Jahangir's Second Visit to Ahmadabad.*

H. HERAS.—*Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.*

A. GOVINDA WARIAR.—*The Rajasiṃhas of Ancient Kerala.*

Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, vol. X, pt. 1

J. PH. VOGEL.—*Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls—Shah Alam, Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah* (translated by D. Kuenenwicksteed).

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, vol. XXIII, No. 3

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJEE.—*The Yogāvatāropadeśa: A Mahāyāna Treatise on Yoga by Dharmendra in its Tibetan Version with Sanskrit Restoration and English Translation.*

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA.—*The Hindu Method of testing Arithmetical Operations.*

R. D. BANERJI.—*The Indian Affinities of Ainu Pottery.* The author shows that there is a clear affinity between the prehistoric potteries of Japan, India, Mesopotamia, Central Asia and Crete and concludes that in the later phase of the neolithic period or the copper age there was direct communication between the peoples living along the eastern and the southern sea-board of Asia.

C. W. GURNER.—*Aśvaghoṣa and the Rāmāyaṇa.* The author has tried to show that Aśvaghoṣa was greatly influenced by the Kāvya style of the Rāmāyaṇa.

J. D. RATNAKAR.—*The Historical Stone Horse in the Lucknow Museum.* The author has discussed the reading of the two inscriptions of the stone horse bearing the name of Samudragupta.

S. R. DAS.—*Precession and Libration of the Equinoxes in Hindu Astronomy.* It has been shown here that the discovery of precession was achieved by the Hindus at a very early period.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Social Organisations of the Śātakarṇis and uṅgas.* This paper contains a very full discussion on the chronology of the Sātavāhanas, mainly based on the Purāṇas and the inscriptions.

Ibid., vol. xxiii, no. 4 (Numismatic Supplement, no. xl)

RATIAL M. ANTANI.—*Coins exhibited at the Annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Agra on January 2, 1927.*

PRAYAG DAYAL.—*Rare Mughal Coins acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.*

A. MASTER.—*Sultans of Guǰarāt.*

A. MASTER.—*The Arthaśāstra on Coins and Minting.*

C. E. KOTWALL.—*Copper Dāms of Jalaluddin Akbar.*

G. H. OJHA.—*A Gold Coin of Bāppā Rāwal.*

M. F. C. MARTIN.—*A Find of Indo-Greek Hemidrachms in Bajaur.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1929

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*The Patna Congress and the "Man".* The paper contains some suggestions concerning the Third Buddhist Council held at Patna.

F. W. THOMAS, S. MIYAMOTO, G. L. M. CLAUSON.—*A Chinese Mahāyāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters.*

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Two Studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.* Dealing with the first point of this article the writer points out references to the *Kauṭilīya* in some Buddhist works of the early Christian era and comes to the conclusion that "no great interval separates the *Arthaśāstra* from Aśvaghoṣa" of the early second century A.C. and that at the time of the composition of the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the *Kauṭilīya* was regarded as the standard work on Arthaśāstra, so that the lower limit for its date of composition cannot be later than 250 A.C.

The second part of the article contains suggestions regarding the interpretations of a few passages of the *Arthaśāstra* dealing with the land tenure and agriculture.

Rūpam, January, 1929

ORDHENDRA COOMER GANGOLY.—*A Jain Relief from South Kensington Museum.*

AJIT GHOSE.—*The Basohli School of Rajput Painting.*

ANANDA K. COOMARSWAMY.—*Nāgara Painting.*

H. PARMENTIER.—*The Common Origin of Hindu Architecture in India and the Far East.*

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, vol. 8, Part, 1.

H. LÜDERS.—*Philologie, Geschichte und Archœology in Indien*, read at the fifth conference of German Orientalists.

Prof. Lüders has shown here how the science of Indology in its various branches has progressed in India and Europe. He has also pointed out that Indian students, specially of comparative philology, are in need of the help of European scholars and that all European Indologists, specially of the younger generation, should be sent to India to study under the guidance of the Indian Shastris.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Prof. Karl Friedrich Geldner

Prof. Karl Friedrich Geldner breathed his last on February 5, at Marburg at the ripe age of seventy seven. This great Vedic and Avestan scholar needs no introduction to-day to the world of scholars : in him the goddess of learning has lost one of her sincerest devotees and Germany one of the noblest members of her noble race of *Gelehrtes*. Prof. Geldner's learning was rivalled only by his modesty : when on his seventy-fifth birthday his pupils and admirers all over the world proposed to present him a volume of essays on various topics he refused the honour.

Geldner was the pupil of Roth, but he was too true a devotee of learning to follow his teacher even in his mistakes and prejudices. Roth in his famous sentence declared that any European scholar of average intelligence can interpret the Veda more efficiently than Sāyaṇa ; but it remained for his pupil Geldner to vindicate the honour of the great Commentator. Geldner boldly declared in the preface to the first volume of the Vedische Studien that Roth himself has committed mistakes in many places where Sāyaṇa was right. He clearly proved that however much the European and America scholars may try to ridicule Sāyaṇa's Commentaries they cannot move a step without Sāyaṇa to guide them and even if in many cases, as Max Müller said, Sāyaṇa serves merely to indicate in which way a particular Vedic passage is not to be interpreted—even this is a service of no mean importance.

So it is not to be wondered at that when Geldner in collaboration with his equally famous friend Pischel brought out the first volume of the Vedische Studien it gave rise to much hot discussion and the two friends were accused of apostacy. But when the atmosphere gradually cleared, Pischel and Geldner succeeded in proving to the world that the method adopted by them is the right and the most scientific one. The other two volumes of these studies appeared in due course, though after long intervals.

All his life Prof. Geldner maintained his indomitable passion for the Ṛgveda of which he was undoubtedly the greatest interpreter. In 1907 he brought out his "Ṛgveda im Auswahl" (Selections from the

Ṛgveda) in two volumes—glossary and commentary—and fitly enough he dedicated the work to his friend and collaborator who, alas ! had taken leave of the world and left Geldner alone to finish his work on the Ṛgveda. The rest of his life Geldner devoted to the work of translating the Ṛgveda along with a running commentary. The first volume of this work appeared in 1923, but the author is no more to see the other three volumes in print which he has completed in manuscript. It is known that his complete work in an English garb will now appear in the Harvard Oriental Series through the courtesy of Prof. Lanman, the life-long friend and admirer of Prof. Geldner.

Prof. Geldner's fame is not established merely on his Vedic studies ; his stupendous work in the field of Avestan research will always be a stout pillar to the edifice of his fame. While working on the Ṛgveda, Geldner truly perceived that the comprehension of the Ṛgveda will never be complete without a close study of the sister Avestan literature which has sometimes been exaggerated to be more akin to Vedic Sanskrit than to Classical Sanskrit itself. Thus began Geldner's Avestan studies and while still a young man he brought out a complete edition of Avesta in ten years (1886-1895). He also contributed numerous essays and articles of inestimable value on the Avesta.

In recent times we have mourned the death of two eminent European Orientalists, Alfred Hillebrandt and Emile Senart. Now it was the turn of Geldner. These were giants of an older generation and the wide breaches left by them in the line of workers in the field of 'Wissenschaft' will, we fear, ever remain unrestored.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

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Printed and published by R. N. Seal, B.A., at the Calcutta Oriental Press,
107, Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.

Prakāśavarsa and his Rasārnavālaṅkāra

Although we have lost the poetical works of Prakāśavarṣa, Vikaṭanitambā, Hastimalla, etc., it may be inferred from the single-verses attributed to them in the Subhāṣitāvali and other Subhāṣita works, that they were great poets in the field of Sanskrit literature. There are several single verses in the Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra, the Śārṅgadharapaddhati and the Subhāṣitāvali, which are attributed to Prakāśavarṣa. In the same manner, there are some verses by Bhāsa quoted in these works, but none of them are to be found in the thirteen plays of Bhāsa, published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the editorship of Dr. Ganapati Sastri. On the contrary the following verse

"Peyā surā priyatamāmukham īkṣitavyam
grāhyas svabhāvalalito vikṛtaś ca veṣaḥ/
Yenedam īdṛśam adṛśyata mokṣavartma
dīrghāyur astu bhagavān sa pinākapāṇiḥ.//"

which is ascribed to Bhāsa, is found in the Mattavilāsaprahasana[1] of Mahendravikramavarman, son of Siṃhaviṣṇu (Pallava king). Hence it is not possible to rely upon these Subhāṣita works.

In the field of Sanskrit literature the oldest rhetorician is Bharatācārya, who is supposed to be the author of the Nāṭyaśāstra. In the opinion of scholars, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin come next. The controversy regarding the posteriority and anteriority between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is still going on among scholars. But among these differences of opinion the majority are in favour of taking Bhāmaha as prior to Daṇḍin. The time of Bhāmaha is supposed to be approximately "in the period between the last quarter of the seventh and the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.," and of Daṇḍin in the beginning or the first half of the eighth century.[2] The works of both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, the Kāvyālaṅkāra and the Kāvyādarśa, are written on the same line, in

1 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 55.

2 Vide Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De., part, I, pp. 49, 70 (1923). There are differences of opinion in fixing the age of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. See also the introduction to the Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha by P. N. Nāganātha Śāstrin, Tanjore, pp. 3 and 4.

the same style, and with the same object. So it is but natural that they resemble each other in many places. Besides, some scholars have opined that Daṇḍin must have known, and been well-versed in Bhāmaha's work.

In the same field, there exists another work, namely Rasārṇavālaṅkāra. This work has not yet been published, and a Ms. of the work in Devanāgari script is kept[1] in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library[1], Madras. On a careful inspection of the Ms. I find that the work is a valuable old contribution to Alaṅkāra literature. I read it several times, because the treatment of the subject is very clear, and the order of the treatment is a very good one, and not diffused, as in Bhāmaha's work. I remembered several parallel passages in the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. As the Ms. is full of errors, and omissions, I was in search of another copy of the work. At last I got a palm-leaf Ms. of the work, preserved in the Mss. Library, Theosophical Headquarters, Adyar, by the courtesy of Dr. C. K. Raja, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University. I compared this original, which is very old (probably 350 years old) and very much soiled, and I came to the conclusion that the paper Ms. is a transcription of the palm-leaf Ms. But with the help of this Adyar Ms., I was able to correct some of the mistakes, and fill up some of the omissions, which were the result of the carelessness of the copyist. Even now I do not think that the text is free from errors. The authorship of the work is attributed to Prakāśavarṣa, because the following sentences are to be seen at the end of the third and fifth chapters (pariccheda).

(1) Iti Prakāśavarṣakṛtau Rasārṇavālaṅkāre Śabdālaṅkāraprakāśanaṃ nāma tṛtīyaḥ paricchedaḥ.

(2) Iti Prakāśavarṣakṛtau Rasārṇavālaṅkāre Śṛṅgāravyaktiḥ pañcamaḥ paricchedaḥ.

The name of the work must be either Rasārṇava[2] or Rasārṇavālaṅkāra, because the last sentence of the fourth chapter bears the word

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1 R. No. 3761.

2 There are two other works also in the same name. "(1) Rasārṇava—alam. Siṃha mahīpati, the nominal author is said to have been a Tanjore Prince of the last century. (2) Rasārṇava—quoted in Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, in Todarananda in Rasendracintāmaṇi."

Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 497.

Rasārṇava only, while in other places Rasāraṇavālaṅkāra is used as the name of the work. The work contains five paricchedas or chapters. The first chapter treats of doṣa, the second of guṇa, the third of śabdālaṅkāra, the fourth of arthālaṅkāra and the fifth of ratiprapañca and śṛṅgāravyakti. From the name of the work, one will expect that this work describes *rasa* in a detailed manner. But there is nothing of the sort, and I think that even the fifth chapter itself in which some verses are to be found about *rasa* is imperfect, because I find several inconsistencies throughout the chapter. I guess that the present text of the fifth chapter is not complete and accurate. Moreover the fifth chapter begins in the following manner :—

"Uktas so'yam vibhāvānubhāvasañcārisaṅkaraḥ" (v.1).

As mentioned above, the description is not to be found anywhere. All these tend to prove the incompleteness of the work. But in the palm-leaf Ms. the work ends with these words—"Śrīr astu, harihara-garbhebhyo namaḥ"—and a page of the leaf is left blank at the end.

The Author

I have already stated that some verses are attributed to Prakāśavarṣa in the Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra. Catalogus Catalogorum mentions one Prakāśavarṣa as the son[1] of Śrīharṣa. In another place of the same work, it is stated that Prakāśavarṣa wrote a commentary on the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi. In addition to these, several verses can be seen in other Subhāṣita works[2] also by Prakāśavarṣa. Vallabhadeva the well-known commentator of the works of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra, etc., and the author of the Subhāṣitāvali, refers to Prakāśavarṣa and says that he is his preceptor.[3] The date of Valla-

1 "Prakāśavarṣa, a Kāśmīrī poet. He was a son of Harṣa and father of the poet Darśanīya."—Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 347.

2 There are 28 verses attributed to Prakāśavarṣa in the Subhāṣiṭāvali of Vallabhadeva (edited by Peterson, 1886) and they are numbered as 3119, 981, 624, 417, 834, 428, 3135, 484, 860, 2876, 2877, 3118 (?), 797, 522, 959, 418, 419, 326, 2335, 2879, 899, 920, 867, 274, 459, 273, (?), 248, and 2878. The verses 834 and 484. above, are in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati also ascribed to Prakāśavarṣa.

3 "Vallabhadeva, who wrote a commentary on the Śiśupālavadha refers at the end of his note on a verse in the fourth canto of the

bhadeva, in the opinion of some scholars, is in the latter part of the tenth century A.C., and according to others in the fifteenth century. There were two Prakāśavarṣas. One is a rhetorician, the author of the present work Rasārṇava, and the other is a poet, who is mentioned as the author of several verses quoted in the Subhāṣita works, and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya. The following statements make the above opinion very clear.

Prakāśavarṣa in his Rasārṇava mentions Bāṇa as the best prose-writer :—

"Vādṛg gadyavidhau Bāṇaḥ padyabandhe na tādṛśaḥ." (III-87)

This direct citation of Bāṇabhaṭṭa indicates that Prakāśavarṣa must have flourished after Bāṇa (first half of the 6th century A.C.). Prakāśavarṣa extracts many passages from other early works, and whenever he does so, he indicates them separately by using the words—"yad āha" "yad āha Mahābhāmahaḥ" etc., so that we can understand that they are the direct quotations from other works. Some examples of such citations are given below :—

(1) "yad āha :—

Prastāvapātra[1] plutalaṅghitāni
cchedyāni māyākṛtam indrajālam/
[2]... ... ni yuddhāni ca yatra vṛttim[3]
tat[4] tādṛśīm ārabhaṭīṃ vadanti"// (III—29)

(2) "yad āha Mahābhāmahaḥ :—

Yatrārabhaṭyādiguṇās samastā
mitratvam āśritya mithaḥ prathante//
Miśreti tāṃ vṛttim uśanti dhīrās
sādhāraṇīm arthacatuṣṭayasya.//" (III—37)

Among these citations, the second refers to one Mahābhāmaha. According to this reference this particular verse is not to be found in the Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha, because the vṛtti is not described by him. Moreover, the name Bhāmaha is used here with "mahat."

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work to Prakāśavarṣa as a contemporary of his own, from whom he has received instruction in the interpretation of the poem :

"Śrutvā Prakāśavarṣāt tu vyākhyātaṃ tāvad īdṛśam./
Viśeṣatas tu naivāsti bodho' trānubhavād ṛte//"

1 Read 'pāta'. 2 Read 'citrāṇi'. 3 Read 'nityam'.
4 Read 'tāṃ'.

These help us to arrive at the conclusion that there were two Bhāmahas.

The following lines occur in the Upamālaṅkāraprakaraṇa of Rasārṇava :—

"Pratibimbam api prekṣya pratibimbí pratīyate/
Atas tad api [rasajñair] upamānam udāhṛtam//
Rūpam śaṃsanti [mudrāpi] svanimittasya vastunaḥ./
Upamānān na sā bhinnā bhavatīty āha (Bhāma)haḥ.//"(IV, 91,92)

The subject illustrated in the above lines is not to be seen in the Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha. This also proves the existence of another Bhāmaha. Here Prakāśavarṣa has mentioned only Bhāmaha and not Mahābhāmaha, for fear of infringement of metre. It is also clear that Prakāśavarṣa was familiar with the work of Mahābhāmaha (not Bhāmaha, the author of the Kāvyālaṅkāra). This same view can be supported by another statement. In the Kāmadhenu, the commentary on Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti,[1] Bhāmaha is cited in the following places :—

(1) "Bhāmaho'pi—
Prajñā navanavonmeṣaśālinī pratibhā matā/
Tadanuprāṇanāj jīved varṇanānipuṇaḥ kaviḥ//" (p. 4)

(2) "Vṛttilakṣaṇam uktaṃ Bhāmahena :—
Sūtramātrasya yā vyākhyā sā vṛttir abhidhīyate/" (p. 4)

(3) "Tad uktaṃ Bhāmahena :—
Upaślokyasya māhātmyād ujjvalāḥ kāvyasampadaḥ iti." (p. 5)

(4) "Atra kalānām uddeśaḥ kṛto Bhāmahena :—
Nṛttaṃ gītaṃ tathā vādyam ālekhyaṃ maṇibhūmikāḥ/"
etc. (p. 29)

(5) "Tulyaśrutīnāṃ bhinnānām abhidheyaiḥ parasparam/
Varṇānāṃ yaḥ punarvādo yamakaṃ tan nigadyate"//
iti Bhâmahenoktam." (p. 99)

Among these extracts, some are to be found in the Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha, while the others are not. These latter extracts are supposed to be the quotations from another Bhāmaha, whose name is mentioned in the Rasārṇava, as Mahābhāmaha, and who is much older than Prakāśavarṣa and Bhāmaha. Prof. S. K. De holds the same view :[2]

"Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit,

1 Benares edition, 1908. 2 Sanskrit Poetics, part I,

it attaches itself (besides two verses in Subhāṣ : 1664-1665 that are also found in our text II-92, III-21) to a commentator on Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa, who is probably a different author."

"Etad grāhyaṃ surabhi kusumaṃ mālyam etan[1] nidheyaṃ
dhatte śobhāṃ[2] viracitam idaṃ sthānam asyaitad asya/
Mālākāro racayati yathā sādhu vijñāya mālāṃ
yojyaṃ kāvye[3]ṣva vahitadhiyā[4] tadvad evābhidhānam"//

This verse is to be seen in both the works, Rasārṇava and Kāvyālaṅkāra at the end of the third and first chapters respectively. But we have to decide the authorship of composition. Usually Prakāśavarṣa indicates the extracts of other writers. In regard to this particular verse there is no indication that it is an extract. So it may be justly inferred that this verse must have been his own composition and Bhāmaha borrowed it in his work. In the same manner Bhāmaha has imitated Prakāśavarṣa in many places in idea, and in construction of verses. In some other places the verses have been used by Bhāmaha without any change. A list of such borrowings is appended herewith :

(1) "Samudāyārthaśūnyaṃ yat tad apārtham[4] pracakṣate /"
(Bhā. IV, 8 ; Pra. I, 31)

(2) "Kvacid[5] āśrayasaundaryād dhatte śobhām asādhv api/
Kāntāvilocananyastaṃ malīmasam ivāñjanam//
Sanniveśaviśeṣāt tu duruktam api śobhate/
Nīlam palāśam ābaddham[6] antarāle srajām iva//"
(Bhā. I, 55 and 54 ; Pra. II, 50 and 51.)

(3) "Sarvaṃ sarveṇa sārūpyaṃ nāsti bhāvasya kasyacit/
Yathopapatti kṛtibhir upamānaṃ[7] prayujyate//
Akhaṇḍamaṇḍalaḥ kvenduḥ kva kāntānanam adyuti/
Yatkiñcitkāntisāmyāt[8] tu śaśinaivopamīyate"//
(Bhā. II, 43 and 44 ; Pra. II, 64, 65)

The above passages can be seen in the works of both Prakāśavarṣa and Bhāmaha.

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1 Pra. reads 'na dheyam'.
2 Pra. reads 'bhām idam iha punar nai ... ... samyak.'
3 Pra. reads 'vyepyava.'
4 Bhā. reads 'thakam iṣyate.'
5 Bhā. reads 'kiñcid.'
6 Bhā. reads 'ārabdha.'
7 Bhā. reads 'mā su.'
8 Bhā. reads 'mānyācchaśi.'

"Yad abhinnārtham anyonyam tad ekārtham pracakṣate/"
(Bhā. IV, 12)

(2) "Apakraman tu tad yatra paurvāparyaviparyayaḥ/"
(Pra. I, 33)

"Yathopadeśaṃ kramaśo nirdeśo 'tra, kramo mataḥ/
Tadapetaṃ viparyāsād ityākhyātam apakramam"//
(Bhā. IV, 20)

(3) "prasiddhārthapadanyāsāt prasāda iti kīrtitaḥ/"
(Pra. (II, 7)

"Avidvadaṅganābālapratītārtham prasādavat/"
(Bhā. II, 3)

(4) "Jñeyo'laṅkārayogo'yam kāminīvapuṣo yathā/
Nisargasundarasyāpi prakarṣādhāyako dhruvam."//
(Pra. III, 2)

"Na kāntam api nirbhūṣaṃ vibhāti vanitānanam."/
(Bhā. I, 13)

(5) "Vinayena vinā kā śrīḥ kā niśā śaśinā vinā/
Vinā ca śleṣacitrābhyāṃ kīdṛśī vāgvidagdhatā"//
(Pra. III, 80, 81)

"Vinayena vinā kā śrīḥ kā niśā śaśinā vinā/"
Rahitā satkavitvena kīdṛśī vāgvidagdhatā//"
(Bhā. I, 4)

(1) "Uktābhinnārtham ekārtham vyāharanti viśāradāḥ/"
(Pra. I, 32)

In the same manner, the following passages can be seen in both the works of Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin :—

(1) "Samudāyārthaśūnyaṃ yat tad apārtham pracakṣate[1]"/
(Da. III, 128; Pra I, 31)

(2) "Ojas samāsabhūyastvam."
(Da. I, 80; Pra. II, 17)

(3) "Yatrodvego na dhīmatām."
(Da. II, 51; Pra. II, 62)

(4) "Asti kācid avasthā sā[2] sābhiṣaṅgasya cetasaḥ/
Yasyāṃ bhaved abhimatā viruddhārthāpi bhāratī//"
(Da. III, 133; Pra. II, 88)

(5) "Iha śiṣṭānuśiṣṭānām śiṣṭānām api sarvathā[3]/

1 Da. reads 'itīṣyate'. 2 Pra. reads 'sā yā (sarā)gasya.'
3 Pra. reads 'vadā'.

Vācām eva prasādena lokayātrā pravartate//
Idam andham tamaḥ kṛtsnaṃ jāyeta bhuvanatrayam/
Yadi śabdāhvayaṃ jyotir[1] āsaṃsārān[2] na dīpyate"//
(Da. I, 3 and 4; Pra. III, 67, 68)

(6) "Anukampādyatiśayo yadi kaścid vivakṣyate/
Na doṣaḥ punarukto' pi[3] pratyuteyam alaṅkṛtiḥ[4]//"
(Da. III, 137; Pra. II, 55, 56)

(7) "Krīḍāgoṣṭhīvinodeṣu tajjñair ākīrṇamantraṇe/
Paravyāmohane cāpi sopayogāḥ prahelikāḥ//"
(Da. III, 97; Pra. III, 82)

(8) "Na saṃhitāṃ vivakṣyāmītyasandhānaṃ padeṣu yat/
Tad visandhīti nirdiṣṭaṃ na pragṛhyādihetukam//"
(Da. III, 159; Pra. II, 54, 55)

The following passages of Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin resemble each other:—

(1) "Uktābhinnārtham ekārthaṃ vyāharanti viśāradāḥ/
(Pra. I, 32)

"Aviśeṣeṇa pūrvoktaṃ yadi bhūyo'pi kīrtyate/
Arthataḥ śabdato vāpi tad ekārthaṃ mataṃ yathā//"
(Da. III, 135)

(2) "Lokātīta ivārtho yaḥ so'timātra iheṣyate/"
(Pra. I, 34)

"Lokātīta ivātyartham adhyāropya vivakṣitaḥ/
Yo'rthas te nātituṣyanti vidagdhā netare janāḥ//"
(Da. II, 89)

(3) "Na hi Kuṣṭhādibhir doṣai rahitaṃ kāminīvapuḥ/
Nṛttagītādicāturyaguṇān nādriyate kvacit//"
(Pra. II, 2)

"Syād vapus sundaram api śvitreṇaikena durbhagam/"
(Da. I, 7)

(4) "Prasiddhārthapadanyāsāt prasāda iti kīrtitaḥ/"
(Pra. II, 7)

"Prasādavat prasiddhārtham." (Da. I, 45)

(5) "Bandho mṛdusphuṭonmiśravarṇajanmā na saṅkaraḥ/
Bhajate yatra sodbhedaṃ tat samatvam udīryate//"
(Pra. II, 8)

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1 Pra. reads 'yajjyotir.'
2 Da. reads 'raṃ na.'
3 Pra. reads 'ktepi.'
4 Pra. reads 'kriyā.'

"Samaṃ bandheṣvaviṣamaṃ te mṛdusphuṭamadhyamāḥ/
Bandhā mṛdusphuṭonmiśravarṇavinyāsayonayaḥ//"
(Da. I, 47)

(6) "Akaṭhorākṣaranyāsaḥ saukumāryam udāhṛtam/"
(Pra. II, 9)
"Aniṣṭhurākṣaraprāyaṃ sukumāram iheṣyate//"
(Da. I, 69)

(7) "Rūḍhāhaṅkārataurjityam." (Pra. II, 29)
'Ūrjasvi rūḍhāhaṅkāram." (Da. II, 275)

(8) "Yatnaḥ saṃbandhanirjñānahetuḥ ko'pi kṛto yadi/
Kramabhraṃśam api prāhur na doṣaṃ sūrayas tadā//"
(Pra. II, 53, 54)
"Yatnaḥ saṃbandhavijñānahetuko'pi kṛto yadi/
Kramalaṅghanam apyāhus sūrayo naiva dūṣaṇam//"
(Da. III, 146)

(9) "Sukumārārthabandheṣu gauḍaiś śithilam iṣyate/
Anuprāsadhiyā te hi bandhavaidagdhyanispṛhāḥ//"
(Pra. II, 67)
"Śithilam ... ... /
Anuprāsadhiyā gauḍais tad iṣṭam bandhagauravāt//"
(Da. I, 43, 44)

(10) "Mattonmattādivākyeṣu nāpārtham api duṣyati/"
(Pra. II, 74)
"Unmattamattabālānām ukter anyatra duṣyati/"
(Da. III, 128)

(11) "Saṃśayāyaiva sandigdham yadi jātu prayujyate/
Syād alaṅkāra evāsau na doṣa iti me matiḥ//"
(Pra. II, 76, 77)
"Īdṛśaṃ saṃśayāyaiva yadi vā tu prayujyate/
Syād alaṅkāra evāsau na doṣas tatra tad yathā//"
(Da. III, 141)

(12) "Kāntaṃ bhavati sarvasya lokasīmānuvarttinaḥ/"
(Pra. II, 79)
"Kāntaṃ bhavati sarvasya lokayātrānuvarttinaḥ//"
(Da. I, 88)

(13) "Uccyante rītayas tatra tathāpi prasphuṭāntarāḥ/"
(Pra. III, 17)
"Tatra vaidarbhagauḍīyau varṇyete prasphuṭāntarau/"
(Da. I, 48)

(14) "Pravṛtter vā nivṛtter vā yat kāryaṃ syān nibandhanam/
Tatrāsya hetur ityākhyā ṣaṭprakāraḥ sa kathyate//
Ekaḥ pravarttako hetur anyaḥ kārye nivarttakaḥ/
Abhāvahetur aparo jñāpako'nyaḥ prayojakaḥ//
Anyo bahuprapañcas tu citrahetur iti smṛtaḥ/
Kvāpi patra[vaśāvandhyaḥ] kvāpyarthāntarabādhitaḥ//"
(Pra. IV, 11, 12, 13)

"Kārakajñāpakau hetū tau cānekavidhau yathā/
... ...
Alaṅkāratayoddiṣṭaṃ nivṛttāvapi tat samam/
... ...
Nirvartye ca vikārye ca hetutvaṃ tadapekṣayā/
Prāpye tu karmaṇi prāyaḥ kriyāpekṣaiva hetutā//
Hetur nivarttanīyasya darśitaḥ ... ...
... ... ramyāḥ jñāpakahetavaḥ//
Abhāvahetavaḥ kecid vyāhriyante manoharāḥ/
Prāgabhāvādirūpasya hetutvam iha vastunaḥ//
Bhāvābhāvasvarūpasya kāryasyotpādanaṃ prati/
Dūrakāryas tatsahajaḥ kāryānantarajas tathā//" etc.
(Da. II, 235-259)

(15) "Sūkṣmaḥ sūkṣmaguṇas tu saḥ." (Pra. IV, 14)
"Saukṣmyāt sūkṣma iti smṛtaḥ." (Da. II, 260)

(16) " ... ... prayatnād vā kāraṇaṃ sahakāri yat/
Āsādyate kriyāraṃbhe tad dvidhaiva samāhitam//"
(Pra. IV, 18)
"Kiñcid ārabhamāṇasya kāryaṃ daivavaśāt punaḥ/
Tatsādhanasamāpattir yā tad āhus samāhitam//"
(Da. II, 298)

(17) "Prasiddhahetutyāgena hetvantaravibhāvanam/
Svabhāvabhāvanaṃ syād ya ... ... vibhāvanā//"
(Pra. IV, 19, 20)
"Prasiddhahetuvyāvṛttyā yatkiñcitkāraṇāntaram/
Yatra svābhāvikatvaṃ vā vibhāvyaṃ sā vibhāvanā//"
(Da. II, 199)

From these statements, I think it is possible to say that Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are dependent on Prakāśavarṣa, and hence Prakāśavarṣa must have flourished before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and after Bāṇabhaṭṭa, i.e., between 650 A.C. and 750 A.C.

"Yad āha :—

Yac ca vṛtyaṅgasandhyaṅgalakṣaṇādyāgamāntare/
Vyāvarṇitam idaṃ ceṣṭam alaṅkāratayaiva naḥ//"

(III, 38)

The above verse, which must have been extracted by Prakāśavarṣa from some early work, is seen in the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin. As many other lines are found to be identical in Rasārṇava and Kāvyādarśa and are not indicated as quotations by Prakāśavarṣa, it leads one to the conclusion that Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin must have borrowed this verse from the same source, necessarily an ancient work like the Nāṭyaveda of Bharatamuni. If Prakāśavarṣa had taken this particular verse from Daṇḍin, he must have given the same indications to the other similar passages also.

There were many ancient rhetoricians before the age of Prakāśavarṣa, and he cites them by using the words—'vidur budhāḥ', 'rasakovidaiḥ,' 'śāstravido viduḥ,' 'prāhuḥ,' 'vyāharanti viśāradāḥ,' etc. In the beginning of the Rasārṇava he announces that he is going to describe the *doṣa* in accordance with the method of the ancients.

"Kramaśaḥ pūrvabhaṅgyā tu tatprapañcaḥ prakīrtyate/" (I, 1)

He also mentions several authors—'(A)ḍhyarāja', 'Śrīsāhasāṅka', 'Bāṇa', and 'Vātsyāyana', and works—'Arthśāstra' by 'Maheśvara,' 'Svayaṃbhū, 'Vātavyādhi', 'Bṛhaspati', and 'Kauṭalya,' 'Kāmaṇḍakīyanītisāra',[1] and 'Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana'.[2] He declares that

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1 "When and where the author Kāmandaka or Kāmandakī lived, it is not possible to determine. It is certain, however, that he is anterior to Bhavabhūti who flourished in the seventh century A.D. For, it is legitimate to surmise that Bhavabhūti was conversant with the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka as he thought it fit to give the name, Kāmandaka—the traditional sense of which is restricted to the author of the Nītisāra—to a female ascetic in his Mālatīmādhava as proficient in the art of diplomacy. The Nītisāra is also cited at the end of the first chapter of Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin ... ... Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, in his preface to Nītisāra of Kāmandaka, observes that a work of the like title was taken to the island of Bali by the Hindus who migrated thither about the beginning of the Christian era." Introduction to Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, T.S.S., no. 14.

2 Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana by Dharmadāsasūri. "Kiñcāyaṃ kavirājaḥ kīdṛśaḥ, kasmin samaye kām bhuvam alañcakāreti vijñātum atīva durghaṭam. Tathāpi svamatyā kiñcin nirdhāryate. Yad asau

in the age of Sāhasāṅka, Sanskrit was spoken by all the people in the country.

"Kāle Śrīsāhasāṅkasya ke na Saṃskṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ/" (III, 92)

From this we can guess that Sāhasāṅka also was like Paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīharṣavardhanacakravartin, a patron of Sanskrit literature. In the same way he announces that in the age of (Ā)ḍhyarāja, Prākṛta was very familiar to the people. The direct citation of several works on Arthaśāstra is to be found in the work. Prakāśavarṣa, it seems to me, describes the origin and development of Arthaśāstra chronologically, and by the use of present tense in the word 'pravartate' in the following line,

"Vātavyādher api granthas saprapañcaḥ pravartate/"

(IV, 57)

he makes special reference to the Arthaśāstra of Vātavyādhi, that was familiar in his time.

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin borrow the ideas of Prakāśavarṣa, and in some places they differ from each other in their opinions.

For instance:

(1) In Rasārṇava the yamaka is divided into seven kinds. Bhāmaha has divided them into five varieties, and includes the remaining two among these five.

(2) Prakāśavarṣa describes 'hetu', 'sūkṣma' and 'leśa' as separate alaṅkāras. Bhāmaha condemns this separation because they are not exhaustive.

"Hetuś ca sūkṣmo leśo'tha nālaṅkāratayā matāḥ/
Samudāyābhidheyasya vakroktyanabhidhānataḥ//

Dharmadāsanāmā sūrir bauddhasādhuḥ 'Siddhauṣadhāni' iti prathamapadyena, madhye Buddha-devastutyā ca, tataḥ āśīrvādoktetḥ iti ṭīkāṭippaṇaslokaiś ca jñāyate. Ayaṃ ca sarveṣu deśeṣu kṛtaviharaṇaḥ kāvyā-laṅkāra-kośa-citrakalāpravīṇaś cāsīt. Kiñca prathamaṃ śrautasmārta-dharmī tadudvejanenaiva svadharmaṃ vasatiṃ ca vihāya magadheṣu Pāṭalīputre bauddhadharmaṃ śiśriye. Ayaṃ ca bauddhānām katamasmin rājani Pāṭalīputre magadhān praśāsati saty āsīd ityādi na jñāyate."

Introduction to Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana, Edited by Ramaprapanna Sastri.

In this work the praśnottaras are described in the second and the third paricchedas.

Gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ/
Ityevamādi kiṃ kāvyaṃ vārtām enām pracakṣate//"

But Daṇḍin condemns the opinion of Bhāmaha and establishes that they are principal alaṅkāras.

"Hetuś ca sūkṣmaleśau ca vācām uttamabhūṣaṇam/
Gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ//
Itīdam api sādhveva kālāvasthānivedane/"

(3) Prakāśavarṣa has accepted 'yukti (hetu) viruddha' and 'pratijñāviruddha' as doṣas. But Bhāmaha does not agree with Prakāśavarṣa. Daṇḍin has stated that there is difference of opinion among rhetoricians as to whether they are doṣas or not.

The subject-matter

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin give definitions and illustrations for all alaṅkāras, guṇas, doṣas, etc. which they describe, while Prakāśavarṣa merely defines. I have stated elsewhere how many pariccheḍas Rasārṇava contains and have spoken about the subject-matter they individually deal with. The first pariccheḍa is styled doṣapramoṣa. In this pariccheḍa doṣas are described as of three kinds, namely (1) padadoṣa, (2) vākyadoṣa, and (3) vākyārthadoṣa. The padadoṣas are fourteen in number. They are:—(1) asādhu (2) anibaddha (3) kaṣṭa (4) kliṣṭa (5) anarthaka (6) apuṣṭārtha (7) gūḍhārtha (8) apratīta (9) sasaṃśaya (10) neyārtha (11) asamartha (12) aprayojaka (13) deśya and (14) grāmya. In this classification the last, grāmyadoṣa, is further divided into three, namely (*a*) asabhya (*b*) amaṅgala and (*c*) ghṛṇākara.

Vākyadoṣas are also fourteen in number. They are:—(1) śabdahīna (2) kramabhraṣṭa (3) visandhi (4) punarukta (5) vyākīrṇa (6) bhinnavṛtta (7) saṅkīrṇa (8) garbhita (9) bhinnaliṅga (10) bhinnavacana (11) khañja (12) nyūna (13) adhika and (14) śleṣādiguṇahīna.

The bhinnavṛtta is again classified into two as follows:

"Tad varṇayati bhedena dvidhā tajñair udāhṛtam,"

of which the yatibhraṃśadoṣa is one. In addition to this yatibhraṃśa, they have also treated of another doṣa which is named bhinnavṛtta.

The guṇas can be divided into (1) śabdaguṇa (2) arthaguṇa and (3) ubhayaguṇa. The śabdaguṇas are (*a*) śleṣa (*b*) samatā and (*c*) sukumāratā. Arthaguṇas are (*a*) arthavyakti (*b*) prasāda and (*c*) kānti. Ubhayaguṇas are (*a*) ojas (*b*) mādhurya (*c*) audārya and

(*d*) samādhi. The absence of these ten guṇas is described as ten doṣas. These are indicated by the word ādiśabda in the expression 'śleṣādiguṇa'. They are as follows :—(1) śleṣaviparyaya (2) sāmyaviparyaya (3) saukumāryaviparyaya (4) arthavyaktiviparyaya (5) prasādaviparyaya (6) kāntiviparyaya (7) prauḍhiviparyaya (8) mādhuryaviparyaya (9) audāryaviparyaya and (10) nissamādhi.

There are 16 doṣas relating to vākyārtha. They are:—(1) apārtha (2) vyartha (3) ekārtha (4) sasaṃśaya (5) apakrama (6) khinna (7) atimātra (8) virasa (9) paruṣa (10) hīnopama (11) adhikopama (12) visadṛśopama (13) aprasiddhopama (14) niralaṅkāra (15) aślīla and (16) viruddha.

Among these, the last viruddhadoṣa can be classified into three sections under the names (1) pratyakṣaviruddha (2) anumānaviruddha and (3) āgamaviruddha. The pratyakṣa includes (*a*) deśaviruddha (*b*) kālaviruddha and (*c*) lokaviruddha; anumāna includes (*a*) yuktiviruddha (*b*) aucityaviruddha and (*c*) kāmaśāstraviruddha. The line which describes the characteristics of kālaviruddha is not to be seen in the text. But the statement in the second chapter that kālaviruddha sometimes becomes a guṇa by some reason, clearly indicates that the description of this doṣa is omitted in the original palm-leaf manuscript.

Bhāmaha has treated of only 15 doṣas. And he has not divided them with reference to pada, vākya or vākyārtha. For, these doṣas, when they relate to pada, vākya and vākyārtha, come under the respective categories. He also declares his approval of two doṣas yuktiviruddha and pratijñāviruddha. He says that the punaruktadoṣa becomes neyārtha when it is related to artha. Daṇḍin has accepted only ten doṣas, and these ten doṣas relate to artha and śabda. He also mentions the controversy which existed among rhetoricians about yukti (hetu) viruddha and pratijñāviruddha, as to whether they are guṇa or not.

Under the head of vākya there exist two doṣas, nyūna and adhika, and the same are also described under vākyārtha as nyūnopama and adhikopama. There is no difference among these doṣas except their difference in relation to vākyārtha. With regard to upamā, four doṣas are defined under vākyārtha. The first two, nyūnopama and adhikopama, are illustrated by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and the last two, aprasiddhopama and visadṛśopama, are explained only by Bhāmaha. Regarding these two, Daṇḍin is silent. In addition to these, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin speak of two more upamādoṣas which

are caused by the difference in gender and number among upamāna (that with which anything is compared) and upameya (that which is compared). Prakāśavarṣa has designated them as bhinnaliṅga and bhinnavacana and placed them under the head of vākya. There is a seventh upamādoṣa known as viparyaya (asadṛśatā?) which is mentioned by Bhāmaha alone. Bhāmaha in his Kāvyālaṅkāra says that these seven upamā-defects are expressed by Medhāvirudra, one of his predecessors.

The second pariccheda is styled guṇopādāna (acquisition of qualities).

I. Guṇas are divided into śabda and artha. The śabdaguṇas are 22 in number. They are:—(1) śleṣa (2) prasāda (3) samatā (4) mādhurya (5) sukumāratā (6) arthavyakti (7) kānti (8) audārya (9) udāttatā (10) ojas (11) aurjitya (12)preyas (13) suśabdatā (14) samādhi (15) sūkṣma (16) gāmbhīrya (17) saṃkṣepa (18) vistara (19) sāmmitya (20) bhāvikatva (21) rīti and (22) ukti.

All these names are significant of their character. Prakāśavarṣa insists that words and sentences should be constructed in a particular form to bring about these qualities. Arthaguṇas also are 22 in number. There is no separate name for them and they bear the names of śabdaguṇas. Bhāmaha has not devoted any particular chapter or section to describe guṇas which are indispensable to poetry, while Daṇḍin treats of only ten guṇas as the essence of Vaidarbhamārga. Neither does he mention guṇas that are related to Gauḍamārga except some differences between Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī. Some of the guṇas described by Prakāśavarṣa are considered as alaṅkāras by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, because their characteristics seem to be the same in all three works. The characteristics of audārya and udātta are as follows:—

"Vadanti bandhavaikaṭyam audāryaṃ kavipuṅgvāḥ/
Ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam udāttam iti tad viduḥ//" (II, 16)

Daṇḍin says that some rhetoricians ascribe the definition of udātta to udāra (audārya).

"Ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam udāraṃ kaiścid iṣyate/"

II. After the description of guṇas, the author explains the manner in which the doṣas treated in the first pariccheda sometimes become guṇas and he speaks of 43 such doṣas, excluding only one doṣa, virasa. It is not possible to decide whether the author actually omitted this particular doṣa or it is an omission in the manuscript as in the case of kālavirodha.

"Doṣāṇām api yeṣāṃ syād guṇatvaṃ kāraṇāt kvacit/
Catvāriṃśat tad ucyante te ca vaiśeṣikā guṇāḥ//"

(II, 35, 36)

In the above verse, the author says that there are only 40 doṣas. This number seems to me inconsistent, because he defines 43 such doṣas altogether. He treats of doṣas as guṇas under the same order as is used in the first pariccheda, i.e., at first, pada, then vākya, and then vākyārtha. Describing the last doṣa under vākya, Prakāśavarṣa says that the absence (1) of śleṣaguṇa will be construed as śaithilyadoṣa (2) of sāmya as vaiṣamya (3) of saukumārya as kaṭhora (4) of arthavyakti as neyārtha (5) of prasāda as aprasanna (6) of kānti as avyutpanna (7) of prauḍhi (ojas) as aprauḍhi (8) of mādhurya as anirvyūḍha (9) of audārya as niralaṃkāra and (10) of nissamādhi as ṛjumārga. Among these, the fourth and ninth, neyārtha and niralaṅkāra, are treated as separate doṣas under vākya and vākyārtha respectively. From the nature of the treatment of these ten doṣas 'śleṣādiguṇahīna', it can be presumed that the author is not very particular in considering such absence as doṣas. On the contrary, he is very particular that the ten guṇas (in addition to other guṇas) should be indispensable to poetry. With a similar view in mind, Daṇḍin treats of ten guṇas and not of their absence as constituting doṣas :—

"Śleṣaḥ prasādas samatā mādhuryaṃ sukumāratā/
Arthavyaktir udāratvam ojaḥkāntisamādhayaḥ"//

III. The beginning of the second chapter (pariccheda) is as follows :—

"Nirdiṣṭasyāpi kāvyasya guṇopādānam antarā"/ (II, 1)

From this it can be inferred that the author himself has described the characteristics of kāvya with its various divisions elsewhere, and therefore the same is not treated in this work. Moreover, the work begins without any benedictory verse or any kind of introduction such as 'granthakartṛpraśasti,' 'anubandhacatuṣṭayanirūpaṇa' etc. The first pariccheda is devoted to doṣas. All these go to prove that there must have existed some more chapters of the work containing 'kāvyanirdeśaprakaraṇa' and other connected matter. As Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin extensively describe the characteristics of kāvya and their varieties, there must have been a source for their works.

I. The third pariccheda is styled śabdālaṅkāraprakāśana (manifestation of figure of speech depending for its charm on sound or

words). At first, Prakāśavarṣa gives the general characteristics of alaṅkāra in a clear manner. Then he divides them into three classes (1) bāhyas (2) ābhyantaras and (3) ubhayas. The śabdālaṅkāras come under the first class, because they elevate sound or words. The āntaras (ābhyantara) are called arthālaṅkāras because they elevate the sense of poetry. The author has not given the names of alaṅkāras which come under the third class ubhaya. But from the nature of his treatment it is very easy to guess that alaṅkāras like śleṣa come under the third class.

II. There are 18 śabdālaṅkāras. They are:—(1) jāti (2) rīti (3) vṛtti (4) racanā (5) ghaṭanā (6) mudrā (7) chāyā (8) yukti (9) bhaṇiti (10) śravyatā (11) śleṣa (12) citra (13) aucitya (14) praśnottara (15) prahelikā (16) anuprāsa (17) yamaka and (18) gūḍhokti.

The jāti, which is in the form of Saṃskṛta, Prākṛta, etc., is divided into śuddhā and sādhāraṇī. Without mentioning their general term and without dividing them into śuddhā and sādhāraṇī, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin classify languages into Saṃskṛta, Prākṛta and Apabhraṃśa, but Daṇḍin adds a fourth one called Miśra. Daṇḍin states that they are the divisions of vāṅmaya. There are five rītis, namely (1) vaidarbhī (2) gauḍī (3) pāñcālī (4) lāṭī and (5) āvantī. Rīti is the name given to the construction of a sentence according to the peculiarities of the people using it. According to Daṇḍin there are several rītis, but two of them, vaidarbhī and gauḍī, are more important than others because these exhibit marked differences. He describes extensively only these two. There are four vṛttis: (1) kaiśikī (2) ārabhaṭī (3) bhāratī and (4) sātvatī. Mudrā is divided into four kinds in relation to (1) vibhakti (2) vacana (3) saṃvidhāna and (4) samuccaya. Imitation of other writers is called chāyā. It is divided into six kinds (1) padayukti (2) padārthayukti (3) vākyayukti (4) vākyārthayukti (5) prakaraṇayukti, and (6) prabandhayukti; bhaṇiti into four (1) sambhāvanārūpā (2) asambhāvanārūpā (3) kalpanārūpā and (4) virodharūpā; śravyatā into six (1) āśīrūpā (2) namaskriyārūpā (3) nāndīrūpā (4) vasturūpā (5) bījarūpā and (6) prarocanārūpā; śleṣa into six (1) prakṛtiśleṣa (2) vibhaktiśleṣa (3) padaśleṣa (4) vacanaśleṣa (5) bhāṣāśleṣa and (6) pratyayaśleṣa; aucitya into two (1) abhidhānaucitya and (2) bandhaucitya; and praśnottara into six (1) antaḥ-praśna (2) bahiḥ-praśna (3) ubhayapraśna (4) pṛṣṭa-praśna (5) uttarapraśna and (6) jātipraśna. Prakāśavarṣa states that the study of the work Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana will furnish a detailed description, and varieties of praśnottara. Prahelikā (a riddle) is divided

into six kinds (1) parivartita (2) vinyasta (3) lupta (4) vyutkrama (5) binduka and (6) ārtha. Bhāmaha has not illustrated prahelikā, but he says that the surname of prahelikā is yamaka, and it is described by Rāmaśarman in his Acyutottara. Daṇḍin mentions 14 varieties of prahelikā and describes them with examples. There is no similarity between varieties described by Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin. There are seven kinds of yamaka. They are: (1) avyapeta (with restricted position of letters or words) (2) avyapeta (without restriction of letters or words in their position) (3) vyapeta (with restricted position of letters or words) (4) vyapeta (without restriction of letters or words) (5) avyapetavyapetaka (with restricted position of words or letters) (6) avyapetavyapetaka (without restriction of letters or words in their position) and (7) samudgaka. According to Bhāmaha's division, yamaka is of five kinds viz. (1) ādiyamaka (2) madhyāntayamaka (3) pādābhyāsayamaka (4) āvalīyamaka and (5) samastapādayamaka. He includes the other varieties sandaṣṭaka, samudgaka, etc. with the above five. In addition to seven varieties treated by Prakāśavarṣa, Daṇḍin separately describes some more, namely sandaṣṭa, samudga, ślokābhyāsa, mahāyamaka and pratiloma. He also informs us that even though the sandaṣṭa is included with some other species by some authors, he is very particular to make it a separate one. In the beginning of the third paricceda of his Kāvyādarśa[1] he has devoted 78 verses to the description of yamaka-varieties.

According to the author, anuprāsa comes after prahelikā. But in the present text no description is available regarding anuprāsa, because yamaka is treated after prahelikā. I think that the des-

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1 There are many editions of Kāvyādarśa. The Calcutta edition by Jivananda Vidyasagara contains only three paricchedas, joining the third and fourth prakaraṇas together. I have seen an old palm leaf Ms. of Kāvyādarśa in Travancore, and the following particulars are to be found in this Ms.:—(1) It contains four paricchedas, including a separate one for doṣas. (2) The last sentence of each chapter contains Āryadaṇḍiviracite (not Ācāryadaṇḍi) Daṇḍyalaṃkāre (not Kāvyādarśe).

Daṇḍyalaṃkāra is the original name of the work. It was afterwards styled 'Kāvyadarśana' and now 'Kāvyādarśa.' There is a translation of the work in Tamil, entitled 'Daṇḍi-alaṃkāra' which, I suppose, was translated about the 10th century A.C.

cription of anuprāsa in the Ms. is lost. After dividing yamaka into seven kinds, the author says :—

"Lakṣyalakṣaṇabodhārthaṃ diṅmātraṃ tu pradarśyate"/

(III, 64)

But the lakṣyalakṣaṇbodhapradarśana is also not to be found in the text. Gūḍhokti is of five kinds. They are: (1) by kriyābheda (2) by kārakabheda (3) by sambandhabheda (4) by padabheda and (5) by abhiprāyabheda.

III. After giving this description Prakāśavarṣa says that these alaṅkāras are the several positions of the Goddess of speech, they are to be the main points of the sentences to be constructed in such a way as will give proficiency, fame, reputation, glory, and credit to the writer, and that they are indispensable to poetry.

IV. He concludes the third chapter (pariccheda) with a description of the passage—"vicitrā hi Sarasvatī."

The fourth chapter is styled Arthālaṃkāranirṇaya (consideration of arthālaṃkāras). There are 28 such alaṃkāras. They are : (1) jāti (2) hetu (3) ahetu (?) (4) sūkṣma (5) sāra (6) samāhita (7) bhāva (8) vibhāvanā (9) anyonya (10) virodha (11) viṣama (12) sambhava (13) pratyanīka (14) vyatireka (15) asaṅgati (16) leśa (17) parivṛtti (18) nimīlana (19) vitarka (20)smaraṇa (21) bhrānti (22) abhāva (23) āgama (24)upamāna (25) anumāna (26) pratyakṣa (27) saṃśaya and (28) atiśaya.

Among these 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11-14, 15, and 18-26 are not described by Bhāmaha. He treats of some additional alaṃkāras : (1) arthāntaranyāsa (2) ananvaya (3) apahnuti (4) aprastutaprāśaṃsā (5) ākṣepa (6) āśis (7) utprekṣā (8) udātta (9) upamā (10) upameyopamā (11) ūrjasvin (12) tulyayogitā (13) dīpaka (14) nidarśanā (15) paryāyokta (16) prativastūpamā (17) preyas (18) bhāvika (19) yathāsaṃkhya (20) rasavat (21) rūpaka (22) viśeṣokti (23) vyājastuti (24) śleṣa (25) samāsokti (26) sahokti (27) saṃsṛṣṭi, and (28) svabhāvokti, which are not defined in the Rasārṇava. Daṇḍin has accepted 35 alaṃkāras in all, and he describes them with examples. He has reproduced nine alaṃkāras (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17 and 28) from the Rasārṇava. In addition to these, the following occupy his attention : (1) svabhāvokti (2) upamā (3) rūpaka (4) dīpaka (5) āvṛtti (6) ākṣepa (7) arthāntaranyāsa (8) samāsokti (9) utprekṣā (10) krama (11) preyas (12) rasavat (13) ūrjasvin (14) paryāyokta (15) udātta (16) apahnuti (17) śleṣa (18) viśeṣa (19) tulyayogitā (20)

aprastutapraśaṃsā (21) vyājastuti (22) nidarśanā (23) sahokti (24) āśis (25) saṅkīrṇa and (26) bhāvika.

(1) Preyas (2) ūrjasvin (3) udātta and (4) bhāvika, which are regarded as guṇas by Prakāśavarṣa, are converted into alaṃkāras by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. In the Rasārṇava the śleṣa is included in the śabdālaṃkāra. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin have transferred it to arthālaṃkāra. The jāti is also described as the first śabdālaṃkāra. Hetu is divided into six kinds: (1) pravartaka (2) nivartaka (3) abhāva (4) jñāpaka (5) prayojaka and (6) citra. Daṇḍin has divided hetu into four varieties excepting the first two, and given the name kāraka to prayojaka. He also mentions that jñāpaka and kāraka will come under pravṛtti and nivṛtti and divides kāraka into three kinds: (*a*) nirvartya (*b*) vikārya, and (*c*) prāpya, and divides citrahetu into many varieties: (*a*) dūrakārya (*b*) kāryasahaja (*c*) kāryānantaraja (*d*) ayuktakārya (*e*) yuktakārya, etc. Prakāśavarṣa has divided sūkṣma into six kinds, whereas Daṇḍin into two. Sāra is of two kinds under dharmi and dharma. Samāhita also is of two kinds. Daṇḍin makes no division of this alaṃkāra. Prakāśavarṣa says that virodha may come also under śabdālaṃkāra, but for fear of increasing the number of śabdālaṃkāras, he has not illustrated it in the śabdālaṃkāraprakaraṇa. The divisions of sambhava are (1) vidhi (2) niṣedha (3) ubhayarūpa and (4) ubhayavarjita. Vyatireka is calculated into seven kinds (1) ekavyatireka (2) ubhayavyatireka (3) sadṛśavyatireka (4) asadṛśavyatireka (5) sajātivyatireka (6) vyaktivyatireka and (7) rūpakaprakṛti. Bhāmaha makes no divison of this alaṃkāra. Daṇḍin also speaks of seven species of this, and has given the same name for 1, 2, 3 and 5. The remaining ones are (*a*) sākṣepavyatireka (*b*) sahetuvyatireka and (*c*) saśleṣavyatireka. He also describes some varieties of the third, sadṛśayvyatireka. They are: (*a*) śabdopādānasādṛśyavyatireka and (2) pratīyamānasādṛśyavyatireka, etc. Abhāvālaṃkāra is classified into four varieties: (1) prāgabhāva (2) pradhvaṃsābhāva (3) atyantābhāva, and (4) kalpitābhāva. Here anyonyābhāva is not mentioned, and saṃsargābhāva alone is described. Some Naiyāyikas hold the opinion that saṃsargābhāva contains only three kinds, omitting the last one, whereas some others have opined that it has four divisions. Prakāśavarṣa supports the latter and gives four divisions of abhāva. Kalpitābhāva is also called sāmayikābhāva. Āgamālaṃkāra is described extensively. It is divided into four kinds: (1) dharma (2) artha (3) kāma and (4) mokṣa. Dharma can be earned by pravṛtti and nivṛtti. There are three kinds of artha:

(1) pitrya (2) sva and (3) sañcita. Prakāśavarṣa makes reference to the works on Arthaśāstra, and describes ten important sections of a treatise on Arthaśāstra. They are: (1) vinayaskandha (2) vārtāskandha (3) vyavahṛtiskandha (4) rakṣāskandha (5) mantraskandha (6) upāyaskandha and (7) vibhramaskandha (8) upaniṣatskandha (9) yuddhaskandha and (10) praśamaskandha. Then he shows ten main uses of Arthaśāstra and deals with kāma, and classifies women into (*a*) kanyā (*b*) svastrī (*c*) parastrī and (*d*) sāmānyā. Kāma related to kanyā will fall under two categories as vaivāhika and pāradārika. Svastrī can be divided into two kinds as rūḍhā and avaruddhā, and parastrī into three as rūḍhā, avaruddhā, and raṇḍā. Pratyakṣālaṃkāra will come into five classes according to their relation to arthapañcaka.

As the experienced men will long to taste the charm and richness of ideas, the poet who writes kāvya is expected to construct sentences in such a way that they will be full of ideas and beauties. Thus he closes the fourth chapter.

Dr. Ganapati Sastri has observed[1] that (*a*) Bhāmaha was familiar with Bhāsa's dramatical works, (*b*) the origin of Bṛhatkathā is after Bhāmaha, (*c*) he must have flourished before Kālidāsa, and (*d*) his age may be settled as the first century B.C. But these are only the assumption of Dr. Sastri.

There was no work available on the history of Sanskrit rhetoricians, their systems, and their comparative merits. Prof. S. K. De, who has been working in this field for a long time, has made a valuable contribution to the Sanskrit world, by publishing his 'Sanskrit Poetics.' In this work he has described all the rhetoricians and their works chronologically, and made comparative statements. I find that about 410 rhetoricians and 430 alaṃkāra-works receive his attention, including minor works and authors. But the Rasārṇava of Prakāśavarṣa, which is the earliest work on poetics after the Nāṭyaveda, is not cited in his work and the reason may be the rarity of the Ms.[2] Some time after the publication of his work he came to know the existence of the Rasārṇava and made the following remarks[3]:—

"Rasārṇava by Prakāśavarṣa. It is in five paricchedas, the

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1 Vide Sans. Intro. to Svapna: TSS, No. 15. pp. 23-25.

2 I thank the authorities of the Government Mss. Library, Madras, for allowing me to use this Ms.

3 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. IV. part II, p. 283.

first four of which deal with guṇa and doṣa and the last with rasa. This work also shows the influence of the above work of Bhoja (Śṛṅgāraprakāśa). It is a comparatively recent composition, and Prakāśavarṣa cannot be identical with the Prakāśavarṣa known to us as the preceptor of Vallabhadeva, the famous scholiast on the standard classical kāvyas."

From the statements made by me about Prakāśavarṣa and his work, it is easy to understand that these remarks of Prof. De are not acceptable. His statement that "the first four (paricchedas) of which (Rasārṇava) deal with guṇa and doṣa" is unquestionably an error and the same is found in the report of the Mss. Library also.

After the printing of the text, I have been able to make some corrections and emendations of the text, and I give them below:—

(1) 'hataṃ deśakālaloka' (I—40)
(2) 'nīlam palāśa' instead of 'nīlaṃ ca pāśa' (II—51)
(3) 'tāṃ vivakṣāmī' instead of 'tāṃ vicakṣyāmī' (II—54)
(4) na pragṛhyādihetukam.' (II—55)
(5) 'sarvaṃ sarveṇa' (II—64)
(6) 'hāsyādāv avyutpannam api' (II—7)
(7) 'apakramo'pi, instead of 'a (theda ?) m api' (II—77)
(8) 'nisargasu' (III—2)
(9) 'citrāṇi yu' (III—29)
(10) 'tāṃ tādṛ' instead of 'tattādṛ' (III—29)
(11) read 'puruṣaprayojyā' or 'nṛvaraprayojyā' instead of 'bharataiḥ prayojyā' (III—32)
(12) read 'nyāyena' instead of 'tyāgena' (III—34)
(13) read 'śokabhāvā' instead of cittabhāvā' (III—34)
(14) 'ceṣṭam alaṅ' (III—38)
(15) 'praśnottaranāmnā ... ... krīḍāgoṣṭhīvinodeṣu tajñair ākīrṇamantraṇe.' (III—82)
(16) 'nidheyam' instead of 'na dheyam' (Bhāmaha's reading) (III—97)
(17) 'bhāṃ viracitam idaṃ sthānam asyaitad asya' (Bhāmaha's reading) (III—97)
(18) 'tir hetu' instead of 'tihetu' (IV—2)
(19) 'Iṅgitākāra' (IV—14)
(20) 'Sāra ityu (?)' instead of 'Rasa ityu' (IV—17)
(21) 'guktaṃ' instead of 'guptaṃ'. (IV—24).

V. VENKATARAM SHARMAN

Rasārṇavālankārah

PRAKĀŚAVARṢA-VIRACITAH

Edited by

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Śrīr astu.

Pade vākye 'tha vākyārthe doṣavargas tv ayam tridhā |
Kramaśaḥ pūrvabhaṅgyā tu tatprapañcaḥ (prakīrtyate) || 1 ||
(Asādhu cā) nibaddhaṃ ca kaṣṭaṃ kliṣṭam anarthakam |
Apuṣṭārthaṃ ca gūḍhārthaṃ apratītaṃ sasaṃśayam || 2 ||
Neyārtham asamarthaṃ ca yac ca tatrāprayojakam |
Do * * * ṣam iti spaṣṭam padadoṣāś caturdaśa || 3 ||
Śabdaśāstraviruddhaṃ yat tad asādhu nigadyate |
Na prayuktaṃ (kṛtīn ? kavīn)drair yad anibaddhaṃ tad ucyate ||4||
Pra * * ccāryavarṇas tu kaṣṭam śravaṇadurbhagam |
Pāramparyeṇa cārthasya sūcakaṃ kliṣṭam ucyate || 5 ||
Pādapūraṇamātraṃ yat tac ca * * d anarthakam |
Vācyatucchatayā kliṣṭam apuṣṭārtham manīṣibhiḥ || 6 ||
Aprasiddhārthasaṃbaddhaṃ gūḍhoktir abhidhīyate |
Śāstras * * * yuktaṃ yad apratītam tad ucyate || 7 ||
Yatrārthāntarasambandhas tad vadanti sasaṃśayam |
Svayaṃ kalpitasaṅketaṃ neyārtha (m abhidhīyate) || 8 ||
Asamarthaṃ tu yad baddhaṃ rūḍhivartmavyatikramāt |
Vivakṣitaprameyasya nopakāry aprayojakam || 9 ||
Deśya * thavā yan nyastaṃ deśarūḍhigatam padam |
Asabhyāmaṅgalaṃ grāmyaṃ tathā yac ca ghṛṇākaram || 10 ||
Sākṣāt tatsmṛtihetutvāt trividhā * * * bhavet ||
Śabdahīnam kramabhraṣṭam visandhi punaruktimat || 11 ||
Vyākīrṇam bhinnavṛttaṃ ca saṅkīrṇaṃ garbhitaṃ tathā |
Vibhinnaliṅgavacane khañjaṃ nyūnādhikam bhavet || 12 ||
Śleṣādiguṇahīnaṃ ca vākyadoṣāś caturdaśa |
Bhinnabhāṣāpadāviddham śabdahīnam (pra) kīrtitam || 13 ||
Śabdārthavyutkramo yatra kramabhraṣṭaṃ tad iṣyate |
Viruddhasandhi nissandhi visandhīti nigadyate || 14 ||

Tādṛk padapadārthānāṃ nibandhe punaruktimat ।
Anekapadasantānavyāhatasmṛtibhiḥ padaiḥ ॥ 15 ॥
Yojanā yatra tad vākyaṃ vyākīrṇam abhidhīyate ।
Chandolakṣaṇahīnaṃ tu bhinnavṛttam vidur budhāḥ ॥ 16 ॥
Tad varṇayatibhedena dvidhā tajjñair udāhṛtam ।
Vākyāntarapadonmiśraṃ (ya)t tat saṅkīrṇam iṣyate ॥ 17 ॥
Vākyāntarasagarbhaṃ yat tad vākyaṃ garbhitam viduḥ ।
Bhinnaliṅgam aliṅgatvād upamānopameyayoḥ ॥ 18 ॥
Yasmin vacanavaiṣamyaṃ upamānopameyayoḥ ।
Tad bhinnavacanaṃ nāma nibadhnanti na sādhavaḥ ॥ 19 ॥
Kriyāvirahitaṃ vākyaṃ khañjam ity abhidhīyate ।
Jñeyaṃ nyūnopamaṃ nyūnair upamāyā viśeṣaṇaiḥ ॥ 20 ॥
Viśeṣaṇādhikaupamyaṃ vijñeyam adhikopamam ।
Śabdārthobhayabhedena viprathante tridhā guṇāḥ ॥ 21 ॥
(Tadvi)paryayato doṣās tridhā vākye vyavasthitāḥ ।
Tatra śabdaguṇāḥ śleṣaḥ samatā sukumāratā ॥ 22 ॥
Arthavyaktiḥ prasādaś ca kāntir ity arthasaṃśrayāḥ ।
Ojo mādhuryam audāryaṃ samadhiś cobhayātmakāḥ ॥ 23 ॥
Tatra tac chithilam vākyam bhavet śleṣaviparyayaḥ ।
Viṣamaṃ tu tad icchanti yatra sāmyaviparyayaḥ ॥ 24 ॥
Tat kaṭhoram bhaved yatra saukumāryaviparyayaḥ ।
Santaḥ śaṃ(santi) neyārtham arthavyaktiviparyayaḥ ॥ 25 ॥
Aprasannaṃ tad evāhur yaḥ prasādaviparyayaḥ ।
Avyutpannaṃ tam ity āhur yatra kāntiviparyayaḥ ॥ 26 ॥
* * ś śabdārthayoḥ prauḍhir aprauḍhis tadviparyayaḥ ।
Rūḍhibhaṅgād anirvyūḍham mādhuryasya viparyayaḥ ॥ 27 ॥
Niralaṅkāram (ity ā) hur audāryasya viparyayaḥ ।
Ṛjumārga iti jñeyo nissamādhir girāṃ kramaḥ ॥ 28 ॥
Apārthaṃ vyartham ekārthaṃ sasaṃśayam apakramam ।
Khinnaṃ caivātimātraṃ ca virasam paruṣaṃ tathā ॥ 29 ॥
Hīnaupamyādhikaupamye tathā visadṛśopamam ।
Aprasiddhopamaṃ caiva niralaṅkāram eva ca ॥ 30 ॥
Aślīlaṃ ca viruddhaṃ ca vākyārthe ṣoḍaśa smṛtāḥ ।
Samudāyārthaśūnyaṃ (yat tad a)pārtham pracakṣate ॥ 31 ॥
Yad aprayojanam yac ca gatārthaṃ vyartham eva ca ।
Uktābhinnārtham ekārthaṃ vyāharanti viśāradāḥ ॥ 32 ॥
Sasaṃśayaṃ tu yat prāhur yatrārthasya na niścayaḥ ।
Apakramaṃ tu tad yatra paurvāparyaviparyayaḥ ॥ 33 ॥
Jātyādyuktā * * * ḍham khinnam ity abhidhīyate ।
Lokātīta ivārtho yaḥ so 'timātra iheṣyate ॥ 34 ॥

Aprākṛtarasaṃ jñeyaṃ virasaṃ (rasa) kovidaiḥ ।
Atikrūras tu vākyārthaḥ paruṣo viduṣām mataḥ ॥35॥
Hīnaṃ yatropamānaṃ syāt so'rtho hīnopamaḥ smṛtaḥ ।
(Yatro)pamānam adhikaṃ taj jñeyam adhikopamam ॥36॥
Atulyam upamānaṃ ced bhaved visadṛśopamam ।
Aprasiddhopamānam ced a(pra)siddhopamaṃ tu tat ॥ 37 ॥
Niralaṅkāram ity āhur alaṅkāravivarjitam ।
Yad asabhyārthasambaddhaṃ tad aślīlam udāhṛtam ॥38॥
Pra(tyakṣa ? siddhi)vyāhataṃ vastu viruddham abhidhīyate ।
Pratyakṣādiprabhedena tridhā śāstravido viduḥ ॥39॥
Pratyakṣavyāhatam * * * lalokavirodhakṛt ।
Yuktyaucityapratijñānāṃ virodhas tv anumānabhūḥ ॥40॥
Dharmārthakāmaśāstrāṇāṃ virodhas tv āgamodbhavaḥ ।
Evaṃ trayam api tritvān navatām pratipadyate ॥41॥
Tatra deśaviruddhaṃ tad yatr * * * na yad bhavet ।
Tac ca lokaviruddhaṃ yat sarvalokair asammatam ॥42॥
Tat tu yuktiviruddhaṃ syād avicāreṇa (yat kṛtam) ।
Tad aucityaviruddhaṃ syāt pātre yadya (bha?) no**॥43॥
Tat pratijñāviruddhaṃ syāt pratijñā yena bādhyate ।
Dharmaśāstraviruddhaṃ yaj jñeyaṃ dharmavirodhi tat ॥44॥
Arthaśāstraviruddhaṃ taj jñeyam nītibahiṣkṛtam ॥
Kāmaśāstrakalāśāstraviruddhaṃ yan nibadhyate ॥45॥
Kāmaśāstravirodhīti tat sarvam abhidhīyate ॥

ITI RASĀRṆAVĀLAṄKĀRE DOṢAPRAMOṢO NĀMA PRATHAMAḤ PARICCHEDAḤ

Nirdiṣṭasyāpi kāvyasya guṇopādānam antarā ।
Sāstrārtha * * lālokaḥ sādhutvam nānumanyate ॥ 1 ॥
Na hi kuṣṭhādibhir doṣai rahitam kāminīvapuḥ ।
Nṛttagītādicāturyaguṇān (nādriya)te kvacit ॥2॥
Teṣu śabdaguṇās tāvat dvāviṃśatir udīritāḥ ॥
Te ca sānvayanāmāno nigadyante manīṣibhiḥ ॥3॥
Śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhuryaṃ sukumāratā ॥
Arthavyaktis tathā kāntir udāratvam udāttatā ॥4॥
Ojaś ca punar aurjityam a(tha) preyaḥ suśabdatā ॥
Samādhiḥ saukṣmyagāmbhīrye (saṃ)kṣepo vistaras tathā ॥5॥
Sāmmityam bhāvikatvaṃ ca rītir uktis tathaiva ca ॥
Eṣa * * guṇoddeśo nirdeśo'tra nigadyate ॥ 6 ॥

Yatra bandho'tisaṃśliṣṭaḥ sa śleṣaḥ kavibhiḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Prasiddhārthapadanyā(sāt pra)sāda iti kīrtitaḥ ||7||
Bandho mṛdusphuṭonmiśravarṇajanmā na saṅkaraḥ ||
Bhajate yatra sodbhedaṃ tat samatvam udīryate ||8||
Arthocitavacobandho mādhuryam abhidhīyate ||
Akaṭhorākṣaranyāsaḥ saukumāryam udāhṛtam ||9||
Dvitīyatulyā * * nām sarve cāsamayoginaḥ.||
Saukumāryeṇa bādhyante ni (?) vindur gurusaṃyutaḥ ||10||
Rephadvayasamopeto nai * * kvacid iṣyate.||
Na caikalakṣaṇanyāso bahuṣu syān nirantaraḥ || 11 ||
Nārād eko'pi bahavo vinā citra * * dhanāt (?) ||
Svayaṃ repho mṛduḥ kiṃtu kaṭhorayati yoginām ||12||
Anyonyamṛdusaṃyogaḥ svalpo doṣāya (kalpa)te ||
Kāṭhinyalakṣaṇaṃ tatra hantuṃ yuktyāpi śakyate ||13||
Atiprasaṅgadoṣas tu pratītyaiva nirasyate ||
A(yam eva) svarāddhāntaḥ pūrvam evāvalambitaḥ ||14||
Arthavyaktiṃ tu vidvāṃsaḥ prāhuḥ sampūrṇavākyatām ||
Bandhasyo *** kāntis sphuraṇād abhidhīyate ||15||
Vadanti bandhavaikaṭyam audāryaṃ kavipuṅgavāḥ ||
Ślāghyair vi(śeṣaṇair yuktam u)dāttam iti tad viduḥ ||16||
Ojas samāsabhūyastvaṃ tad (dvandvā ?) padapaddhatiḥ ||
Bandhagāḍhatvam aurjityam samāse vyāsa ** ca ||17||
Preyārthapadavinyāsaḥ preyaḥ kavibhir iṣyate ||
Yā subantatiṅantānāṃ vyutpattiḥ sā suśabdatā ||18||
Samādhir (anyadha)rmasya bhaved anyatra ropaṇam ||
Saukṣmyam āhus tu śabdānām antaḥ sañjalparūpatām ||19||
Dhvanimattā tu gāmbhīryam āryair (eṣa) guṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Abhidhānaṃ samāsena saṃkṣepaḥ parikīrtitaḥ ||20||
Vyastaṃ vistāra ity āhur abhidhānaviśāradāḥ ||
Yāvadarthapada(tvaṃ hi) sammitatvaṃ nigadyate ||21||
Bhāvābhivyañjakā vāṇi bhāvikatvam udāhṛtam ||
Upakramasya nirvāho rītir ity abhidhīyate ||22||
(Vinā ?)ntareṇa cārthasya bhaṇanād uktir iṣyate ||
Ete 'py arthaguṇās tajjñair dvāviṃśatir udāhṛtāḥ ||23||
Teṣāṃ (ca la)kṣaṇam brūmas tat sadbhiḥ paribhāvyatām ||
Sapidhānasusūtratvam (?) teṣu śleṣo 'bhidhīyate ||24||
Yatra prakaṭa evārthaḥ sa (prasā)do guṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Avaiṣamyaṃ kramasthānāṃ samateti satām matiḥ ||25||
Krodhād avāpya tīvratvam mādhuryam abhidhīyate ||
Ma(nojñatā) padārthānāṃ saukumāryam udāhṛtam ||26||

Arthavyaktiḥ padārthānām svarūpakathanaṃ viduḥ ||
Uddīptarasatāṃ kāntim āmananti (viśāradāḥ) || 27 ||
Udāratvam iti prāhuḥ utkarṣaṃ vibhavasya tu ||
Dhīmadbhir āśayotkarṣa udāttatvam udīryate || 28 ||
Prāraṃbheṣu ca saṃ * * * jaḥ sukavayo viduḥ ||
Rūḍhāhaṅkārataurjityam abhaṅguram ihocyate || 29 ||
Preyaḥ priyapadārthānām upanyāsaḥ pra(kīrtitaḥ) ||
Padair aduṣṭaiḥ kathanaṃ dṛṣṭārthasya suśabdatā || 30 ||
Vyājenānyārthabhajanaṃ samādhir abhidhīyate ||
Sūkṣmārthadarśanaṃ saukṣmyaṃ vyāharanti viśāradāḥ || 31 ||
Śāstrārthasavyapekṣatvaṃ gāmbhīryam iti kīrtitam ||
Bahor arthasya saṅkocaḥ saṃkṣepa iti kīrtitaḥ || 32 ||
(Vistāram) punar arthasya vistaraṃ tadvido viduḥ ||
Anurūpaguṇāropas sammitatvaṃ tad ucyate || 33 ||
Bhāvayuktatvam ācāryair bhā(vikatvam) iti smṛtam ||
Rītim āhuḥ padārthānām utpattyādikriyākramam || 34 ||
Saṃvṛtāsaṃvṛtaprāyam uktir arthasya bodhanam ||
Dośāṇām api yeṣām syāt guṇatvaṃ kāraṇāt kvacit || 35 ||
Catvāriṃśat tad uccyante te ca vaiśeṣikā guṇāḥ ||
Padaṃ yāti guṇībhāvaṃ anukartur asādhv api || 36 ||
Yathā na bādhate skandho yathā bādhati bādhate ||
Tathā * * * ṇa dṛṣṭam anibaddhanibandhanam || 37 ||
Śruter avallabhaṃ kaṣṭaṃ tan na durvācakādiṣu ||
Api kliṣṭaṃ guṇāyeṣṭam jhaṭity arthapratītikam || 38 ||
Anarthakaṃ na duṣṭaṃ syād yamakādyupayogi yat ||
Sadbhir iṣṭam apuṣṭārthaṃ chandas saṃskārakāraṇam || 39 ||
Padāntarapratī(tyartham) gūḍhārtham api sundaram ||
Apratītaṃ tu tad vidyād goṣṭhīṣv eva guṇāvaham || 40 ||
Sandigdham prakaraṇādiviśeṣāvaga * * (ṇaḥ) ||
Yad vā tathāvidhārthasya vivakṣāyām iti sthitiḥ || 41 ||
Prahelikādivākyeṣu neyārtham api śobhate ||
Asamartham api prāya * * veṣṭam manīṣibhiḥ || 42 ||
Aprayojakam icchanti jātyādau tadvido guṇam ||
Mahākavimataṃ deśyam lokokticchāyayā guṇaḥ || 43 ||
* * * lakṣitam guptam api grāmyam na duṣyati ||
Saṃvītasya hi lokena na doṣānveṣaṇaṃ kṣamam || 44 ||
Śivaliṅgādiśa * * * syā samyaktvabhāvanā ||
Lakṣiteṣu ca śabdo 'nyas tadartho 'nyaś ca kaścana || 45 ||
Smṛtihetutvayoṣam(?) tu vakrimā (naiva bādha)te ||
Nimagnadūṣaṇam yat tu tan nodbhāvyam manīṣibhiḥ || 46 ||

Kintu vaidagdhyam unmṛdya jaṭharam vyādhikopanāt (?) ||
A(śīlam a)pi saṃvītam guṇam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ || 47 ||
Asabhyasmṛtihetos tu siddham apy abhidhīyate ||
Pātrāvasthāviśeṣeṇa do * * maṅgalam bhavet || 48 ||
Amaṅgalasmṛter hetur guṇo sabhyasmṛtir yathā ||
Dhīmanto'pi nibadhnanti gauṇavṛttyā ghṛ * * || 49 ||
Kvacid āśrayasaundaryād dhatte śobhām asadhv api ||
Kāntāvilocananyastam malīmasam ivāñjanam || 50 ||
* * vaśaviśeṣāc ca duruktam api śobhate ||
Nīlaṃ ca pāśam ābaddham antarāle srajām iva || 51 ||
Guṇatvam padadoṣāṇāṃ diṅmātreṇa pradarśitam ||
Idānīṃ vākyadoṣāṇām api kiñcit pracakṣmahe || 52 ||
Śabdahīnaṃ na doṣāya bhāṣācitreṣu kalpate ||
Yatnaḥ sambandhanirjñānahetuḥ ko'pi kṛto yadi || 53 ||
Kramabhraṃśam api prā(hur na) doṣaṃ sūrayas tadā ||
Na saṃhitāṃ vicakṣyāmīty asandhānam padeṣu yat || 54 ||
Tad visandhīti nirdiṣṭaṃ na pragṛhyā * * * kam ||
Anukampādyatiśayo yadi kaścit vivakṣate || 55 ||
Na doṣaḥ punarukte'pi pratyuteyam alaṅ(kṛtiḥ) ||
Vyākīrṇaṃ tu na doṣāya drāk pratītikaram bhavet || 56 ||
Yadoccāraṇabhaṅgaḥ syāt saṃyogāder a * * * ||
Na chandobhaṅgam apy āhus tadā doṣāya sūrayaḥ || 57 ||
Dhātubhedena duṣyeta svarasandhikṛtā * *
Nāmabhede ca śeṣeṣu na deṣa iti tadvidaḥ || 58 ||
Lupte padānte śiṣṭasya padatvaṃ niścitaṃ yathā ||
Tathā sandhivi(hīnaṃ tat) padam eveti varṇyate || 59 ||
Paryāyeṇa dvayor yatra vākyam praśnottarādiṣu ||
Saṅkīrṇaṃ tan na doṣā..... ..... || 60 ||
.....vidur budhāḥ ||
Rasāntaratiraskāre tad iṣṭam neṣṭam anyathā || 61 ||
* * * bhinnaliṅgatvaṃ yatrodvego na dhīmatām ||
Na bhinnavacane 'py evaṃ doṣam icchanti kovidāḥ || 62 ||
Na khañjam api doṣāya kriyāpekṣā na yatra tu ||
Yatrāstyāder apekṣā vā yatra vā sphūrjitam dhvaneḥ || 63 ||
Nyūnopamam api prāyaḥ suprasiddhaṃ na duṣyati ||
* * sarveṇa sārūpyaṃ nāsti bhāvasya kasyacit || 64 ||
Yathopapattikṛtibhir upamānam prayujyate ||
Akhaṇḍamaṇḍalaḥ kvenduḥ kva (kāntā)nanam adyuti || 65 ||
Yat kiñcit kāntisāmyāt tu śaśinaivopamīyate ||
Evam evādhikaupamye na doṣaṃ tadvi(do viduḥ) || 66 ||

Sukumārārthabandheṣu gauḍaiś śithilam iṣyate ॥
Anuprāsadhiyā te hi bandhavaidagdhyanispṛhāḥ ॥ 67 ॥
* * * (thā)dibhedena yadi vā kavikauśalāt ॥
Sarve kvacid kvacid doṣā labhante guṇatām amī ॥ 68 ॥
Gaṇayanti na vaiṣamyaṃ (śabdāḍambara)tatparāḥ ॥
Arthaleśaṃ ca gauḍāś cel labhante kim ataḥparam ॥ 69 ॥
Dīptam ity aparair bhūmnā kaṭhoram api badhyate ॥
Śabdaśa(kteḥ pra)tītiś cen neyārthaṃ naiva duṣyati ॥ 70 ॥
Aprasannam api prāyaś citrādāv iti niścayaḥ ॥
Pātraucityena hāsyādā * * tpannam apīṣyate ॥ 71 ॥
Aprauḍhim api śaṃsanti sṛṅgārādiṣu tadvidaḥ ॥
Rasātiśayasandhānād anirvyūḍhaṃ na doṣakṛt ॥ 72 ॥
Pūrvottarārthasandhāne niralaṅkāram iṣyatey ॥
Rasālaṅkārapuṣṭatvād ṛjumārgo guṇāvahaḥ ॥ 73 ॥
Atha vākyārthadoṣāṇām adoṣaḥ pratipadyate ॥
Mattonmattādivākyeṣu nāpārtham api duṣyati ॥ 74 ॥
Tatra pratyuta sūktārtho niha(nti nihi)taṃ rasm ॥
Tathaiva vyartham icchanti vyapetasmaraṇāya ca ॥ 75 ॥
Rasākṣiptadhiyaṃ vākyaṃ naikārtham api duṣyati ॥
Saṃśayāyaiva sandigdhaṃ yadi jātu prayujyate ॥ 76 ॥
Syād alaṅkāra evāsau na doṣa iti me matiḥ ॥
A(theda)m api vākyeṣu citrahetau na duṣyati ॥ 77 ॥
Na khinnam api doṣāya yatra cchāyā na hīyate ॥
Iti sambhā * m evaitad viśeṣyakhyānasaṃskṛtam ॥ 78 ॥
Kāntam bhavati sarvasya lokasīmānuvarttinaḥ ॥
Atyuktir iti gauḍīyair laukikārthavyatikrame ॥ 79 ॥
Lalito mārga ity asmin atimātram apīṣyate (?) ॥
Viruddhe lakṣaṇādau tu paruṣaṃ naiva duṣyati ॥ 80 ॥
(Hīno)pamaṃ na doṣāya yatrodvego na dhīmatām ॥
Tathādhikaupamasyāpi na doṣa iti tadvidaḥ ॥ 81 ॥
Na do * * * (dṛ) śaupamyātirekopamādiṣu ॥
Kadācit kavikauśalyād aprasiddhopamaṃ guṇaḥ ॥ 82 ॥
Jhaṭiti pratipattiḥ syād yatro * * pamādiṣu ॥
Yatra syād guṇabāhulyṃ raso vāpi parisphuṭaḥ ॥ 83 ॥
Doṣāya niralaṅkāraṃ tan na śaṃsanti sādhavaḥ ॥
Mahākavipathā * * * ślīlam api badhyate ॥ 84 ॥
Nāsti deśavirodho'pi dūṣaṇaṃ kavikauśalāt ॥
Doṣaḥ kāle virodhe'pi na kāryāntarahetutaḥ ॥ 85 ॥
Na ca (loka)virodho'pi tātparye doṣabhāg bhavet ॥
Tathā yuktiviruddhasya guṇatvaṃ kvacid iṣyate ॥ 86 ॥

Kvāpy aucityavirodho * * * vasthāntarā bhavet ॥
Na pratijñāvirodhe'pi doṣo vidhuracetasām ॥ 87 ॥
Asti kācid avasthā sā (yā sarā)gasya cetasaḥ ॥
Yasyām bhaved abhimatā viruddhārthāpi bhāratī ॥ 88 ॥
Dharmaśāstravirodho'pi na (doṣaḥ) puṇyatejasām ॥
Sa hi tatra prasiddhatvāt paramotkarṣakāraṇam ॥ 89 ॥
Teṣāṃ tejoviśeṣeṇa * * * yo na vidyate ॥
Arthaśāstravirodhe'pi doṣo norjitabhāṣaṇe ॥ 90 ॥
Kāmaśāstraviruddhe'pi na do * * * pekṣayā ॥
Raticakre pravṛtte tu naiva sāstraṃ na ca kramaḥ ॥ 91 ॥
Kalāśāstravirodho'pi kvacid doṣāya neṣyate ॥

ITI RASĀRṆAVĀLAṄKĀRE GUṆOPĀDĀNAM NĀMA DVITIYAḤ PARICCHEDAḤ

Athonmathitadoṣasya nyastāśeṣaguṇa * * ॥
* * kāvyaśarīrasya cārutotkarṣahetave ॥ 1 ॥
Jñeyo' laṅkārayogo' yaṃ kāminīvapuṣo yathā ॥
* * * sundarasyāpi prakarṣādhāyako dhruvam ॥ 2 ॥
Nisargaramyalāvaṇyatirodhāyakatā tu yaiḥ ॥
Uktālaṅkārava * * teṣām atiśayastutiḥ ॥ 3 ॥
Svabhāvaramaṇīyatvaṃ vinālaṅkṛtayo vṛthā ॥
Lolastanataṭanyasto hāro ha * * * * naḥ ॥ 4 ॥
Alaṅkārās tu nārīṇām śarīre trividhāḥ smṛtāḥ ॥
Bāhyās tathāntarāḥ kecit tathā bāhyāntarā iti ॥ 5 ॥
Tatra tā racitā bāhyadravyair bāhyā iti smṛtāḥ ॥
Pṛthaktvenāvabhāsante vastraha * * * dayaḥ ॥ 6 ॥
Svīyāvayavasaṃskārajanmānaḥ punar āntarāḥ ॥
Svarūpaśobhājanakā na(khol)lekhālakā * * ॥ 7 ॥
Bāhyair api padārthais tu kṛtās tanmayatāṃ gatāḥ ॥
Dhūpāsyavāsapramukhā jñeyā bāhyāntarā iti ॥ 8 ॥
Tathā kāvyaśarīre' pi bhāsante bāhyato' pi ye ॥
Sarve 'pi śabdālaṅkārās te bāhyā iti kīrtitāḥ ॥ 9 ॥
Sphuranty arthaparāmarśād arthālaṅkṛtayas tu yāḥ ॥
Ātmanāntaḥpratītatvād āntarā iti tā smṛtāḥ ॥ 10 ॥
Śabdotkarṣaṃ vitanvānāḥ śabdālaṅkṛtayo matāḥ ॥
Arthotkarṣanimittatvād arthālaṅkṛtayaḥ punaḥ ॥ 11 ॥
Ubhayālaṅkriyās tv atra dvayālaṅkārahetavaḥ ॥
Jātī rītiś ca vṛttiś ca racanā ghaṭanā tathā ॥ 12 ॥

Mudrā cchāyā tathā yuktir bhaṇitiḥ śravyatāpi ca ||
Śleṣaś citraṃ tathaucityam praśnottaraprahelike || 13 ||
Anuprāso'tha yamakaṃ gūḍhoktir iti kīrtitam ||
Śabdālaṅkṛtayaḥ spaṣṭam aṣṭādaśa manīṣibhiḥ || 14 ||
Saṃskṛtaprākṛtādir vā tatra jātir iti smṛtā ||
Śuddhā sādhāraṇī ceti tasyā * dvividhaṃ matam || 15 ||
Deśarucyā vaconyāso rītir ity abhidhīyate ||
Tatprabhedāṃs tu sarvajñād ṛte ko vaktum īśvaraḥ || 16 ||
U(cyante) rītayas tatra tathāpi prasphuṭāntarāḥ ||
Vaidarbhagauḍapāñcālalāṭāvantisamāśrayāḥ || 17 ||
Tatrāsamāsā vaidarbhī (prāyo bahuʾsā śṛṇgāra) guṇānvitā ||
Sākṣān nivasati prāyo vidarbheṣu manobhavaḥ || 18 ||
Ato vaidarbhagarbhā gīḥ śṛṅgārasyāṅgatāṃ gatā ||
(Nisargato) hi bālānām api vakraḥ parikramaḥ || 19 ||
Yasyāṃ samāsabāhulyam varṇānuprāsasaṅkulam ||
Bandhavaidagdhyavandhyāsau rītir gauḍīti kathyate || 20 ||
Samastair jāyate rītiḥ pāñcālī pañcabhiḥ padaiḥ ||
Saṃkṣepaguṇahetutvād iyam sarvajanapriyā || 21 ||
Samasta * * * * rṇā lāṭī caturavallabhā ||
Hṛdyā vāṭīva lāvaṇyasampadām āspadam param || 22 ||
Āvantikā tv iyam rītir uktalakṣaṇalakṣitā ||
(Bhā) ty atīva sudhābindusyandinī yatra paddhatiḥ || 23 ||
Rasocitārthasambandhapadasantānaśālinī ||
Manovikāsasaṃ(koca)varttanād vṛttir ucyate || 24 ||
Kaiśikyārabhaṭī caiva bhāratī sātvatī tathā ||
Tathā sādhāraṇī cāsyā bhedāḥ pañca prapañcitāḥ || 25 ||
Sukumārārthasandarbhanibaddhā kaiśikī smṛtā ||
Ata eva hi lāsyāṅgam vibudhair iyam ucyate || 26 ||
Yā ślakṣṇanaipathyaviśeṣayuktā strīsaṃyutā yā bahugītanṛttā ||
Kāmopabhogaprabha * ** rā tāṃ kaiśikīm vṛttim udāharanti ||27||
Atiprauḍhārthasandarbhā vṛttir ārabhaṭī bhavet ||
Imāṃ tu * * vasyāṅgam aṅgīkurvanti kovidāḥ || 28 ||
Yad āha :
Prastāvapātraplutalaṅghitāni cchedyāni māyākṛtam indrajālam ||
* * * niyuddhāni ca yatra vṛttim tat tādṛśīm ārabhaṭīṃ
vadanti || 29 ||
Anatiprauḍhasandarbhā sukumārārthavarttinī ||
Mahāpuruṣa * * jyā bhāratī vṛttir iṣyate || 30 ||
Iyaṃ tu dharmaśṛṅgāragarimāñcitacetasām ||
Vallabhā Bharatācāryanāmnā * * * darśitā || 31 ||

Yā vākpradhānā bharataprayojyā strīvarjitā saṃskṛtapāṭhyayuktā ॥
Sunāmadheyair (bharataiḥ) prayojyā sā bhāratī nāma bhavet
tu vṛttiḥ ॥ 32 ॥

Nātīva sukumārā gīr udārārtheṣu ced bhavet ॥
Iyaṃ tu sātvatī vṛttir mo * * gāraśālinām ॥ 33 ॥

Yad āha :

Yā sātvateneha guṇena yuktā tyāgena vṛttena samanvitā ca ॥
Harṣotkaṭā sambhṛta(citta)bhāvā sā sātvatī nāma bhavet tu
vṛttiḥ ॥ 34 ॥

Yathāsambhavasambhinnā yasyāṃ catasṛṇām guṇāḥ ॥
Vṛttīnām sādhu vijñeyā vṛttiḥ sādhāraṇī budhaiḥ ॥35॥
Sarvārthaviṣayā hṛdyā nānāmārgavisāriṇī ॥
Iyaṃ tu lalitā nāma kavīnām (citta)hāriṇī ॥ 36 ॥
Yad āha mahāBhāmahaḥ :
Yatrārabhaṭyādiguṇās samastāḥ
mitratvam āśritya mithaḥ prathante ॥
Miśreti tāṃ vṛttim uśanti dhīrāḥ
sādhāraṇīm arthacatuṣṭayasya ॥37॥
Yad āha :

Yac ca vṛttyaṅgasandhyaṅgalakṣaṇādyāgamāntare ॥
Vyāvarṇitam idaṃ ce * * laṅkāratayaiva naḥ ॥ 38 ॥
Arthānukūlaḥ śabdānāṃ niveśo racanā matā ॥
Sā tatsvarūpaparyāyaracanā bhavati (dhruvam) ॥ 39 ॥
Upaśleṣaḥ padārthānāṃ ghaṭaneti prakīrtitā ॥
Prastutāprastutātītapadavākyaprabhedabhūḥ ॥ 40 ॥
Sābhiprāyā(rthavinyā)so mudreti parikīrtyate ॥
Upalakṣaṇam atrārthaśabdālaṅkaraṇakṣamaḥ ॥ 41 ॥
Vibhaktir vacanaṃ caiva saṃ(vidhānaṃ) samuccayaḥ ॥
Tasyā bhedās tu catvāraḥ kovidair upavarṇitāḥ ॥ 42 ॥
Anyoktīnām anukṛtiḥ cchāyeti parikīrtitā ॥
Sā cānantā janānantyād kiñcit tatrāpi kathyate ॥ 43 ॥
Laukika-skhalita-ccheka-mugdha-veṭokti-bhedataḥ ॥
Pañcadhā tatprapañcānām parisaṃkhyā na vidyate ॥ 44 ॥
Arthānāṃ ca padānāṃ ca yojanaṃ yuktir ucyate ॥
Arthānāṃ yojane yatra śobhā syāt padapaddhatiḥ ॥ 45 ॥
Sā padasthā padārthasthā vākyavākyārthagocarā ॥
Tathā prakaraṇasthā ca prabandhastheti ṣaḍvidhā ॥ 46 ॥
Prastutārthaprakarṣāya vakraḥ parikaro yadi ॥
Tadāsau bhaṇitir nāma śabdālaṃkāra iṣyate ॥ 47 ॥

Tataḥ saṃbhāvanety ekā syād asaṃbhāvanāpi ca ||
Kalpanā ca virodhaś ca caturdhā bhaṇitikramaḥ || 48 ||
(Syān manohāriṇī) vāṇī śravyatā sāpi ṣaḍvidhā ||
Āśīr namaskriyā nāndī vastu bījaṃ prarocanā || 49 ||
Anekārthābhidhā syāc ced anekārthapadair yadi ||
Vyutpattyā vā bhaved āhus taṃ śleṣam kavipuṅgavāḥ || 50 ||
Sa prakṛtyā vibhaktyā ca padena (vaca)nena ca ||
Bhāṣayā pratyayenāpi ṣaḍvidho vibudhaiḥ smṛtaḥ || 51 ||
Citraṃ tu niyamanyāso varṇānām īpsitakrame ||
Svaravarṇagatisthānabandhakārādibandhanāt (?) || 52 ||
Upakāryopakāritvaṃ yatra śabdārthayor bhavet ||
Utkarṣādhāyakam (prāhu)r aucityaṃ tat prakīrtitam || 53 ||
Tathābhidhānatadbandhabhedāt tad dvividhaṃ viduḥ ||
Tatra dvaye'pi dhīmadbhir vihitaḥ saṃbhramo mahān || 54 ||
(Tathā pra)yoganirbhedaḥ kuśāgrīyadhiyām tu yaḥ ||
Nikaṣāya bhavet tac ca praśnottaram iti smṛtam || 55 ||
Asya niśśeṣabhedānām (avabodhe)sti cet spṛhā ||
Tad ālokayata granthaṃ Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanam || 56 ||
Vyāpakaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ kintu kiñcid asmābhir ucyate ||
Śakyaṃ yadanusāreṇa sarvabhedaprakalpanam || 57 ||
Antaḥ praśnaṃ bahiḥ praśnam ubhayapraśnam eva ca ||
Pṛṣṭapraśnottarapraśne jātipraśnaṃ ca ṭatkramāḥ || 58 ||
Praśnaṃ prahelikām āhur yatra nottarabhāṣaṇam ||
Kintu vākyārtha evāsau durbo(dho bo)dhyate budhaiḥ || 59 ||
Parivartita-vinyasta-lupta-vyutkrama-bindukaiḥ ||
Varṇaiḥ sā pañcadhā ṣaṣṭhī bhaved arthaprahelikā || 60 ||
* * * * t tu bhinnārthā yā vṛttiḥ śabdasantateḥ ||
Kavivyutpattinikaṣaṃ yamakaṃ nāma tad viduḥ || 61 ||
Avyapetaṃ vyapetākhyam avyape * * * takam ||
Niyatāniyatasthānabhedāt ṣoḍhā tad ucyate || 62 ||
Dvirabhyāsatrirabhyāsacaturabhyāsapāṭhajam ||
* * bhyāsabhavam cānyat saptamaṃ syād samudgakam || 63 ||
Eteṣāṃ tu na kārtsnyena prabhedā vaktum īpsitāḥ ||
Lakṣyalakṣaṇa(bodhā)rthaṃ diṅmātraṃ tu pradarśyate || 64 ||
Uptarūpaḥ padanyāso gūḍhoktiḥ pañcadhā bhavet ||
Kriyākārakasambandhapadābhiprāya(bhedataḥ) || 65 ||
Amī ca śabdālaṅkārāḥ padye gadye ca kovidaiḥ ||
Kāryā sandarbhaśobhāyai yathaucityam yathārasam || 66 ||
Iha śiṣṭānuśiṣṭānāṃ śiṣṭānām api sarvadā ||
Vācām eva prasādena lokayātrā pravartate || 67 ||

Idam andhaṃ tamaḥ kṛtsnaṃ jāyeta bhuvanatrayam ॥
Yadi śabdāhvayajyotir āsaṃsārān na dīpyate ॥ 68 ॥
Jātis tad atra vāgdevyā mūrtis tajñair udīritā ॥
Rītayas tv aṅgasaundaryam lāvaṇyam atha vṛttayaḥ ॥ 69 ॥
Alaṅkāratayāpy āsāṃ kāmacāro * * * * ॥
Vaktavyaḥ kāmacāraś ced viśeṣāpekṣayā bhavet ॥ 70 ॥
Racanāghaṭane devyāḥ kuṇḍale parikīrtite ॥
Dayāmudrā tu mudraiva cchāyā mālyam udāhṛtam ॥ 71 ॥
Yuktiṃ hārāvalīḥ prāhur bhaṇitiṃ mekhalāṃ punaḥ ॥
Śravyatāṃ kaṅkaṇaśreṇim śleṣacitre tu nūpurau ॥ 72 ॥
Līlākamalam aucityaṃ vāsaḥ praśnottaraṃ param ॥
Prahelikāṃ tu padakam anuprāsaṃ tu kañcukam ॥ 73 ॥
Krīḍāśakuntaṃ yamakaṃ gūḍhoktiṃ kelikandukam ॥
Vijāter gauravaṃ prāyaḥ kvāpi (kāvye na) dṛśyate ॥ 74 ॥
Rītis tu peśalo mārgas sa cen nāsti kim asti tat ॥
Racanā nāma cāturyam tāṃ vinā kaḥ kaver guṇaḥ ॥ 75 ॥
Vinā (ghaṭanayā kāvyaṃ) durghaṭaṃ na virājate ॥
Samudratvaṃ tu nāmnāpi gāmbhīryaguṇadāyakam ॥ 76 ॥
Vicchāyaṃ yat tu kiṃ tasya vārtayāpi manīṣi(ṇaḥ) ॥
(Nir)yuktikaṃ tu yad vākyaṃ tasya kā 'nyā vigarhaṇā ॥ 77 ॥
Bhaṇitir vakratā sā tu vidagdhajanavallabhā ॥
Avakrabhaṇiter doṣaḥ (su)ndaryo'pi kulāṅganāḥ ॥ 78 ॥
Na bhavanti vidagdhānāṃ prakāmānandahetavaḥ ॥
Aśravyam iti ced uktaṃ śrūyate * * * punaḥ ॥ 79 ॥
Cittasaṃśleṣaṇaḥ śleṣaḥ citram citraikakāraṇam ॥
Vinayena vinā kā śrīḥ kā niśā śaśinā vinā ॥ 80 ॥
Vinā ca śleṣacitrābhyāṃ kīdṛśī vāgvidagdhatā ॥
Anaucityāt kim anyo 'sti tiraskāraḥ sacetasām ॥ 81 ॥
Praśnottaranāmna * * goṣṭhīvinodo na tajñair ākīrṇamantraṇe ? ॥
Paravyāmohane cāpi sopayogāḥ prahelikāḥ ॥ 82 ॥
Lavaṇena vinā bhojyaṃ tyāgena rahitaṃ dhanam ॥
Anuprāsavihīnaṃ tu kāvyaṃ ko vā 'bhina(ndati) ॥ 83 ॥
Na tathā vallabhāśleṣo na pīyūṣarasapluti ॥
Yathā bhavati modārtham akliṣṭayamakaṃ vacaḥ ॥ 84 ॥
Gūḍhagūḍhacaturthādivā(kyaṃ kandar)paśāntaye ॥
Yadi vā vallabhā keligoṣṭhī bhramarasāvaham ॥ 85 ॥
Yathāmati yathāśakti yathaucityaṃ yathāruci ॥
Kaveḥ kāvyasya caitāsām prayoga upapadyate ॥ 86 ॥
Yādṛg gadyavidhau Bāṇaḥ padyabandhe na tādṛśaḥ ॥
Pratimārgam iyā(n bhedaḥ sa)citrā hi sarasvatī ॥ 87 ॥

Saṃskṛtenaiva ko 'pyarthaḥ prākṛtenaiva cāparaḥ ||
Śakyo (racayituṃ) dvābhyāṃ kaścit tu pathibhis tribhiḥ || 88 ||
Saṃskṛtenaiva ke'py āhuḥ prākṛtenaiva cāpare ||
Sādhāraṇādibhiḥ kecit kecana mlecchabhāṣayā || 89 ||
Na mlecchitavyaṃ yajñādau strīṣu nāprākṛtaṃ vadet ||
Saṅkīrṇaṃ nā * * teṣu nāprabuddheṣu saṃskṛtam || 90 ||
Vadanti saṃskṛtaṃ devāḥ prākṛtaṃ kinnarādayaḥ ||
Paiśācādyaṃ piśācādyāḥ māgadhaṃ hīnajātayaḥ || 91 ||
Ke'bhū(vann āḍhya)rājasya kāle prākṛtavedinaḥ ||
Kāle Śrīsāhasāṅkasya ke na saṃskṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ || 92 ||
Nātyantaṃ saṃskṛtenaiva nātyantam deśabhāṣayā ||
Kathāgoṣṭhīṣu kathayan loke bahumato bhavet || 93 ||
Śṛṇvanti laṭahaṃ lāṭāḥ prākṛtam saṃskṛtadviṣaḥ ||
Apabhraṃśena tuṣyanti svena * * * gūrjarāḥ || 94 ||
Brahman vijñāpayāmi tvāṃ svādhikārajihāsayā ||
Gaupaḥ paṭhatu vā gāthām * * * stu sarasvatī || 95 ||
Vibhāvaivaṃ prayatnena śabdālaṅkārajātayaḥ ||
Yathāyogopayogāya (vijñeyā) kavipuṅgavaiḥ || 96 ||
Etad grāhyam surabhi kusumam mālyam etan nidheyam
Dhatte śobhām idam iha punar nai * * * ti samyak ||
Mālākāro racayati yathā sādhu vijñāya mālām
Yojyam kāvye'py avahitadhiyā ta * * * bhidhānam || 97 ||

ITI ŚRĪPRAKĀŚAVARṢAKṚTAU RASĀRṆAVĀLAṄKĀRE
ŚABDĀLAṄKĀRAPRAKĀŚANAM NĀMA TṚTĪYAḤ
PARICCHEDAḤ

Arthālaṅkṛtayas tv anyā arthotkarṣaikahetavaḥ ||
Sacetanamano * * sadanantāḥ pracakṣmahe || 1 ||
Jātihetur ahetuś ca sūkṣmasārasamāhitam ||
Bhāvo vibhāvanā'nyonyavirodho viṣamaṃ tathā || 2 ||
Saṃbhavaḥ pratyanīkaṃ ca vyatirekas tv asaṅgatiḥ ||
Tathā leśābhidhānaṃ ca parivṛttir nimīlanam || 3 ||
Vitarkaḥ smaraṇaṃ bhrāntir abhāvaś cāgamaś ca saḥ ||
Upamānānumāne ca pratyakṣam cārthika(ṃ tathā) || 4 ||
Saṃśayo'tiśayaś caitā aṣṭāviṃśatir īritāḥ ||
Nānāvastuṣu jāyante yāni rūpāṇi * * * || 5 ||
Svebhyaḥ svebhyo nisargebhyas tāni jātīn pracakṣate ||
Arthavyakter iyaṃ bhedam i * * pratipadyate || 6 ||

Jahāmonam asī vakti (?) rūpaṃ sā sārvakālikam ‖
Svarūpam āśraye hetum iti ta * dahetavaḥ ‖ 7 ‖
Te saṃsthānādayas teṣu sā viśeṣeṇa śobhate ‖
Saṃsthānam atha (ca) * vyāpāro veṣa ity api ‖ 8 ‖
Svarūpam iti śaṃsanti tatprapañcaḥ pravakṣyate ‖
Bālavṛddhavi * * strīhīnajātyādir āśrayaḥ ‖ 9 ‖
Tiryañco'pīti tallakṣyam diṅmātreṇa pradarśyate ‖
Deśakālakalāśakti * * nāni ca hetavaḥ ‖ 10 ‖
Amīṣām api lakṣyāṇi yathāyogaṃ pracakṣmahe ‖
Pravṛtter vā nivṛtter vā yat(kāryaṃ) syān nibandhanam ‖ 11 ‖
Tatrāsya hetur ity ākhyā ṣaṭprakāraḥ sa kathyate ‖
Ekaḥ pravartako hetuḥ (anyaḥ) kārye nivarttakaḥ ‖ 12 ‖
Abhāvahetur aparo jñāpako 'nyaḥ prayojakaḥ ‖
A(nyo) bahuprapañcas tu citrahetur iti smṛtaḥ ‖ 13 ‖
Kvāpi patra(vaśāvandhyaḥ) kvāpy arthāntarabādhitaḥ ‖
* * tākāralakṣyo'rthaḥ sūkṣmaḥ sūkṣmaguṇas tu saḥ ‖ 14 ‖
Śukṣmāt pratyakṣatas sūkṣmaḥ pratyakṣa iti (bhidyate) ‖
Sa cābhidhīyamānaḥ syāt pratīyamāna eva ca ‖ 15 ‖
Sa dvidhāpi dvidhā miśro bhūtvā bhavati ṣaḍvidhaḥ ‖
* * * * * * hetus syād yaḥ san napi kāryakṛt (?) ‖ 16 ‖
* * rasyanirāsena sārasaṃgrahaṇe ca sā ‖
Rasa ity ucyate so'pi dharmidharmātmanā dvidhā ‖ 17 ‖
A * * * prayatnād vā kāraṇaṃ sahakāri yat ‖
Āsādyate kriyāraṃbhe tad dvidhaiva samāhitam ‖ 18 ‖
Abhiprāyārtha(gā yā) tu pravṛttir bhāva iṣyate ‖
Prasiddhahetutyāgena hetvantaravibhāvanam ‖ 19 ‖
Svabhāvabhāvanaṃ syād ya * * * * vibhāvanā ‖
Śabdato vārthato vāpi dvayato vā padārthayoḥ ‖ 20 ‖
Upakāryopakāritvam anyonyam (abhidhīya)te ‖
Mālārūpaṃ yad anyonyam mālānyonyam tad ucyate ‖ 21 ‖
Sarvasvaṃ nyasyati prāyas tatra sākṣa * * * ti ‖
Anyonyabhrāntim apy āhur anyonyam iha kovidāḥ ‖ 22 ‖
Kāvyavastūpakāritvād upalakṣaṇa(m eva) vā ‖
Anyonyaikatayā prāyo vaicitryaṃ kāvyavastunaḥ ‖ 23 ‖
Atas tām api nānyonyāt pṛthag uptam pṛ * * * ‖
Asaṅgatiḥ padārthānām utkarṣādhāyinī yadi ‖ 24 ‖
Vakrimākrāntasaundaryaḥ sa virodho 'bhidhīyate ‖
* * padavirodho 'pi kathitaḥ kavipuṅgavaiḥ ‖ 25 ‖
Naṅā kṛtavikāratvāt sa noktaḥ śleṣalakṣaṇe ‖
* * ñca śabdālaṅkāraḥ saṃkhyāgauravabhīruṇā ‖ 26 ‖

Na mayā tatra yukto'pi pṛthaktvenopavarṇitaḥ ||
A(sāmya)kāraṇotpannaṃ kāryaṃ viṣamam ucyate || 27 ||
Prayogaḥ prāyaśas tasya saundaryam avalaṃbate ||
Anekakāra(ṇotpanna)darśanād idam īritam || 28 ||
Bhaviṣyāmīti yaj jñānaṃ sa saṃbhava iti smṛtaḥ ||
Vidhirūpo niṣedhātmā dvayātmā dvayavarjitaḥ || 29 ||
(Tad da)rśaneṣu tad rūpaṃ caturddhāpi vibhāvyatām ||
Pratikūlaphalotpattim īpsitārthasya kāraṇam || 30 ||
Yat karoti tad ākhyātam (pratya)nīkaṃ manīṣibhiḥ ||
Yatrābhidhāya sādharmyaṃ vaidharmyam api kathyate || 31 ||
Vyatirekaḥ sa vijñeyaḥ saptadhā 'sau prapañcyate ||
(Eko)bhayavibhedo 'rthaḥ sadṛśāsadṛśodbhavaḥ || 32 ||
Svajātivyaktijanmā ca rūpakaprakṛtis tathā ||
Kāryakāraṇa * * tra bhiṇṇadeśavyavasthitiḥ || 33 ||
Jāyate tat phalam sā tu smṛtā dhīrair asaṅgatiḥ ||
Dūṣaṇasya guṇībhāvo doṣībhāvo guṇasya vā || 34 ||
Dvayaṃ vā yatra saṃśliṣṭam tat tu leśam pracakṣate ||
Anyasyānyatra vinyāso dravyasya tu guṇasya vā || 35 ||
Yatra sā (parivṛttyākhyā) smṛtālaṅkārakāribhiḥ ||
Tām āhur vyatyayenaikām anyāṃ vinimayena ca || 36 ||
Anyām ubhayavākyārthavimiśrā * * * * * ||
Vastvantaratiraskāro vastunānyena ced bhavet || 37 ||
Nimīlitam iti prājñais tad alaṅkāra iṣyate ||
Hitaṃ cāvihitaṃ caiva tadguṇo 'tadguṇas tathā || 38 ||
Naiteṣāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ bhinnaṃ nimīlitam amīyata ||
Saṃśayā * * * tu syād ya ūho nirṇayātmanām || 39 ||
Sa vitarka iti jñeyo nirṇayānirṇayātmakaḥ ||
Sadṛśād dṛṣṭacittānyasma(?) * * jāyate smṛtiḥ || 40 ||
Yānubhūtapadārthānāṃ smaraṇaṃ tatra kīrtitam ||
Pratyabhijñānam apy āhur nārthānta(rataḥ) smṛteḥ || 41 ||
Smṛtis svapnāyitaṃ cānyā tathānyā vyaktivarjitā ||
Bhrāntir viparyayajñānam atattve ta(ttvakāri)ṇī || 42 ||
Tattve 'py atattvarūpā vā dvayaṃ tat trividhaṃ bhavet ||
Bādhitābādhitāpūrvaṃ tathā kāraṇabādhitam || 43 ||
(Vi)hānārthāsaṅgrahārthāv upekṣārthā tathetarā ||
(Kālekatipayā ?) bhrāntir bhrāntimāleti kathyate || 44 ||
(Mālā) bhrānter na bhinnā syād etallakṣaṇalakṣaṇāt ||
Yatra vastuni nollekhamātraṃ jñānasya vidyate || 45 ||
(Sā)py anadhyavasāyākhyā bhrāntir eveti me matiḥ ||
Asattvaṃ tu padārthānām abhāva iti kathyate || 46 ||

Kāraṇair api ced bhrāntir apanetuṃ na śakyate ॥
Sa bhrāntyatiśayo 'py atra na bhinno bhrāntilakṣaṇāt ॥ 47 ॥
* * py utkarṣam āpnoti ko 'py arthaḥ kavikauśalāt ॥
Sa bhavet prāgabhāvo vā pradhvaṃsābhāva eva vā ॥ 48 ॥
Atyantā * * * vo vā kalpitābhāva eva vā ॥
Āgamas tv āptavacanam dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthasādhanam ॥ 49 ॥
Puruṣārthaprabhedena (sa catu)rdhā smṛto budhaiḥ ॥
Dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇām śāstrāṇy āgama ucyate ॥ 50 ॥
Ādyantau tāv a(dṛṣṭārthau) dṛṣṭārthau madhyamau smṛtau ॥
Pravṛtyātmā nivṛtyātmā dharmo 'yam dvividhaḥ smṛtaḥ ॥ 51 ॥
Nānāsama * * danadurbhaṇas tasya vistaraḥ ॥
Tathāpi brūmahe kiñcit mārgamāṇā pradarśakam ॥ 52 ॥
Āryoktir iti santyajya vākyaṃ sandarbham arthataḥ ॥
Arthas tu trividho jñeyaḥ pitryaḥ svaḥ sañcito navaḥ ॥ 53 ॥
Tadupārjitaśāstrāṇām arthāgama iti smṛtiḥ ॥
Tatra vidyā mahīhemapaśubhāṇḍam upaskaraḥ ॥ 54 ॥
(Idaṃ mi)tram idaṃ pitryam arthajātaṃ pracakṣmahe ॥
Kalatraputrasahitaṃ daśadhānyadvayam punaḥ ॥ 55 ॥
Asyāpi vistarā(khyā)naṃ tadgrantheṣvavadhāryatām ॥
Āsīn māheśvaraṃ śāstram atra koṭipramāṇakam ॥ 56 ॥
Punas tad api saṃkṣiptam atha (svā)yambhuvam tataḥ ॥
Vātavyādher api granthaḥ saprapañcaḥ pravartate ॥ 57 ॥
Bṛhaspater mataṃ cedam ida * * * sammatam ॥
Idaṃ ca Viṣṇuguptasya tathā Kāmandaker api ॥ 58 ॥
Kiyanto 'nye 'bhidhātavyāḥ kṛtāye * * dher api ॥
Atas tadarthajijñāsā yadi vaḥ sampravartate ॥ 59 ॥
Kṣaṇāntaraṃ pratīkṣyaṃ tad anyas tāvad upakramaḥ ॥
(Anyo) py upāyaḥ skandhānām ajñānenārthabhāṣaṇam ॥ 60 ॥
Tenaiṣāṃ lakṣanākhyānamātram atropayujyate ॥
Vinayenārjavaṃ yena vidyāder arthasampadaḥ ॥ 61 ॥
Tenāsau vinayaskandhaḥ smṛto nītiviśāradaiḥ ॥
(Paśupoṣa)khanidravyavaṇigvṛttyādivārtayā ॥ 62 ॥
Svavṛtticintanaṃ yena vārtāskandhaḥ sa ucyate ॥
Prajāvivādasambaddhanyāyānyāyanirūpaṇāt ॥ 63 ॥
Ayaṃ vyavahṛtiskandha iti tajjñair udāhṛtaḥ ॥
Kaṇṭakākrāntasāmanta(rakṣaṇaṃ) yena cārjanam ॥ 64 ॥
Tenāyam arthatantrajñai rakṣāskandha iti smṛtaḥ ॥
Heyopādeyaṣāḍguṇya(siddhamantrita)mārjanam ॥ 65 ॥
Susiddhaṃ yena cārthasya mantraskandhas tu tena saḥ ॥
Sāmādibhir upāyais tu ye(ṣām ā) varjanaṃ bhavet ॥ 66 ॥

Upāyaskandha ity ukto mantraskandhād vibheditam ॥
Pravaṇādibhir anyebhyo yena (cā)rjanam iṣyate ॥ 67 ॥
Vibhramaskandha ity ākhyām ayam ālambate kramaḥ ॥
Jaitramantrādibhir yatra śāstrayuktyā pracodite ॥ 68 ॥
Artha upaniṣatskandha iti taṃ ca pracakṣate ॥
Caturaṅgeṇa yuddhena yatra vidviṣatāṃ śriyaḥ ॥ 69 ॥
* * * te tam atrāhur yuddhaskandhaṃ viśāradāḥ ॥
Paropadravasantrāsapraśāntyā yatra labhyate ॥ 70 ॥
Arthaḥ * * pi saḥ prājñaiḥ praśamaskandha ucyate ॥
Atra caite pradarśyante yadi tais tair nidarśanaiḥ ॥ 71 ॥
Prakṛ(tasya) vicārasya tadā deyo jalāñjaliḥ ॥
Upayogaṃ vinā kintu na kvāpy artho virājate ॥ 72 ॥
Upa(yogān) daśaikasmād arthasyāsya pracakṣmahe ॥
Kvacid eva hi ko'py artho deśe deśe pravartate ॥ 73 ॥
(Kvacit)tasyopayogasya deśa eva nibandhanam ॥
Kāryatve sarvasāmānye kāryaṃ kāryānta * * kam ॥ 74 ॥
Arthāntarānubandhitvāt tatra kāryanibandhanam ॥
Upakārādināṇārthapratighāto hi dṛśyate ॥ 75 ॥
Tatrā * * pratīghāta upayoganibandhanam ॥
Datvārthaṃ vairiṇāṃ sandhau kṛte vairaṃ nivartate ॥ 76 ॥
(A)to vairanivṛttis syād upayoganibandhanam ॥
Arthena vartanaṃ yac ca tad vikhyātaṃ gṛhe gṛhe ॥ 77 ॥
* * m eva tato vṛttir upayoganibandhanam ॥
Guṇino 'pi daridrasya nādaraḥ prākṛtāj janāt ॥ 78 ॥
Tasmād arthopa (yogā)rtham bhaven māno nibandhanam ॥
Api nirvyājavīrasya na tyāgavirahe yaśaḥ ॥ 79 ॥
Tatkīrtir eva tatra syād upayoganibandhanam ॥
Tasmād arthārjanopāyān upayogāṃś ca tatvataḥ ॥ 80 ॥
Yato jānanti dhīmantaḥ so('py a)rthāgama iṣyate ॥
Strīpuṃyogas tu kandarpalalitaṃ kāma ucyate ॥ 81 ॥
Tatraikatrābhiyukte strī * * * yatra tad dvidhā ॥
Tayos tu manmathakrīḍācāturyāvarjanārthīnoḥ ॥ 82 ॥
Śāstraṃ kāmāgamo nāma (yathā Vātsyā)yanādikam ॥
Kanyā svastrī parastrī ca sāmānyeti ca yoṣitām ॥ 83 ॥
Bhavanti bhedāś catvāraḥ tatprabhedās tv anekaśaḥ ॥
Tatra kanyāgataḥ kāmo dvidhā tajjñair udāhṛtaḥ ॥ 84 ॥
Vaivāhiko bhavaty eko dvitiyaḥ (pāradā)rikaḥ ॥
Svastrī rūḍhāvaruddheti dvidhā kāmo 'pi tadgataḥ ॥ 85 ॥
Dṛṣṭādṛṣṭaphalaḥ pūrvo dṛṣṭārthaikaphalo 'paraḥ ॥
Rūḍhāvaruddhā raṇḍā ca parastrī trividhā bhavet ॥ 86 ॥

Eka eva hi kāmaḥ syāt tadgataḥ (pāradā)rikaḥ ॥
Sāmānyā vanitā veśyā kāmas tatraika eva hi ॥ 87 ॥
Dhirair nisargacātu * * turāsyaprakīrtitaḥ ॥
Asyodāharaṇaśreṇī śāstraṃ pūrvopavarṇitam ॥ 88 ॥
Ślokamātre * * * traṃ tathāpy etat pracakṣmahe ॥
Ātmano bandhanacchedād aśarīradaśāsthitiḥ ॥ 89 ॥
Mokṣaḥ syāt tadupā(yārthaṃ) śāstraṃ mokṣāgamaḥ smṛtaḥ ॥
Yatra dṛṣṭārthasādṛśyād adṛṣṭo 'rthaḥ pratīyate ॥ 90 ॥
Pratibimbam api prekṣya pratibimbi pratīyate ॥
Atas tad api rasajñair upamānam udāhṛtam ॥ 91 ॥
Rūpam śaṃsanti mudrāpi svanimittasya vastunaḥ ॥
Upamānān na sā bhinnā bhavatīty āha (Bhāma)haḥ ॥ 92 ॥
Avinābhāvinā jñānaṃ yatra liṅgena liṅginaḥ ॥
Mānākhyayā tu tasyeha vyavahā(ro) manīṣiṇām ॥ 93 ॥
Indriyārthasamāyogāj jñātaṃ yad upajāyate ॥
Pratyakṣaṃ pañcadhā tat syād (artha)pañcakabhedataḥ ॥ 94 ॥
Yasmin nātyantasādṛśyāt sandeho vastuno bhavet ॥
Sa saṃśaya iti prājñai(r upa)māsodaras tu saḥ ॥ 95 ॥
Udīritam asaṃbhāvyaṃ lokavṛttānatikramāt ॥
Yad atyuktipadākhyeyaṃ vijñeyo 'tiśayo 'tra saḥ ॥ 96 ॥
Arthālaṅkṛtayas tv imāḥ kavisabhāsambhāvanālipsubhir
vācyās samyag udārabandha(madhurai)ḥ kāvye niyojyāḥ sadā ॥
Pīyūṣasrutisundarair api parair labdhvā pramode (rasam)
sarvo 'py arthaviśeṣabhāvanaparaḥ prāyo vidagdho janaḥ ॥ 97 ॥

ITI RASĀRṆAVĀLAṄKĀRE ARTHĀLAṄKĀRANIRṆAYO
NĀMA CATURTHAḤ PARICCHEDAḤ

Uktas so 'yaṃ vibhāvānubhāvasañcārisaṅkaraḥ ॥
Krameṇa sarvabhāvānām śṛṅgāreṣu caturṣv api ॥ 1 ॥
Sthāyī ca vyabhicārī ca bhāvo dvividha ucyate ॥
Sambhogo vipralambhaś ca śṛṅgāro 'pi dvidhā mataḥ ॥ 2 ॥
Samavāye ca udbhūtaś ciraṃ yaś cāvatiṣṭhate ॥
Bhāvaḥ sthāyīti sa jñeyo 'py a * * (rītathonyathā ?) ॥ 3 ॥
Abhīṣṭāliṅganādīnām avāptau yaḥ prakāśate ॥
So 'smin sambhogaśṛṅgāro vipralambho viparyaye ॥ 4 ॥
Vibhāvo 'pi dvidhaivātrālambanoddīpanātmakaḥ ॥
Eko 'nubhava * * re janako 'nyaś ca bodhakaḥ ॥ 5 ॥
Tataḥ prabuddhe saṃskāre 'nubhāvo bhaved dvidhā ॥
Antar bahiś ca bhāvottha * navavyabhicāribhiḥ ॥ 6 ॥

Smṛtīcchādveṣavarṇānām antaḥ santāna iṣyate ॥
Manovāgbuddhivapuṣāṃ bahir ārambha eva tu ॥ 7 ॥
(Janmātiśayasamparkānugamān iha) ? ॥
Vibhāvaś cātra bhāvaś ca vyabhicārī ca kurvate ॥ 8 ॥
Vibhāvāj janma bhāvānām uddīpanavibhāvataḥ ॥
Anubandho 'nubhāvebhyo praka * * * * yate ॥ 9 ॥
Samparkas tulyatātulyabalabhāvāntarodaye ॥
Anugāmitvam anyena sthāyino 'pahnave sati ॥ 10 ॥
Janmānubandhātiśayā * * * * * * * (dhā) nugamāt krameṇa ॥
Bhāveṣu tal lakṣaṇalakṣyayogāt pañca prapañcān
upavarṇayāmaḥ ॥ 11 ॥
Saiṣa bhāvo ratir nāma kāma * * * māṅkuraḥ ॥
Sauhṛdāṅkurakandaś ca dviprakāro 'pi darśitaḥ ॥ 12 ॥
Bhāvāntarebhyaḥ sarvebhyo ratibhāvaḥ (prapañcyate) ॥
Kavivargaḥ samagro 'pi tam enam anudhāvati ॥ 13 ॥
Nisargasaṃsargasukhaiḥ prabhedaiḥ janmānubandha * * *
dibhiś ca ॥
Imaṃ viniścitya niveśayantaḥ kavīndrabhāvaṃ kavayo
labhante ॥ 14 ॥

RATIPRAPAÑCAḤ SAMĀPTAḤ

Catu * * * tir ityete vā harṣādayo mayā ॥
Uktā janmādibhedena prāyaḥ sambhogahetavaḥ ॥ 1 ॥
Ataḥ param pravakṣyante vipralambhasamāśrayāḥ ॥
Caturviṃśatir utkaṇṭhācintāsmṛtyādayo 'pare ॥ 2 ॥
E * * * dayo bhāvāḥ śṛṅgāravyaktihetavaḥ ॥
Kārtsnyād ekonapañcāśad yathābhedaṃ prakāśitāḥ ॥ 3 ॥
* * * bandhātiśayasamparkānugamān iti ॥
[Yuñjīta]sarvabhāveṣu vargayor ubhayor api ॥ 4 ॥
Yad api ca gaditam praharṣa * * tiraso rativismayādir eva ॥
Tad idam iti nirākṛtaṃ prakṛṣṭāprakṛtijabhedam amī hi
sarva eva ॥ 5

ITI PRAKĀŚAVARṢAKṚTAU RASĀRṆAVĀLAṄKĀRE ŚṚṄGĀR[AVYAKTIH] PAÑCAMAḤ PARICCHEDAḤ SAMĀPTAḤ.

ŚRĪR ASTU. HARIHARA... .....GARBHEBHYO NAMAḤ.

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The Sacrificial Wheel taught in the Bhagavadgītā

The Bhagavadgītā, in a passage which may be said to extend from stanza 8 to 16 of the third adhyāya, teaches the necessity of *yajña* or sacrifice in the sense of the Mīmāṃsā, i.e., of the *apūrva* required for obtaining from the gods the material conditions, such as rain and (through it) food, without which the progress of the world would come to a standstill (cf. Manu, III, 75 : *daivakarmaṇi yukto hi bibharti̇dam carācaram*) ; and it modifies this old doctrine, merely by adding that sacrifice, as any action, should not be done with any selfish idea but only for the maintenance of the divine law. In order to demonstrate the necessity of *yajña* the latter is shown to be a link within a cycle (*cakra*) of causation, i.e., a cycle every link of which is both effect of the preceding and cause of the following link, so that by eliminating even one only of those links the cycle would be destroyed. The demonstration concludes thus: "He who does not promote (or obey, or follow) the wheel (*cakra*) thus set in motion, sinful of life and indulging in the senses, he, O son of Pṛthā, lives in vain."

Now the problem arising here is this: Which and how many of the principles mentioned in this connection are meant to constitute the *yajñacakra* ?

But for stanza 15 everything would be perfectly clear. For, the causal series taught in st. 14 (*karma* causing *yajña*

causing *parjanya* causing *annam* causing *bhūtāni*) does form into a cycle in so far as the beings (*bhūtāni*) are again linked with *karma* as their effect. Nothing more seems to be required.

I have, therefore, long been of opinion that stanza 15 does not belong to the original Bhagavadgītā, but is a not very clever interpolation of an orthodox Brahmanic reviser who was afraid that the *cakra* might be misunderstood in the sense of the Buddhist *pratītyasamutpāda* (or some *svabhāvavāda*) as something automatic or not requiring a divine author or supervisor.

As regards interpolations, we need not go so far as the late Professor Garbe who declared no less than one hundred and seventy stanzas of the Bhagavadgītā (including st. 9 to 18 of adhy. III) to have been added to the original work. Still the idea of interpolations in the Gītā must not, as is often done in India, be ridiculed as the caprice of hypercritical minds. There is at least one stanza, *viz.*, the words of Arjuna (*prakṛtiṃ puruṣaṃ caiva kṣetraṃ kṣetrajñaṃ eva ca*, etc.) found in some manuscripts and editions at the beginning of adhyāya XIII, which is stamped as an interpolation by the fact of its being tacitly ignored or expressly rejected by most of the commentators and editors. But it is also well worth considering, e.g., that stanzas 66 and 67 of the second adhyāya are not commented upon nor even mentioned in the two oldest Gītā commentaries hailing from Kāśmīr, and that the great Abhinavagupta rejects as spurious stanzas 16, 17 and 18 of the fourteenth adhyāya.[1]

However, I do not here wish to state that stanza 15 is an interpolation. After having indicated that it may be one I shall now try to explain our passage on the supposition

1 These points as well as apparent lacunæ and wrong readings in the current Gītā will be found discussed in the preface to my edition, now ready for the press, of the ancient Kāśmīr recension of the Bhagavadgītā.

that stanza 15 does belong to the original Gītā. For, I am always against c u t t i n g the Gordian knot as long as no serious effort has been made to u n t w i s t it.

The idea of the *yajñacakra* is older than the Bhagavadgītā. It is already found, though in a somewhat different form, in two of the oldest Upaniṣads (Bṛhadāraṇyaka, VI, 2, 9-13 and Chāndogya, V, 4-9) where the cremation of the dead body, and, in accordance herewith, every further change of state of the *jīva* passing from death to rebirth is described as a sacrifice. At the cremation, so we read, the Other World (*asau lokaḥ*) is the fire in which the gods sacrifice the *śraddhā* (i.e., probably, the *karman*)[1] of the deceased person who hereby becomes *somo rājā* (assumes a lunar body). He then becomes rain (*vṛṣṭi*), then food (*annam*), then semen (*retaḥ*), then, again, an embryo (*garbha*, Chānd. Up.) and a man (*puruṣa*, Bṛh. Up.). This is the *pañcāgnividyā*, so called because of the five fires (*asau lokaḥ*, etc.) through which a man passes from death to birth.

This is an Aupaniṣadic elaboration of the more primitive and general theory of the *yajñacakra* as transmitted, e.g., in a stanza (quoted in several Gītā commentaries) of the Mānavadharmaśāstra (III, 76), *viz.*:

agnau prāstāhutiḥ samyag ādityam upatiṣṭhate/
ādityāj jāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annaṃ tataḥ prajāḥ//

In close agreement herewith is Yājñavalkyasmṛti, III, 121-124: the essence (*rasa*) of the sacrifice, after having gratified the gods, is carried by the wind to the moon (*soma*) and thence by the rays of the sun to the latter itself. Then the sun sends it back to earth in the form of water (*amṛta*), i.e., rain, which, on its part, produces food (*annam*) from which all creatures (*bhūtāni*) spring. "From that food (comes) again sacrifice, again food, again sacrifice, and thus this wheel revolves without beginning or end":

1 Compare Bhag. Gītā xviii, 3: *śraddhāmayo'yaṃ puruṣa yo yacchraddhaḥ sa eva saḥ.*

tasmād annāt punar yajñaḥ punar annam punaḥ kratuḥ|
evam etad anādyantaṃ cakraṃ saṃparivartate||

In all of these passages, then, the *cakra* has four or five links which are practically the same as those enumerated in Bhag. Gītā, III, 14, considering that *karman* may be implied in *yajña*, or vice versa.

But our stanza 14 has a continuation, its last words (*yajñaḥ karmasamudbhavaḥ*) being linked with the following stanza (15), *viz.*,

karma brahmodbhavaṃ viddhi brahmākṣarasamudbhavam|
tasmāt sarvagataṃ brahma nityaṃ yajñe pratiṣṭhitam||

and thus, apparently, two more links are introduced into the *cakra*, viz., *brahman* and *akṣara*.[1]

The task, therefore, devolves upon us to examine the several solutions of this problem that have so far been offered by Indian commentators and Western interpreters of the Gītā.

These solutions, or attempts at such, fall naturally into three groups, according as the additional principles (*brahman* and *akṣara*) are understood as (1) belonging to the *cakra*, (2) not belonging to it, and (3) partly belonging and partly not belonging to it. To the first group belong (among others)[2] the explanations given by Rāmānuja, Madhva, and, of advaitins, Veṅkaṭanātha; to No. 2 that of Śaṅkara and most of his followers; to No. 3 Nīlakaṇṭha's. I shall now set forth these standpoints, but for practical reasons in the changed order 2, 3, 1, and, first, without regard to the second half of stanza 15.

(2) Śaṅkarācārya declares *brahman* to be the Veda, and *akṣara* to be the same as *akṣara brahma*, i.e., *paramātmā*. Of these the latter, being no possible effect of the *bhūtāni*

1 The meaning (gender) of these words being under discussion, their uninflected form only can be used here.

2 I do not claim to know all Gītā commentaries and can use for this study only those which I have at hand, excluding even some of them, because their explanations are too little original or (such as *karma–kriyāśakti*) too anachronistic (considering the age of the Gītā).

nor, indeed, being imaginable as an effect or product at all, is necessarily outside the *cakra*. Whether the Veda is or is not, Śaṅkara does not explicitly state, but evidently he excluded it too because of its *nityatva*. Compare Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's explaining *brahmodbhavaṃ* to mean "having the Veda as its authority" (*pramāṇam*, not *udbhava*!) and his epitomizing statement: "At the beginning (of creation) there is the manifestation, by the Lord, of the all-manifesting, eternal, faultless Veda; thence (comes) the knowledge of the works (to be done); thence, by their being performed, the production of merit; then rain; thence food; thence (the birth of) beings; again, exactly so, the prosecution of works by the beings," etc. Similar is Śaṅkarānanda's explanation: *Īśvaraḥ śrutimukhena yajñasantatiṃ vidhāya .....svayam eva cakraṃ pravartitavān*. The Veda is the instrument of the Lord for setting the *cakra* in motion and as such outside it, as the key is outside the watch.

(3) Nīlakaṇṭha, agreeing with Śaṅkara as to the meaning of *brahman* and *akṣara*, is also convinced that the *bhūtāni* cannot in any way be the cause of the Veda; still he makes the latter a link of the *cakra* in the following way: "First the study, by the beings, of the Veda (takes place); thence their performing the actions (enjoined therein); thence the satisfaction of the gods; thence rain; thence food: thence beings (and) their studying the Veda."

(1*a*) Veṅkaṭanātha, however, is sure that both *brahman* and *akṣara* belong to the *cakra* and fully participate in the *anyonya-kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva* of the links constituting it. He agrees with Śaṅkara in taking *brahman* to mean the Veda, but differs from him in explaining *akṣara* as the *praṇava* or the sacred syllable OM which, as he points out, is according to Bhag. Gītā, XVII, 23 (*om tat sad iti nirdeśa*, etc.) the cause of the Veda. But then how can the *bhūtāni* be the cause of the *praṇava*? In so far, he replies, as the *praṇava* is manifested by them through their pronouncing it (*uccāraṇenābhivyajyamānatvāt*).

(1*b*) Madhva, who precedes Veṅkaṭanātha by centuries, has a similar idea as to *akṣara* but not as to *brahman*: the word *akṣara*, he says, must be taken literally in the sense of the letters (*akṣarāṇi*), i.e., the Veda (including the sacred syllable); these are manifested through the beings, and "through them (the letters) the Highest Brahma becomes manifest" (*akṣarāṇi prasiddhāni; tebhyo hy abhivyajyate paraṃ brahma.....tāni cākṣarāṇi bhūtābhivyaṅgyānīti cakram*). For, says M., "the words such as taking rise mean manifestation" (*utpattivacanāny abhivyaktyarthāni*).

(1*c*) Rāmānuja's explanation, like Madhva's, depends on interpreting the causal connection of the links (which in the text is expressed by the words *bhavati, bhavanti, saṃbhavaḥ, samudbhavaḥ*) more liberally, i.e., less literally, than is usually done. For, it is a wrong view, says his chief exponent (Vedāntadeśika), that the idea of the *cakra* is necessarily connected with that of a taking rise (*na hy avaśyam utpattāv evāpekṣā cakratvahetuḥ*). But Rāmānuja goes much further than Madhva. He sets forth: (1) that *brahma* is a word for *prakṛti* or primordial matter (used as such, e.g., in Bhag. Gītā, XIV, 8 *mama yonir mahad brahma* and in Muṇḍ. Up., 1, 1, 9) and thus may also, as is the case in our stanza, denote a product of *prakṛti*, *viz.*, the individual body (*prakṛtipariṇāmarūpa-śarīra*; (2) that *akṣara*, as elsewhere (Bhag. Gītā, XV, 16 *kūṭastho 'kṣara ucyate* and Śvet. Up., 1, 10) means the *jīvātmā* or individual soul; (3) that *brahmākṣarasamudbhavam* means (not that the body springs from the soul but) that only in connection with the soul (as its supervisor) does the body become an instrument of action (*karma-sādhana*); (4) that not merely the body, but body plus soul (*sajīvaśarīram*) as an organic unity depend on food—*annād bhavanti bhūtāni* (st. 14)—and that, consequently, (5) stanza 14 does not introduce two new principles, but only mentions once more, but this time with regard to their dual nature, the *bhūtāni* already mentioned in stanza 14.

Let us now turn to the second half of stanza 15. The

two difficulties here are the expressions *sarvagataṃ brahma* and *nityaṃ yajñe pratiṣṭhitam*.

Sarvagataṃ brahma is, by nearly all commentators, taken to refer back to the *brahman* mentioned twice in the preceding line. This is supposed to be in conformity with a Mīmāṃsā rule (*vedo vā prāyadarśanāt*, M. S. III, 3, 2, quoted by Dhanapati to refute Śrīdhara), *viz.*, that an ambiguous word should be interpreted in accordance with the general drift of the context. How the Veda may be *sarvagata* is easily explained by referring to its "manifesting everything" (*sarvārthaprakāśakatvam*), while the formidable difficulty here arising for Rāmānuja is overcome by him by boldly declaring that *sarvagataṃ brahma* means "the body of everyone qualified (for *yajña*)" (*sarvādhikārigataṃ śarīram*). Śrīdhara, on the other hand, though otherwise agreeing with Saṅkara, says that the words *sarvagataṃ brahma* refer to the *akṣara*=*parabrahma* or, possibly, to the *brahman*=*veda* of the preceding line. And Rāmakaṇṭha, a Kāśmīrian philosopher of the tenth century, says that the *brahman* of line 1 is the lower (*aparam*) Brahma of *śāstrarūpaṃ śabdabrahma*, and the *akṣara* of line 1 as well as the *sarvagataṃ brahma* of line 2 is the higher (*param*) Brahma.

Nityaṃ yajñe pratiṣṭhitam means according to Śaṅkara and his followers that it (the Veda) treats mainly of sacrifices and the ways of performing them (which seems rather a truism). For Rāmānuja it means that it (the body) "is rooted in sacrifice" (*yajñamūlam*), i.e., owes its origin to sacrifice. For Śrīdhara, again, the meaning is that it (the Highest Brahma) is "obtained" through sacrifice; and just so for Madhva that it is "to be revealed to us through sacrifice."

There are practically no contributions by Western scholars to our problem. None of them, so far as known to me, has tried to explain the *cakra*. Schlegel's explanation of *brahman* and *mahad* as the revealed and the unrevealed Deity (numen revelatum, numen occultum) and John Davies' as

Brahmā and Brahma come near to Rāmakaṇṭha's and Śrīdhara's. Jacobi and Garbe, taking Rāmānuja's hint, understand *brahman* to be the *mahad brahma* or *prakṛti* of Bhag. Gītā, XIV, 3. Deussen, as often, has followed Śaṅkara.

It remains for us to decide the value of the Indian comments we have become acquainted with. Here it seems to me but just to begin with a word or two in favour of Rāmānuja. He is the only one who has endeavoured to explain our Gītā passage merely by means of the Gītā itself and the Upaniṣads referred to in it. This is, indeed, the ground on which any investigation on the Gītā should be started with a view to proceeding, if necessary, to the wider fields of the Mahābhārata, Dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas and Āgamas. But I do not think that Rāmānuja has been fortunate. His explanation of *brahma* and *akṣara* is a *tour de force* which cannot stand sound criticism. I do not believe either that Madhva or Veṅkaṭanātha has succeeded in proving that stanza 15 is really meant to complete the *cakra*, nor that Nīlakaṇṭha is right in including *brahman* in it. It is not likely that the Gītā taught a *cakra* different from the one known to the Dharmaśāstras. But Śaṅkara, in my opinion, comes near to truth, and Rāmakaṇṭha and Śrīdhara (the former of whom is older than the latter) appear to me to correctly represent the standpoint of the author of the Gītā. The alternative, however, left open by Śrīdhara in favour of Śaṅkara I wish to exclude. It seems, indeed, to be supported by Bhag. Gītā, VI, 44: "Even one merely wishing to know Yoga reaches beyond the Word-Brahma"; but clearly the meaning here intended is not so much that such a one will become free from the Vedic observances and their effects than that will pass even beyond "Lord Brahmā seated on his lotus-throne" (XI, 15) to Him whose body contains "the worlds up to Brahmā's abode" (VIII, 16). And so, the word *brahman* occurring nowhere else in the Gītā in the meaning "Veda" (though it does not mean the Veda or sacred knowledge in certain passages of the Vedic and Pauraṇic literature), but either

(some thirty times) in that of the higher or neuter Brahma (VIII, 16, 17) or in that of the lower or masculine Brahma (XI, 15, 37), I hold that the latter is the principle mentioned twice in the first half of our stanza 15, and, consequently, the former must be meant by *akṣara* as well as by *sarvagataṃ brahma*. The word *sarvagataṃ* is purposely added to emphasize the difference of the *brahman* thus characterized from the one twice mentioned in the former half of the stanza. For, only the higher *brahman* is infinite, the lower one being confined to his *brahmāṇḍa*. As to the object of stanza 15 as a whole I agree with Madhusūdana and others in seeing in it a digression found desirable in order to accentuate once more the sublime origin of the *yajñacakra*. Stanza 15, then, takes us back to stanza 10 by repeating that god Brahmā (= Prajāpati) is the creator of *yajñacakra*; and it adds, for those who want a still higher authority, that the Highest Brahma is at the bottom of the "creator" and, consequently, of sacrifice,—the Highest Brahma, i.e., Viṣṇu, the First Cause (*ādikartā*), the Infinite (*ananta*), God of gods (*deveśa*), than whom even Brahmā is less great (Bhag. Gītā, XI, 37).

J. Otto Schrader

Picture Showmen

Patañjali, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, ca. 140 B.C., elucidates the use of the historical present by reference (1) to dramatic representations of the Kṛṣṇa legend given by a sort of actors called Śaubhikas, who certainly employed pantomime and may or may not have used spoken words, (2) to the display of paintings (*citra*) representing the slaying of Kaṃsa, and (3) to the recitations of the Granthikas. Here we are concerned only with (2). This part of the text, literally translated, reads: "How in respect of the Paintings? (Here too the historical present is employed, for) in the pictures themselves men see the blows rained down on Kaṃsa, and how he is dragged about." Both Lüders[1] and Hillebrandt[2] have supposed that this refers to the practice of painters who carry about pictures and explain them aloud for a living, using the historical present in their spoken words. But nothing is said about this, and Haradatta's commentary seems to imply no more than that the canvases are living speeches, and that the historical present is framed in the spectator's mind; Keith,[3] who treats the subject very fully, citing the texts, ridicules the view that spoken words are implied. Nevertheless, as will appear from below, the practice of picture showmen explaining their own pictures has been so general and wide-spread in India and Further India that the possibility that Patañjali had in mind a performance of this kind cannot be altogether rejected. In any case, whether or not there were spoken words, Patañjali's text provides us with the earliest extant evidence of the public exhibition of pictures[4]; we learn that this dealt with

1 Sitz. kais. Akad. Wiss., Berlin, 1916, pp. 698ff.
2 Z.D.M.G., LXXII, pp. 227ff. 3 *The Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 33ff.
4 F. W. Thomas, in the Cambridge History of India, I,

the Kṛṣṇa legend, and though it is not so stated, it is very probable that scroll paintings were meant.

In Jaina Prākṛt texts the term *maṅkha* designates a picture showman, and we find such men mentioned with other entertainers (actors, dancers, story-tellers, etc.) resorting to the shrine of the Yakṣa Puṇṇabhadda.[2] In the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, XV, 1, there is mentioned the heresiarch Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, whose second name refers to his father's trade of *maṅkha*; the Sanskrit gloss has *citraphalaka-vyagrakara-bhikṣu-viśeṣa*, i.e., a kind of mendicant who collects alms by exhibiting pictures of deities which he carries about with him.[3]

Another Jaina reference to the exhibition of paintings,

p. 481, remarks with reference to public displays in the Maurya period: "no doubt the private showman, with his pictures of Hades, etc., was also active."

Pāṇini's and Patañjali's well-known reference to the use of representations of persons or deities has generally been understood to refer to images in the round, probably of metal. The suffix *ka* is to be dropped if the representation is used to secure a livelihood (*jīvikārthe*) and is not vendible (*apaṇya*). May it not be the case that the reference here is rather to picture showmen than to image showmen? We have no other evidence in Indian literature for the exhibition of images as a means of earning a livelihood, and there is nothing in the text to prove that the exhibited representations were not paintings. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (trans. Tawney, p. 160), "those who carry pictures" are *pratimādhārins*.

2 *Aupapātika Sūtra*, 2; See E. Leumann, *Das Aupapātika Sūtra*, Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes, VIII, 2, 1883, p. 22; L. D. Barnett, *Antagaḍa Dasāo*, p. 2; Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, p. 20.

3 Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 108, 121 (notes 253, 273) and Appendix, p. 1. Hoernle adds that at the present day beggars may be found in Bengal who carry pictures of such deities as Śītalā, goddess of small-pox, or Olābībī, goddess of cholera; in Puri they carry pictures of Jagannātha. Barua, however (*Maskarī as an Epithet of Gośāla*, I. H. Q., III, 1927, pp. 235ff.), rejects the derivation from *maṅkha*, identifying Maṅkhali with Maskarī, with the meaning given [illegible] Pāṇini, viz. "*parivrājaka* who carries a bamboo staff."

evidently a familiar custom, though here practised by a woman for a special purpose, will be found in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-caritra*, 1, 650ff., written some time between 1057 and 1173 A.D. The text is dealing with the former births of Ṛṣabhanātha :[1] Śrīmatī recalls her former births, and longing for the husband of her previous incarnation, falls sick. She reveals the whole matter to her nurse Paṇḍitā, who, being a knowledgeable person, painted a picture according to Śrīmatī's relation on a piece of canvas, and went out to exhibit it. Paṇḍitā spread out the canvas in public on the high road, outstretched like Śrīmatī's hopes, and stood beside it. Some, learned in the scriptures, praised the representation of the divine Nandīśvara and other personages, which accorded well with the descriptions of the śāstras. Other pious persons nodded their heads and described to each other the representations of the Jinas. Those expert in the technique of art praised the correctness of the drawing, as they examined the outlines again and again with sidelong (critical) glances. Others remarked that the white, black, red and blue colours on the canvas made it appear like the variegated sunset sky. When prince Durdānta saw the painting, he recognized the events of his previous incarnation as Lalitāṅga, husband of Śrīmatī, and fell fainting. When he recovered, he explained the whole story to Paṇḍitā, pointing out in the picture Mt. Meru, the city of Puṇḍarīkiṇī, the heaven of Īśāna, the *vimāna* of Śrīprabhā, where he had been the god Lalitāṅga, saying "Here am I shown as worshipping the images of the Jinas on the Nandīśvara mountain." The result is that Durdānta and Śrīmatī are re-united.

In many of the later references the picture showmen are called *Yamapaṭṭaka* because the pictures which they exhibit represent the reward of good and evil deeds to be experienced in the realm of Yama, the picture scrolls being *yamapaṭa*. In

1 The Summary given above is condensed from Banarasi Das Jain, *Jaina Jātakas*, Lahore, 1925, pp. 69 ff.

Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, dateable perhaps in the fifth and certainly before the tenth century, Act I, Cāṇakya's spy Nipuṇaka adopts the disguise of a picture showman; and remarking that men thus earn a livelihood by means of that very Yama who slays all people, he enters Candanadāsa's home, carrying a scroll with figures of Yama upon it (yamapaṭa), and remarks "I'll enter here, show my pictures and chant my song (*yamapaṭaṃ darśayan gītāni gāyāmi*)." Subsequently, reporting to Cāṇakya, he says "Spreading out the Yama scroll I commenced my ballad" (*jamapadaṃ pasāria päuttohmi gīdāiṃ gāiduṃ*).[1]

There is a still more explicit account in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. I quote the version of Cowell and Thomas, p. 119: "Like those who depict Infernos, loud singers paint unrealities on the canvas of the air" (canvas, air = ambara); and p. 136:[2] "In the bazaar street amid a great crowd of inquisitive children he observed an Inferno-showman (*Yamapaṭṭaka*) in whose left hand was a painted canvas stretched out on a support of upright rods and showing the Lord of the Dead mounted on his dreadful buffalo. Wielding a reed wand in his other hand, he was expounding the features of the next world, and could be heard to chant the following verses:

Mothers and fathers in thousands, in hundreds children and wives,
Age after age have passed away; whose are they, and whose art thou?"

In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Tawney's translation, p. 160) there are mentioned "those who carry pictures."

1 In M. R. Kale's edition, 1911, there is the following note: "The exhibition of Yamapaṭa was one of the sources of making money; see *Harṣacarita* [Cowell and Thomas, p. 119], where a Yamapaṭika, exhibiting the scenes in Yamapurī painted on a piece of cloth, is described (*paralokavyatikaraṃ kathayantaṃ yamapaṭikaṃ dadarśa*).

2 A footnote cites Kipling's *Man and Beast in India*, where mention is made of pictures of Dharmrāj (Yama) sold at fairs.

The references to picture showmen cited above are all that I have been able to collect so far as India proper is concerned; they are sufficient to suggest that the practice of exhibiting scroll paintings of various kinds has been generally current throughout the historical period. Kramrisch, in her *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, 1st ed., p. 5, quotes the following from the *Sāratha Pakāsinī*, Siamese edition, Part II, p. 398: "There is a class of Brahmanical teachers known by the name of Nakha.[1] They make a (portable) framework upon which they cause to be drawn a variety of pictures, depicting scenes of good and evil destinies, of fortunes and misfortunes, 'by doing this deed one attains this,' 'by doing that one attains that,' thus showing different destinies, they wander about with these pictures." I have not been able to consult this work, and assume that here also the reference is really to the old Indian practice, current in Magadha. However this may be, we have other evidence for picture showmen outside India proper. In particular, the Chinese author of the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (A.D. 1416)[2] states with reference to Java: "There is a sort of men who paint on paper men, birds, animals, insects and so on: the paper is like a scroll and is fixed between two wooden rollers three feet high; at one side these rollers are level with the paper, whilst they protrude at the other side. The man squats down on the ground and places the picture before him, un-

1 The word "Nakha" does not sound plausible. Can there be an error for "Maṅkha"?

2 W. P., Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca. Compiled from Chinese Sources.* Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Vol. XXXIX, 1876. A modern example of Wayang Beber painting is reproduced in N. J., Krom, *L'art javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java*, Ars Asiatica, VIII, 1926. Cf. Helsdingen, *The Javanese Theatre*, Straits Branch R. A. S., Dec. 1913. Cf. H. H., Juynboll, *Die Hölle und die Höllenstrafen nach dem Volksglauben auf Bali*, Baessler Archiv, IV, 2, 1913.

rolling one part after the other and turning it towards the spectators, whilst in the native language and in a loud voice he gives an explanation of every part : the spectators sit around him and listen, laughing or crying according to what he tells them."

Besides this, it is very well known that at the present day there survives in Java, and more especially in Bali, the same practice, which is classed as a dramatic art and known as Wayang Beber: the man who exhibits and recites being known, as in the case of the shadow plays, as the Dalang. The custom seems also to be found in Persia ; for although I cannot cite any other reference, the Persian Dictionary of Steingass has s.v. *ṣūrat khwān* "One who pictures the state of angels and men as to reward and punishment on the day of resurrection, and receives a remuneration for it from the bystanders." This is clearly a parallel to the Indian *Yama-paṭika*. *Ṣūrat* also means puppet and in the Persian popular theatre the reader or singer for the puppets is called *khwān* or *khon*; he usually prefaces his performance by the recitation of a religious poem called *rāk-i-hindī*. Martinovitch, to whom I owe this information, renders this "the Indian way," but it seems much more likely that *rāk=rāg*, and thus the meaning should be "Indian song or tune." In any case there is here some positive evidence for an Indian origin of the puppet show in Persia, or at least for Indian influence in the manner of its presentation, and this supports the idea of an Indian origin for the *ṣūrat khwān*.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Fine Arts

Art is synonymous with Śilpa and Kalā, or more precisely, with Śilpa-kalā and is the subject-matter primarily of the Śilpa-śāstras. The traditional list of sixty-four arts is, however, referred to in at least three other classes of our literature. The mythological group includes the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. The Buddhist-Jain group is represented by the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra*. And the erotic group consists of the *Kāma-sūtra* of Vātsyāyana and others. The mythological group makes mention of arts in connection with the various kinds of knowledge acquired by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. In the text of the Śrīmad-bhāgavata, however, only the number, not the specification of the arts, is given. It is stated that the sixty-four arts were learnt in so many, that is, sixty-four days.[1] But of its numerous commentators, some supply both the number and the specification, while others only the number.[2] The commentators Vīra-rāghavācārya

1 प्रोवाच वेदानखिलान् साङ्गोपनिषदो गुरुः ।
सरहस्यं धनुर्वेदं धर्मान् न्यायपथांस्तथा ॥
तथा चान्वीक्षिकीं विद्यां राजनीतिञ्च षड्विधाम् ।
सर्वं नरवरश्रेष्ठो सर्वविद्याप्रवर्तकौ ॥
सकृन्निगदमात्रेण तौ संजग्मतुरञ्जसा ।
अहोरात्रैश्चतुःषष्ट्या संयत्तौ तावतीः कलाः ॥
(Śrīmad-bhāgavata, part x, chap. 45, verses 33-35).

2 (*a*) अहोरात्राणां चतुःषष्ट्या चतुःषष्टिसंख्याकैर्दिवसैश्चतुःषष्टिविद्याः संजग्मतुः ।
(Vīra-rāghavācārya).

(*b*) चतुःषष्ट्या सङ्घातैरहोरात्रैः कालावयवैस्तावतीः तावत्सङ्ख्याः कलाः चतुःषष्टिकलाः विद्या इत्यर्थः ।
(Vijaya-dhvaja-tīrtha).

(*c*) तावतीश्चतुःषष्टिकलाः ताः श्रैवतन्त्रे द्रष्टव्याः । (Viśvanātha-Cakravartin).

(*d*) तावतीश्चतुःषष्टिकलाः ताश्च श्रैवतन्त्रोक्ता लिख्यन्ते यथा गीतम् इत्यादि ।
(Śrīdhara-svāmin).

and Vijaya-dhvaja-tīrtha who make mention only of the traditional number of arts as sixty-four, do not disclose the source of their information. Viśvanātha-cakravartin also does not specify the sixty-four arts, but he mentions Śaiva-tantra as his source. Śrīdhara-svāmin and Vallabhācārya also, who give a detailed account of the sixty-four arts, derive their information from the same source. The Śaiva-tantra, however, it should be noted, is not the name of a book, but is a branch of mystic literature which can hardly be identified for the verification of the names and other details of the arts. Śukadeva, another commentator, who also specifies the sixty-four arts, quotes *in toto* from his authority named *Vidyā-saṃgraha-nibandha*, which, as its title indicates, is a mere compilation from some other sources. Lastly Jīva-gosvāmin, who also describes the sixty-four arts in detail, appears to have derived his information from the Viṣṇu-purāṇa and the Harivaṃśa which is a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, as quoted by Jīva-gosvāmin, the Viṣṇu-purāṇa[1] and the Harivaṃśa[2] admit, indirectly though, a familiarity with the sixty-four arts, and state that the sixty-four (arts) were learnt in sixty-four days. The former, further, adds that it must be wonderful (*adbhuta*) to learn sixty-four arts in sixty-

(*e*) अहोरात्रैश्चतुःषष्ट्या संयत्तौ तावती: कला: ।—संयत्तौ रामकृष्णौ चतुःषष्टिसङ्ख्याकैरहोरात्रैस्तावती: चतुःषष्टिकला: विद्या: संजगृहतु: । ताश्चोक्ता विद्यासंग्रहनिबन्धे । (Śuka-deva).

(*f*) यावती: कला: संजगृहतुरिति चतुःषष्टिकला: । संगृह्णे एतावत्यहोरात्राणि अखिलवेदादिसंग्रहे-णाप्यहोरात्राणि ज्ञेयानि । कलानां नामानि तैरेव लिखितानि, स्वरूपाणि तु लेख्यानि । तथा च श्रीविष्णुपुराणे हरिवंशे च । (Jīva-gosvāmin).

(*g*) चतुःषष्टिसंख्यायुक्तै: अहोरात्रै: संयत्तौ तावती: कला: चतुःषष्टिकला: संजगृहतु: । एकस्यां कलायां बहुप्रकारा: बहवो ग्रन्था: । शिक्षा च महती तथाप्येका कला एकस्मिन्नेव दिवसे शिक्षिता। ता: कला: शैवतन्त्रोक्ता लिख्यन्ते गीतम् इत्यादि । (Vallabhācārya).

1 सरहस्यं धनुर्वेदं ससंग्रहमधीयाताम् ।
अहोरात्रैश्चतुःषष्ट्या तदङ्गुतमभूद्द्विजे ॥

2 तौ च श्रुतिधरौ वीरौ यथावत्प्रतिपद्यताम् ।
अहोरात्रैश्चतुःषष्ट्या सांगं वेदमधीयताम् ॥

four days, while the latter explains this wonder by saying that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma had an extraordinary memory (*śrutidhara*). The impracticability of learning sixty-four arts in no more than sixty-four days did not strike any of the commentators of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, presumably either because they were not at all familiar with the extensive knowledge demanded from and the wide field of study required for each of the sixty-four arts, or because they might have had no doubt about the superhuman ability of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma which has been admitted on so many other occasions in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself. But though equally mythological in character this point has struck both the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa* wherein an explanatory note is purposely added. In the former it is stated that it was wonderful (*adbhuta*) for Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to learn sixty-four arts in sixty-four days, while in the latter they are stated to have been gifted with the power of remembering things by hearing only once (*śrutidhara*). The explanation of the *Harivaṃśa* is more expressly admitted in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* where it is stated that they retained everything by simply listening only once.[1]

But in spite of all these explanations one cannot help thinking that at the time of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as well as in the different times of its commentaries there was no practical knowledge of all the sixty-four arts; because, otherwise, the authors of these treatises could not have passed over the point so light-heartedly; further in other literature such an indifference is not met with. In the times of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa*, however, the state of things seems to have been different. The arts were then living objects; they were then more real, more practical; at any rate people had more familiarity with them.

The heretic group refers to the arts in connection with the schooling of Bodhi-sattva and of Mahāvīra. It is stated in

1 See Notes 1. and 2 above, and p. 188, note 1.

the *Lalita-vistara*[1] that 'Whatever Śāstras are current in the regions, all figures and writings and calculations, all roots, all arts in their immensity current on earth were learnt by him in many millions of ages (Kalpas)'. In the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*[2] it is stated that 'He (Mahāvīra) studied the seventy-two arts, constantly applying himself to them, he was in the full bloom of youth, he had a fine figure' and good looks. His father procured him a beautiful and beloved sweetheart, Rūpiṇī, with whom he amused himself in his pleasant palace, like a Dvikundaka God. In the Buddhist and the Jain periods a far better knowledge of these arts are thus evinced. In the *Lalita-vistara* it is distinctly stated that 'all arts were current on the earth in their immensity (*aprameya*) and they were learnt in millions of years (*bahu-kalpa-koṭyaḥ*).'

That youth and beauty are essential conditions for the cultivation of arts has also been admitted in the *Lalita-vistara*. Therein it is stated that "when the Prince had duly grown up, he was taken to the school under a hundred thousand auspicious arrangements.....Now Viśvāmitra, the school-master, feeling the beauty and glory of the Bodhisattva to be insufferable, fell prostate on the ground.'[3]

In the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* the number of arts is limited to seventy-two, but they are not specified anywhere in

1 शास्त्राणि यानि प्रचरन्ति च देवलोके
संख्या लिपिश्च गणनापि च धातुतत्त्वम्।
ये शिल्पयोगपृथलौकिक अप्रमेया—
स्तेषेषु शिक्षित पुरा बहुकल्प कोट्यः॥
(Chap. x, 1, p. 142, ed. Rajendra Lal Mitra).

2 बावत्तरी कलाओ य सिक्खई नीइकोविए।
जोव्वणेण य संपन्ने सुरूवे पियदंसणे॥
तस्स रूववइं भज्जं पिआइंगेइ रूविणिं।
पासाए कीलए रम्मे देवो दोगुन्दओ जहा॥
(Chap. XXI, 6-7).

3 Lalita-vistara, chap. X, Trans. (R. L. Mitra), p. 181.

the text. The context also demands a different reading for the expression nī-i-kovi-e,[1] as suggested in a similar context by the expression bahu-kalpa-koṭyaḥ (many millions of years) in the *Lalita-vistara*, in order to give a sense of the time or the close application of the mind required in learning the seventy-two arts. But what is really important is the fact that almost all the necessary circumstances under which the arts can be cultivated are more perfectly clear in this text. It is stated that 'the student of arts must be in the full bloom of his youth and must have a fine figure (surūpa) and good looks (priyadarśaṇa) himself; he must be united with a charming (rūpavatī) and beloved (priyā) wife who should be the personified beauty (rūpiṇī) to keep him constantly amused and refreshed; and lastly, he must have a beautiful palace (prāsāda) to live in'. In other words, a student of arts should be surrounded with all beautiful things both internally and externally; he should live in an atmosphere of beauty and youth; all his sense organs must be in a state to appreciate and enjoy; the eyes to see pretty things, the ears to hear pleasant sounds, the nose to smell fragrance, the tongue to taste sweet things, the skin to touch delicately soft objects, and above all the mind to think, to feel and to will the beauties of arts.

Youth and beauty as an essential condition for the cultivation and development of arts reached a fuller recognition and a more elaborate treatment in the erotic group of literature. In the *Kāma-śāstra* youth and beauty is the main theme. Whatever is discussed therein is nothing but a reference to the natural inclinations of young hearts of cultured man and woman in their æsthetic mood. *Kāma* or sensual desires can only arise in the mind of youth in an atmosphere of beauty. A seed cannot germinate in the

1 It has been very curiously translated as "and acquired knowledge of the world" (Jacobi, SBE, vol. xiv, p. 108) which can hardly be the rendering of its Sanskrit equivalent *Nītikovida*.

desert, nor can an artistic idea grow up in the fossilised heart of an old person. This fact has been fully recognised in the mythological and the Buddhist-Jain groups of literature also, for in spite of their spirit being avowedly religious, it was necessary to train Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on the one hand and Bodhisattva and Mahāvīra on the other in artistic and other matters not in their advanced age but in their youth and in an atmosphere of beauty. This point can be abundantly developed by a reference to the extant arts of all countries, of all nations and of all sects. But before proceeding further with illustrations it would be convenient first to briefly examine the traditional list of arts. In the *Kāma-sūtra* of Vātsyāyana[1] the sixty-four arts are specified in connection with the accomplishments to be acquired by men and women.

1. Gīta.—Vocal music, including everything from composition to singing in all scientific manner and comprising four or five main topics.[2]

2. Vādya.—Instrumental music, which also admits four or five varieties.[3]

1 धर्मार्थाङ्गविद्याकालाननुपरोधयन् कामसूत्रं तदङ्गविद्याश्च पुरुषोऽधीयीत ॥
प्राग्यौवनात् स्त्री। प्राप्ता च पत्युरभिप्रायात्।
.....गीतम्, वाद्यम्, नृत्यम्
.....व्यायामिकानाञ्च विद्यानां ज्ञानम्,
इति चतुःषष्टिरङ्गविद्याः कामसूत्रस्यावयवित्वः ॥

2 स्वरगं पदगं चैव तथा लयगमेव च।
चेतोऽवधानगञ्चैव गेयं ज्ञेयं चतुर्विधम् ॥
(Yaśodhara on Kāmasūtra).

तत्र गीतं गानश्चिचा गीतनिर्माणं स्वजातिरागभेदाः तालमानादिरचनाप्रकाराः साधकबाधकस्वरादिमेलनानां परिज्ञानच्च।
(Jīva-gosvāmin on Śrīmad-bhāgavata).

गीतं गानश्चिचा गीतकारणं रागभेदाः तानमानादिरचनाप्रकाराः
साधकबाधकतानानां परिज्ञानच्च, एवमेकस्य गीतस्य।
(Vallabhāchārya on Śrīmad-bhāgavata).

3 घनञ्च विततं वाद्यं ततं सुषिरमेव च।
कांस्यपुष्करतन्त्रीभिर्वेणुना च यथाक्रमम् ॥
(Yaśodhara on Kāmasūtra).

3. Nṛtya.—Dancing, which includes many more things than the ordinary connotations of the term.[1]

4. Nāṭya.—Dramatic and scenic art including acting. Vātsyāyana reads this much later in the list as Nāṭakākhyāyikā-darśana which means both seeing dramatic representation and reading stories in prose and verse. This deals with the ten kinds of drama and numerous other details which are essentially artistic in matter, spirit and form.

5. Ālekhya.—Painting, which includes six essential parts, namely, varieties of beauty, proportions, representation of sentimental grace, resemblance, colours, reliefs.[2]

6. Viśeṣaka-cchedya.—Tattooing, specially referring to a kind of paint on the face which is stated to be liked very much by fashionable young ladies (vilāsinī).

7. Taṇḍula-kusuma-bali-vikāra.—Obviously this refers to three separate things, namely, the artistic arrangement of rice-meal, flowers, and dishes. All the commentators[3] seem

1 करणान्यङ्गविद्याश्च विभावो भाव एव च ।
अनुभावो रसाश्चेति संक्षेपान्नृत्यसंग्रहः ॥
तद्द्विविधम् नाट्यमनाट्यञ्चेति । तथोक्तम्—
स्वर्गे वा मर्त्यलोके वा पाताले वा निवासिनाम् ।
कृतानुकरणं नाट्यमनाट्यं नर्तकाश्रितम् ॥
तत्तान्तरे तु नृत्यभेदज्ञापनार्थमेव पृथङ्नाट्यकलोक्तेति विज्ञेयम् ।
(Yaśodhara on Kāmasūtra).

2 रूपभेदाः प्रमाणानि भावलावण्ययोजनम् ।
सादृश्यं वर्णिकाभङ्ग इति चित्रं षडङ्गकम् ॥
(Yaśodhara on Kāmasūtra).

3 तण्डुलानां कुसुमानां च पूजोपहाररूपाणां नानाप्रकाररचना ।
(Jīva-gosvāmin).

चणकादिविदले क्षत्रिलेखनं तण्डुलानां कुसुमानाञ्च आरात्रिकादिरूपेण वलिविकाराः
पूजायां वा स्थापनप्रकाराः ।
(Vallabhāchārya).

अखण्डिततण्डुलैर्नानावर्णैः सरस्वतीभवने कामदेवभवने वा मणिकुट्टिमेषु भक्तिविकाराः ।
तथा कुसुमैर्नानावर्णैर्यथिनैः शिवलिङ्गादिपूजार्थं भक्तिविकाराः ।
(Yaśodhara).

to have missed the point. They have curiously divided the phrase thus : Taṇḍula-bali-vikāra and Kusuma-vikāra, and explain the former as referring to offerings to deities and the latter to making garlands also for worship. The context makes such interpretations untenable. These are essentially artistic matters and have nothing to do even with the worship of the God of love as the commentator of the *Kāma-sūtra* thinks as an alternative. Besides worship of a deity is nowhere mentioned directly or indirectly in the list. The avowedly religious learnings are confined to the Vedas, Upniṣads, Dharmaśāstras, etc. which are separately taught as stated in the mythological group (see note 1, p. 188). Moreover, the foregoing and the following topics make such an interpretation quite unconnected. It is easily understandable that an accomplished young lady must cultivate these arts as arts and not as religion.

8. Puṣpāstaraṇa—making beds of flowers.—it of course refers to gardening which is separately mentioned later on.[1]

9. Daśana-vasanāṅga-rāga[2]—This also refers to three separate arts, namely, the staining of the teeth, dyeing of cloth, and colouring of the body by means of powder, etc.

10. Maṇi-bhūmika-karman—the art of setting jewels on the (marble) floor (for use particularly in summer as stated by Yaśodhara).[3]

1 Yaśodhara guesses an alternative sense also : i.e., making garlands with flowers, which is separately mentioned later on.

Vallabhācārya passes it over calling it as स्पष्टम्।

Jīva-gosvāmin gives the real sense—पुष्पादिभिः शयनरचनम्।

2 Curiously Vallabhācārya smells a sexual sense here when he says शय्यादौ दशनवसनानां रागभेदाः अधरोष्ठयोः लक्षणपरिज्ञानं रसार्थमेषा परीक्षा।

3 According to Jīva-gosvāmin this should be done as shown by the architect Maya in building a wonderful hall for the Pāṇḍavas (for details see the writer's Indian Architecture pp. 166-172).

11. Śayana-racanā—the art of bed-making.—According to Jīvagosvāmin[1] and probably Vallabhāchārya[2] it refers to the making of bedsteads and couches etc. which is an item of architecture mentioned as a separate art later on. According to Yaśodhara this is necessary for digesting the food and for enjoyment.[3]

12. Udaka-vādya.—Playing on an instrument known as Jala-taraṅga[4] or China-cups containing varying quantities of water to regulate the tone and produce harmonic notes like musical glasses, or an instrument (invented by Franklin) the sounds of which are produced from bell-shaped glasses placed on a frame-work that revolves on its centre, while the rims are touched by the moistened finger.

13. Udaka-ghāta—the art of making fountains called Jalastambha-vidyā by Jīva-gosvāmin.[5]

14. Chitra-yoga—Pictorial arts, i.e. various kinds of painting.[6]

1 पर्यङ्कादिनिर्माणम्।

2 शयनं शय्यास्थानम् तस्य निर्माणम्।

3 शयनीयस्य कालापेक्षया रक्तविरक्तमध्यस्थाभिप्रायादाहारपरिणतिवशाच्च रचनम्।

This is fully elaborated in connection with शयनोपचारिका (*vide infra*).

4 According to Yaśodhara it is like the *muraja* or a drum. Vallabhācārya does not think of it seriously when he says: 'as sounds are naturally produced on water (यथा खत एवोदके नादाः स्पष्टीभवन्ति). Jīva-gosvāmin thinks that this music can be produced in a tank also:

सरोवरादिस्थापितभाण्डे उदकपरिपूरितपात्रे वा मधुरनानातानसमुत्थापनम्।

5 Vallabhācārya makes it a childish play with water—यथा आहतमुदकमुपरि गच्छति अधो गच्छति विपरीतं वा गच्छति।

Yaśodhara also thinks it to be a play with water (हस्तयन्त्रमुक्तैरुदकैराडनम्), and includes the preceding one also under a general heading of 'water-play'. In fact Śrīdhara-svāmin has included the two items (no. 11, 12) under one heading.

6 Practically all the commentators have found it difficult to explain this. Jīva-gosvāmin is vague when he interprets it as the means to see

15. Mālya-grathana-vikalpa.—The arts of making garlands.[1]

16. Śēkharāpīḍa-yojana.—The art of putting on ornaments (of flowers) on the hair and top of the head.[2]

17. Nepathya-prayoga.—Scenic representations, the art consisting in putting on clothes and ornaments for the stage. This elaborates the art mentioned in the preceding item. According to Vallabhācārya this also includes the construction of the stage itself.

18. Karṇa-patra-bhaṅga.—Painting the cheeks before the ear with sandal and other pastes. Yaśodhara thinks it to be a part of scenic representation. No doubt it is a special kind of toiletting.

19. Gandha-yukti.—Perfumery or the art of making perfumes.[3]

20. Bhūṣaṇa-yojana.—The art of putting on ornaments on the various parts of the body. Yaśodhara interprets it as the display of jewellery on the person for the stage-purpose and classifies under two heads, Saṃyojya and Asaṃyojya.[4]

the various wonderful things (नानाश्चर्यदर्शने सम्यगुपायाः). Vallabhācārya thinks it to be the garlanding of flowers (विचित्राः प्रकाराः). Yaśodhara following him sees sexuality everywhere and says that this supplements the act of कुचुमार, a separate item (see below):

नानाप्रकारदौर्भाग्यकेन्द्रियपलितीकरणादयः। ईर्ष्यया पराभि(?ति)-सन्धानार्थाः। तानीपनिषदके वक्ष्यति। एते च कौचुमारयोगेषु नान्तर्भवन्तीति पृथगुक्ताः। कुचुमारेण तेषामनुक्तत्वात्।

1 Jīva-gosvāmin passes over these seven items as too easy to understand. Both Vallabhācārya and Yaśodhara make it unnecessarily to mean the making of flower-garlands for the head which is mentioned in the next item.

2 The skill consists here in artistically wearing and not making these ornaments.

3 Vallabhācārya suggests an alternative interpretation also:

गन्धयुक्तिश्चन्दनादेः पुष्पवस्त्राद्याकारेण निर्माणं नानासुगन्धिनिर्माणं वा।

4 तत्र संयोज्यस्य काञ्चिकेन्द्रच्छन्नादेर्मणिमुक्ताप्रवालादिभिर्योजनम्। असंयोज्यस्य कटककुण्डलादेर्विरचनं योजनम्। तदुभयं नेपथ्याङ्गम्। न तु शरीरे भूषणयोजनं तस्य नेपथ्यप्रयोगा इत्यनेन सिद्धत्वात्।

21. Aindra-jāla.—The art of jugglery ; according to Vallabhācārya it does not admit of a rational explanation and has twenty varieties which are, however, not specified.

22. Kaucumāra-yoga.—The arts as taught by Kucumāra, the author of the *Aupaniṣadādhikāra*. According to the commentators these refer to some unspecified tricks.[1] Kucumāra need not necessarily mean the author of that name when no arts bearing his name are generally known. The term *kuca*[2] means the 'female breast' ; hence it is just possible that the art may refer to the nursing or decoration of the female breast.[3]

23. Hasta-lāghava.—Prestidigitation. The art is well known : this is extensively practised as an amusement in fashionable societies and considered to be an accomplishment for a young person.

24. Vicitra-śāka-pūpa-bhakṣya-vikāra-kriyā.—The cookery or the art of cooking various kinds of vegetables, cakes and (all other) eatables. The vegetables comprise ten different things, namely, root, leaf, shoot (as of a bamboo), forepart, fruit, trunk, offshoot, skin, flower and thorn.[4]

Cakes including bread are also of various kinds but they

1 खण्डिताभारूपा व्यञ्जना। (Jīva-gosvāmin):

बहुरूपप्रकाराः। (Vallabhācārya).

सुभगंकरणाय उपायान्तरासिद्धसाधनार्थाः। (Yaśodhara).

2 The reading '*kucamāra*' is not, however, available ; but when the authors of the other reading (*kucumāra*) are not clear about the sense an emendation in the reading does not seem unjustified.

3 It will be pointed out later on that some of these arts are meant for the females, some for males and the rest for both males and females.

4 मूलपत्रकरीराग्रफलक्काण्डप्ररूढकम्।

त्वक् पुष्पं कण्टकश्चेति शाकं दशविधं स्मृतम्॥

(Quoted from some unknown author by Yaśodhara).

are not specified. The eatables are divided into four classes, namely,

(a) bhakṣya or carvya, i. e., things to be eaten by chewing,
(b) bhojya or coṣya, i.e., things to be eaten by sucking,
(c) lehya or things to be licked and
(d) peya or things to be drunk.

The *peyas* are divided into two classes, namely, cooked (with fire) and uncooked. The former is called Yūṣa and admits of two varieties known as soup and decoction. The latter also has two varieties called the Asandhānakṛta and Sandhānakṛta. The Saṃdhānakṛta are those which are made by distilling, such as the fermented or spirituous liquors, and are divided into Drāvita and Adrāvita : the former is made by mixing water, sugar and tamarind and is known as drink or spirituous liquor ; and the latter is made of liquified herbs mixed with palmyra fruit and plantain flower (*mocā*)[1] and is called Rasa, i.e., essence or juice.

25. Pānaka-rasa-rāgāsava-yojana.—Preparation of beverages. According to both Yaśodhara and Vallabhācārya *āsava* implies spirituous liquor and indicates intoxication of three kinds, namely, mild, ordinary and high. The term *rāga* is stated to imply three things, namely, those to be licked, powders and liquids tasting salt, tamarind, pungent and slightly sweet.[2]

As Yaśodhara thinks,[3] this and the preceding item may

1 Plantain grows out of this which looks like the cauliflower or cabbage.

2 रागो रागविधानज्ञैर्लेह्यश्चूर्णो द्रवः स्मृतः ।
लवणाम्लकटुस्वाद ईषन्मधुरसंयुतः ॥
(Yaśodhara quotes from some unknown work).

3 एतच्चतुर्विधमास्वाद्यकलायां प्रपञ्चितं शरीरस्थित्यर्थम् । योगविभागोऽग्निजानग्निजकर्मदर्शनार्थः । तत्र पाकेन शाकादिक्रिया, विना पाकेन पानकादियोजनम् । अन्यथा ह्यास्वाद्यविधिरित्युक्तं स्यात् । तस्मात्कर्ममेदादास्वाद्यविधानस्योऽपि द्विविधः । तद्वशादेकापि कला विधाक्रत्योक्ता ।

be included under one heading, namely, cookery. But a number of most useful arts are referred to here which is even at present time practised separately. It should be noted that the stages of development and perfection in the art of making foods and beverages are the surest indication of the state of culture and civilization as well as of the economic condition of several nations and communities.

26. Sūci-vāya-karman.—Tailoring and weaving. According to Yaśodhara tailoring is of three kinds, namely, *sīvana*, or sewing of coat, etc., *ūtana* or darning of torn cloth, etc. and *viracana* or making of bed sheets, etc. Weaving implies manufacture of cloth or whole textile industry including yarning, which is separately mentioned later on (see no. 36).

27. Sūtra-krīḍā.—The art of playing with thread and rope. According to Yaśodhara the play consists in showing by sleight of hand a piece of thread in perfect condition after tearing it to pieces or burning it to ashes, and would imply a kind of magic. According to Jīva-gosvāmin the play consists in moving dolls etc. like living beings with the help of a thread and also walking on rope and unbinding oneself after having been bound over with a rope. This would imply acrobatism in addition to magic.

28. Vīṇā-ḍamaruka-vādya.—Playing on lute and small drum.[1] These are included in the instrumental music but they are specially mentioned, as Yośodhara says, first because stringed instrumental music and lute music are very important, secondly because they are difficult to be learnt especially at the commencement, and lastly because on these instruments the words (letters) played can be heard as distinctly pronounced.

29. Prahelikā.—Solution of riddles, charades, etc.

30. Pratimālā.—Modelling or making images, i.e., sculpture. This interpretation is very definitely asserted by

1 See no. 2.

Jīva-gosvāmin and Vallabhācārya.[1] But Yaśodhara interprets this in an entirely different way and says that it refers to a kind of versification beginning with a particular letter of a verse,[2] but that is separately mentioned under a different heading (see no. 56).

Sculpture as an important art is well recognised and elaborately treated in a branch of literature like most of these arts.

31. Durvācaka-yoga.—Mimicry, i.e., the art of an imitative resemblance in one animal to another or to some inanimate object in sound or sense as stated by Yaśodhara.[3]

32. Pustaka-vācana.—Elocution, i.e., the art of effective speaking, more especially of public speaking, regarding solely the utterance or delivery. This interpretation is supported by both Jīva-gosvāmin and Vallabhācārya.[4] But Yaśodhara refers this to recitation in particular.[5]

33. Nāṭakākhyāyikā-darśana.—Tableaux vivants, or what are called 'living pictures.' The art consists in exhibiting a motionless representation of a well-known character, painting, scene, etc. by one or more living persons in costume. That it is different from a dramatic performance is clear and needs no explanation.

1 सर्ववस्तुप्रतिकृतिनिर्माणम्। (Jīva-gosvāmin).
वस्तूनामनुकरणम्। (Vallabhācārya).

2 यस्या अन्त्याच्चरिकेति प्रतीतिः। सा क्रीडार्था वादार्था च। यथोक्तम् (in some unknown work):

प्रतिश्लोकं क्रमाद्यत्र सन्धाद्याचरमन्तिमम्।
पठेतां श्लोकमन्योन्यं प्रतिमालेति सोच्यते॥

3 शब्दतोऽर्थतश्च। तस्य प्रयोगाः क्रीडार्था वादार्थाश्च।
Vallabhācārya says that it refers to चतुरच्चरादिप्रकार।
Jīva-gosvāmin adopts the ordinary sense :—
यद्यदुक्तुं न शक्यते तत्तदुक्तुसुपायाः।

4 अतिशीघ्रमविद्यमानानपि वर्णान् योजयित्वा तद्वाचनम्।

5 भरतादिकाव्यानां पुस्तकस्थानां शृङ्गारादिरसापेक्षया गीतवत् स्वरेण वाचनम्। अनुरागजननार्थमात्मविनोदार्थं च।

34. Kāvya-samasyā-pūraṇa.—Solution of verbal puzzles which are elaborately discussed in a class of literature known as Alaṃkāra-śāstra.

35. Paṭṭikā(peṭikā)-vetra-vāna-vikalpa.—The art of making bows (? basket), sticks, canes, etc. with thread. According to Yaśodhara this art also includes the making of cane-chairs, cane-beds, etc.[1]

36. Tarku-karman.[2]—Making twist with a spindle or a distaff: this refers to the art of spinning. Weaving is separately mentioned (see no. 25).

37. Takṣaṇa.—Carpentry, i.e., the art of wood-carving in making seats, beds, doors, etc.[3]

38. Vāstu-vidyā.—Architecture, the different parts of which are assigned to Sthapati, Sūtra-grāhin, Vardhaki and Takṣaka.[4] It refers to the art of building and includes every thing built or constructed, from the palace to the bird's nest and from the image of a god to that of an insect.[5] Thus, in the first place, it "denotes the construction of all kinds of buildings, religious, residential and military, and their auxiliary members and component mouldings. Secondly, it implies town-planning, laying out gardens, constructing market-

1 Vallabhācārya reads it differently, *Patrikā-citra-vacana-vikalpa*, and refers to ram-fighting etc. which is however included under a separate heading (see no. 44).

2 Both Śrīdhara-svāmin and Vallabhācārya misread it as Tarka-karman (debating). In Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* it is read as Takṣa-karmāṇi (carpenter's works) and the commentator Yaśodhara interprets it as कन्दुककर्मगोष्ठपद्रव्यार्थानि (making of balls with inferior materials). But carpentry is expressly mentioned in the next item.

3 Yaśodhara says that it refers to Vardhaki-karma but that is not correct, because Takṣaka and Vardhaki have got different works to do (see under the next heading *Vāstu-vidyā*).

4 See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, p. 35 and *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 709-712, 725-730.

5 See the writer's *Dictionary*, Preface, p. viii, and *Indian Architecture*, pp. 1, 2.

places, making roads, bridges, gates, digging wells, tanks, trenches, drains, sewers, moats ; erecting enclosure-walls, embankments, dams, railings, flights of steps for hills, ladder, etc. ; thirdly, it denotes articles of house-furniture, such as bedsteads, couches, tables, chairs, thrones, fans, wardrobes, clocks, baskets, conveyance, cages, nests, mills, etc. It also includes the making of garments and ornaments, etc. It discusses, as preliminary matters, selection of site, testing of soil,[1] planning, designing, finding out cardinal points for orientation of buildings, dialling, and astronomical and astrological calculations.

Architecture also implies sculpture like many of the other arts and deals with the carving of phalli, idols of deities, statues of sages, images of animals, birds, fish and insects.

39. Suvarṇa-rūpya-ratna-parīkṣā.[2]—Testing of gold, silver and jewels.

40. Dhātu-vāda.—Metallurgy, i.e., the art of setting, purifying and mixing up of the metals such as earth (?), stone and quick-silver.[3]

41. Maṇi-rāga-jñāna (rāgaka-rañjana).—The art of colouring precious stones.

42. Ākara-jñāna.—Mining or the art of ascertaining the existence of mines from external appearances.[4]

43. Vṛkṣāyurveda-yoga.—The art of gardening which, according to Yaśodhara, includes planting, nursing, curing

1 This refers to practical geology. Mining is separately mentioned (see no. 41).

2 The commentators have not included '*suvarṇa*' which is, however, found in a text of the *Kāma-sūtra*. It should be noted that the four items beginning with this fall under one category.

3 स सत्प्रस्तररत्नधातूनां पातनशोधननैलनादिज्ञानहेतुरर्थार्थः ।
(Yaśodhara prefers the reading रत्न in place of रस).

4 Vātsyāyana does not include this : his commentator Yaśodhara says that this is found in some other texts.

and artistically arranging trees in private house-gardens.[1] Vallabhācārya refers it particularly to the fruit-gardens.[2]

44. Meṣa-kukkuṭa-lāvaka-yuddha-vidhi.—Ram-fighting, cock-fighting, quail-fighting. Such things are shown in the performance of a circus party.[3]

45. Śuka-sārikā-pralāpana.—Teaching of parrots, etc., to speak. The art consists in a sort of singing and delivering (good) news through the birds.[4]

46. Utsādana (-ne saṃvāhane ca kauśala).—Massage or shampooing, i.e., rubbing the limbs with unguents, pomades, etc. both with hands and feet as Yaśodhara says.[5]

47. Keśa-mārjana-kauśala.[6]—Coiffure or hair-dressing.

48. Akṣara-muṣṭikā-kathana.—Guessing unseen letters and things held in a closed fist, as stated by Jīva-gosvāmin and Vallabhācārya. But according to Yaśodhara the art consists in guessing things held in a closed fist like the revealing of the hidden and suggested meanings in a poetic composition : it admits of two varieties, namely, Sābhāsa (suggestive) and Nirābhāsa (unsuggestive),the object being two-fold,namely, to guess hidden things and to make concise composition.[7]

1 रोपणपुष्टिचिकित्सावैचित्र्यकृते गृहोद्यानार्था: ।

2 वृक्षाणां जीवनप्रकारा: फलै निर्बीजकरणं वृक्षान्तरात्फलोत्पादनमित्यादि ।

3 सजीवद्यूतविधानमेतत् । तत्रोपख्यानादिभिश्चतुरङ्गैर्युद्धविधानं क्रीड़ार्थं वादार्थं च ।
(Yaśodhara).

4 सुभाषितं पठन्ति सन्देशञ्च कथयन्ति। (Yaśodhara).

5 मर्दनं द्विविधं पादाभ्यां हस्ताभ्याञ्च। तत्र पादाभ्यां यन्मर्दनं तदुत्सादनमुच्यते। श्रेष्ठाङ्गेषु मर्दनं संवाहनम् ।

For the purpose of the *Kāma-śāstra* such an erotic art has obviously a great use.

6 केशग्रहणमनादरार्थम् । तत्र कौशलं परा राधनार्थम् ।
(Yaśodhara).

7 अक्षराणां मुष्टिरिव मुष्टिकागुप्तिरिति। सा साभासा निराभासा च। तत्र साभासा अक्षरमुद्रेति उच्यते। तया कथनं गूढवस्तुमन्त्रणार्थं ग्रन्थसंक्षेपार्थञ्च। निराभासा भूतमुद्रेत्युच्यते। तया कथनं गुह्यवस्तुमन्त्रणार्थम् ।

Yaśodhara illustrates this by quoting verses from the *Candraprabhā-vijaya-kāvya* of Ravigupta.

49. Mlecchita-vikalpa.—Use of secret code language or modifying ordinary language so as to make it not ordinarily intelligible, as stated by Yaśodhara.[1]

50. Deśa-bhāṣā-vijñāna.—Knowledge of languages of differrent countries.[2]

51. Puṣpa-śakaṭikā-nirmita-jñāna.[3]—Making of flower carriages.

52. Nimitta-jñāna.—The art of reading omen from the crowing of crows etc. as stated by Vallabhācārya.[4]

53. Yantra-mātṛkā.—The art of making monograms, logographs and diagrams. Yaśodhara attributes this to Viśva-karman and calls it *Ghaṭanā-śāstra* (science of accidents.)[5]

54. Dhāraṇa-mātṛkā.[6]—The art of Composing enigmatic

1 यत्साधुशब्दोपनिबन्धनमप्यचरव्यत्यासादस्पष्टार्थं तन्मुच्छितं गूढवस्तुमन्त्रणार्थम्। तस्य विकल्पा बहवः पूर्वाचार्योक्ताः। तद्यथा

कौटिलीयं यदि चान्यैः स्वरयोर्ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः।
विन्दूष्मणोर्विपर्यासाद्दुर्बोधमिति संज्ञितम्॥

2 अप्रकाश्यवस्तुज्ञापनार्थं तद्देशीयैर्व्यवहारार्थं च।—(Yaśodhara).

3 Vātsyāyana divides this under two headings :—

(1) Puṣpa-śakaṭikā and (2) Nirmita-jñāna. His commentator Yaśodhara simply says that पुष्पाणि निमित्तीकृत्याहं प्रणीता।

Jīvagosvāmin reads it as *Puṣpa-śakaṭikā-nimitta-jñānam*, but fails to explain it (पुष्पशकटिकोपाधिकायां कस्याञ्चिद्विद्यायां निमित्तज्ञानम्).

Śrīdhara-svāmin reads it as पुष्पशकटिकानिर्मितिज्ञानम्।

4 धर्मश्चभावर्गेऽन्तर्गतं शुभाशुभादेशफलम्। तत्र च प्रष्टुरभिज्ञानार्थम्। एवंरूपया स्त्रिया तव संप्रयोग इति कामोपहसितप्राया आदेशा इति। निमित्तज्ञानमिति सामान्येनोक्तम्।

(Yaśodhara).

5 सजीवानां निर्जीवानां यन्त्राणां यानोदक(वा नौदना)संग्रामार्थं घटना (।) शास्त्रं विश्वकर्मप्रोक्तम्।

6 Vallabhācārya and Śrīdhara-svāmin read this along with the preceding one under the same heading.

poetry. But according to Yaśodhara it refers to a kind of science of remembering.[1]

55. Sampāṭhya.—According to Yaśodhara it refers to a kind of reading which is practised for the sake of music and debate.[2]

56. Mānasī kāvya-kriyā.—Extempore and mental composition of versified poetry. The art comprises the filling up of stanzas of which a portion is told, the versification of thoughts in some one else's mind, and composing verses beginning with certain given letters etc.

57. Abhidhāna-kośa.—Lexicography. The art consists in getting together all the synonyms of a term.

58. Chando-jñāna.—Knowledge of metres. The art consists in composing metrical verses. But according to Yaśodhara, it refers to character-reading especially of man by young ladies.[3]

59. Kriyā-vikalpa.—Derivation and conjugation of verbs in various ways. It refers to grammar and poetics as Yaśodhara says.

60. Chalitaka-yoga.—Tricks. According to Yaśodhara, this also refers to poetical composition.[4]

1 श्रुतस्य ग्रन्थस्य धारणार्थं शास्त्रम्। यथोक्तम्—

यस्तु कोषस्तथा द्रव्यं लक्षणं केतुरेव च।
इत्येते धारणादेशाः पञ्चाङ्गरुचिरं वपुः॥

2 सम्भूयक्रीड़ार्थं वादार्थञ्च। तत्र पूर्वधारितमेको ग्रन्थं पठति, द्वितीयस्तमेवास्य तत्पूर्वं तेन सह तथैव पठति।

3 पुरुषं दृष्ट्वैव तस्य छन्दोज्ञानम् अयमेवंवृत्तः इति। कामिन्यादीनां मनोज्ञानं वा।

4 यद्रूपमन्यरूपेण संप्रकाश्य हि वक्ष्यते।
दैवेतरप्रयोगाभ्यां ज्ञेयं तच्छलितं यथा॥
दिव्यं शूर्पणखा रूपमितरद्वायुनन्दनः।
छलितवानभिसृत्य श्रिया रामं च कौचकम्॥

(Quotations from some unnamed work).

61. Vastra-gopana.—Changing the appearance of fabrics, such as making cotton cloth appear like silk. But according to Yaśodhara, the art consists rather in putting on a big piece of cloth in such a manner that some attractive parts of the body may be partly visible.[1]

62. Dyūta-viśeṣa.—The art of gambling.

63. Akṣa-kriḍā.—Playing with dice, mentioned as a special game according to Yaśodhara. Jīvagosvāmin refers this to an unspecified game in which a distant object is drawn in.[2]

64. Bāla-krīḍanaka.—The art of making dolls for children. According to a modern translator (Mitra) it refers to juvenile sports.

65. Vainayikī-jñāna.—The art of etiquette as Yaśodhara says.[3]

66. Vaijayikī-jñāna.—The art of warfare including archery etc. According to Yaśodhara, it admits of two varieties, divine and human.[4]

67. Vyāyāmikī-jñāna.[5]—The art of physical exercises including hunting and other sports as stated by Yośodhara.[6]

From this list it is clear that under some headings more than one subject is discussed, that some subjects should

1 वस्त्रेणाप्रकाश्यदेशस्य संवरणं यथा तद्भूयमानमपि तस्मान्नापैति। वुटितस्यावुटितस्येव परिधानम्। महती वस्त्रस्य संवरणादिनाऽल्पीकरणम्।

2 As a matter of fact this and the former item should come under one heading.

3 स्वपरविनयप्रयोजनाद् वैनयिक्यो आचारशास्त्राणि हस्त्यादिशिक्षा च।

4 विजयप्रयोजना वैजयिक्यः। दैव्यो मानुष्यश्च। तत्र दैव्योऽपराजितादयः। मानुष्यो याः सांयामिक्यः शस्त्रविद्याः।

5 Both Śrīdhara-svāmin and Śuka-deva read it as *Vaitālikī*.

6 व्यायामिक्यो मृगयाद्याः।

better be discussed under one heading, and that the order is not logical. In fact, the number of arts as sixty-four is a ficticious one. Neither Vātsyāyana, nor the commentator of the *Kāmasūtra*, nor those of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, nor the author of the *Lalita-vistara* has been able to make up the number. Some of the commentators admit this.[1] In the *Uttarādhyana-sūtra* the number given, as pointed out above, is seventy-two, which are not, however, specified. Yaśodhara declares that the sixty-four are the basic arts which may be subdivided into five hundred and eighteen.[2] These basic arts are classified under different groups in an unspecified text (of the *Kāmaśāstra*). Of these, twenty-four are stated to be the useful arts[3]; twenty refer to gambling of which fifteen deal with theoretical things[4] and five with practical objects[5]; and sixteen are concerned with cohabitation[6] and

1 केचित्त कला: कल्पसंहितोक्ता: सुधियामेव प्रत्येकमेकाहोरात्रशिक्षणार्हा: क्षुद्रसिद्धिरूपा: परचित्त-ज्ञतादूरश्रवणदर्शनचिन्तारब्राह्मतविशेषनिर्माणाद्या: अन्या एवाहु:। (Jīva-gosvāmin).

पूर्वोक्ते वा अवान्तरभेदा: क्वचिदुद्याह्या:। (Vallabhācārya).

2 चतु:षष्टिर्मूलकला:। आसेवान्तरनिविष्टानामन्तरकलानामष्टादशाधिकानि पञ्चशतान्युक्तानि।

3 गीतम्, नृत्यम्, वाद्यम्, लिपिज्ञानम्, वचनं चोदारम्, चित्रविधि:, पुस्तककर्म, पत्रच्छेद्यम्, माल्यविधि:, आख्यायिकाविधानम्, रत्नपरीक्षा, सौत्र्यम्, रङ्गपरिज्ञानम्, उपस्करणक्रिया, मानविधि:, आजीवज्ञानम्, तिर्यग्योनिचिकित्सितम्, मायाकृतपाषण्डसमयज्ञानम्, क्रीड़ाकौशलम्, लोकज्ञानम्, वैचक्षण्यम्, संवाहनम्, शरीरसंस्कार:, विशेषकौशलञ्चेति।

4 द्यूताश्रया विंशति:। तत्र निर्जीवा: पञ्चदश—आयु:प्राप्ति:, अक्षविधानम्, रूपसङ्ख्या, क्रियामार्गणम्, बीजग्रहणम्, नयज्ञानम्, करणादानम्, चिह्नाचिह्नविधि:, गूढ़राशि:, तुल्याभिहार:, चिह्नग्रहणम्, अनुप्राप्ति-लेखक्रान्ति:, अग्निक्रम:, छलव्यामोहनम्, ग्रहदानञ्चेति।

5 सजीवा: पञ्च—उपस्थानविधि:, युद्धं, कृतम्, गीतं, नृत्तं चेति।

6 शयनोपचारिका: षोड़श—पुरुषस्य भावग्रहणम्, स्वरागप्रकाशनम्, प्रत्यङ्गदानम्, नखदन्तयो-र्विचारौ, नीवीस्रंसनम्, गुह्यस्थ संस्पर्शनानुलोम्यम्, परमार्थकौशलम्, हर्षणम्, समानार्थता कृतार्थता, अनुप्रीतसाहनम्, स्वदुक्रोधप्रवर्तनम्, सम्यक्क्रोधनिवर्तनम्, क्षुद्रप्रसादनम्, सुप्त(शय्या)परित्याग:, चरम स्वापविधि:, गुप्तगूहनमिति।

four with subsidiary matters connected with cohabitation.[1] The last twenty are entirely private matters and are never meant for public discussion : they are too fine to be exhibited in a museum for fine arts, although indecent paintings of the sort are noticed in temple at puri, Kanarak, Benares and elsewhere ; they are stated to be practised in private.[2]

So far as the main list is concerned, it should be noticed, only two or three items, namely, cookery and bed-making etc. may be considered as exclusively feminine arts, the others from vocal music down to physical exercise being equally practised both by males and females. Even cookery which includes the scientific preparation of all kinds of dishes and beverages, is a proper subject for the theoritical and practical study for man and woman alike. In fact, dietary is a section of the medical science. Another fact to which attention should be drawn is that barely one-fourth of the whole list can be called fine arts which are meant only for amusement, while others are really useful and productive arts both materially and culturally. This point is beautifully illustrated by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra*. 'Even an ordinary dancing girl possessing beauty and youth when trained in these arts rises to the status of a courtesan, is welcomed in respectable society and is respected by kings and learned people. She becomes an object of notice and is desired by every body. As regards princesses and daughters of high officials they can keep captivated their husbands possessing a thousand other wives. And when they become widow and deprived of their wealth they can honourably earn their livelihood even in another country. A man who is a skilful artist can command a hearing and proves a pleasant compan-

1 चतस्र उत्तरकलाः—सान्त्वपातं रमणाय शापदानम्, स्वप्नपथक्रिया, प्रस्थितानुगमनम्, पुनः पुनः निरीक्षणञ्चेति।

2 अभ्यासप्रयोज्यांश्च चातुःषष्टिकान् योगान् कन्या रहस्येकाकिन्यभ्यसेत्।

(Vātsyāyana, chap. III).

ion everywhere. Even being stranger he can captivate the heart of young ladies in no time. Prosperity follows him in all places and at all times.'[1]

Lastly, none of these arts can be properly cultivated by a person, community or nation who is not endowed with beauty and youth. In this matter age is no sure test of youth. The great Buddha could renounce the world while yet a young man and in the midst of worldly prosperity because he had grown oldish in heart and had no interest for youth and beauty. Almost at the same age Caitanya also renounced the world but he was never deprived of beauty and youth, and the result has been the origin of *Saṃkīrtana*, a kind of very exciting music and also the establishment of Nava-dvīpa and Vṛndāvana where many of the erotic arts developed under different garbs with a tinge of religion. On the other hand, poets like Rabindranath and others write highly erotic poems and love-stories at their sixties and seventies because in spite of their age they have kept alive beauty and youth in their heart of hearts. In fact, beauty and youth need not always be dependent upon a well-proportioned figure or any particular complexion and upon a particular age.

1 आभिरभ्युक्षिता वेश्या शीलरूपगुणान्विता ।
लभते गणिकाशब्दं स्थानं च जनसंसदि ॥
पूजिता सा सदा राज्ञा गुणवद्भिश्च संस्तुता ।
प्रार्थनीयाऽभिगम्या च लक्ष्यभूता च जायते ॥
योगज्ञा राजपुत्री च महामात्रसुता तथा ।
सहस्रान्तःपुरमपि स्ववशे कुरुते पतिम् ॥
तथा पतिवियोगे च व्यसनं दारुणं गता ।
देशान्तरेऽपि विद्याभिः सा सुखेनैव जीवति ॥
नरः कलासु कुशलो वाचालश्चाटुकारकः ।
असंस्तुतोऽपि नारीणां चित्तमाशु हरत्यलम् ॥
कलानां ग्रहणादेव सौभाग्यमुपजायते ।
देशकालौ त्वपेक्ष्यासां प्रयोगः सम्भवेन्न वा ॥

(Kāmasūtra, chap. III).

"Youth is not a time of life; it is a state of mind. It is not a matter of ripe cheeks, red lips and supple knees; it is a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a vigour of the emotions. It is the freshness of the deep springs of life. Youth means a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. This often exists in a man of 50 more than in a boy of 20. No body grows old by merely living a number of years. People grow old only by deserting their ideals. Years wrinkle the skin; but to give up enthusiasm wrinkles the soul. Worry, doubt, self-distrust, fear and despair—these are the long, long years that bow the heart and turn the greening spirit back to doubt. Whether 60 or 16, there is in every human being's heart the lure of wonder, the sweet amazement at the stars and at the starlike things and thoughts, in undaunted challenge of events, the unfailing, child-like appetite for what next, and the joy of the game of living. You are as young as your faith; as old as your doubt; as young as your self-confidence; as old as your fear; as young as your hope; as old as your despair.

"In the central place of your heart there is an evergreen tree, its name is Love. So long as it flourishes, you are young. When it dies, you are old. In the central place of your heart there is a wireless station, so long as it receives messages of beauty, hope, cheer, grandeur, courage and power from the earth, from men and from the infinite, so long are you young. When the wires are down, and all the central place of your heart is covered with snows of cynicisms and the vice of pessimism, then you are grown old, even at 20".[1]

Youth and beauty are identical with what is called the sensual love. And love is the real life which is the source of all activities and of all arts. Life is, however, impossible without a body. Hence beauty and youth can be realised only with reference to an ideal, an image or a symbol.

1 Dr. Frank Crane.

Buddhism at its origin was a religion of renunciation. Buddha himself had no attraction for his young wife, newly born baby boy, old parents, extensive kingdom, and other properties. Buddhism itself required no idol to worship and needed no temple. Hence Buddhism has given rise, in architecture, for instance, to heaps of stone known as Stūpas. Stūpas both of the Buddhists and the Jainis were no doubt surrounded with stone railings and decorated with gateways, but these were obviously incongruous and later additions, and formed no essential parts of the main structure just like the other accessories such as stone umbrellas, elaborately carved pillars and abundant statuary usually in the form of reliefs, representing scenes connected with their religions and showing the conversion of Buddhism and Jainism to idolatry.

Muhammadanism grew up in the Arabian desert. It is not a religion of renunciation, but it is non-idolatrous; hence there is no need for a temple: prayer could be said anywhere. Consequently mosque does not represent any symbolic idea. It has been rightly stated that the Muhammadans "designed like giants and their Hindu workmen finished like jewellers; but from the giant killed by Jack, right through the whole genus, giants have hitherto been noted for.....immense strength."[1] There is no room for any sculpture. Worship is congregational, and there is no need for music which is considered now-a-days to disturb rather than help the worshippers in concentrating the mind upon one object. Priests are house-holders, but the God of daily worship is impersonal. Thus it is not a religion of love, rather one of obedience. The sensual love, however, embodies in itself beauty and youth without which no fine art can grow. Hence Muhammadanism could not give rise to many fine arts. It is, however, a fact that the Muslims have later on developed many arts, but that is due to their war-like spirit, their

1 General A. Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Reports, vol. IV, pp. 56-57.

militarism and not to their religion. The wonderful Tajmahal is a secular monument of love for a beautiful wife. The great forts at Agra, Delhi and other places were but military settlements. The famous Mughal paintings have no religious tinge in them. The Quran is composed in prose and is not a book of poetical hymns like the Bible or the Vedas. In fact, both Arabic and Persian poetry is predominantly secular.

Christianity, on the other hand, is a religion of love. Christ himself was born of extreme love of youth for beauty and gave up his life under highly romantic circumstances. It is fundamentally a religion which cannot be practised in the absence of an idol, an image or a symbol. Christ is idolised in every church together with the cross which was the deadly weapon upon which he was crucified. Idol-worship needs a temple. Hence the Christian form of worship is impracticable without the church. Like Muhammadanism it is also congregational, but unlike the former it is performed with music in an atmosphere of beauty; the church is neatly arranged and the worshippers keep a fashionable dress for the Sunday or Church day. Its priests are householders; they can eat all things, they can amuse themselves in all possible ways, even in hunting, gambling, drinking and dancing. In other words, it is full of life and vigour; beauty and youth reign supreme in it. Thus the Christian churches of almost all ages and in all countries were lovingly conceived and beautifully executed. The Grecian gods and goddesses were vigorously carved and were always given a youthful and beautiful appearance. Young boys (and girls) are required to sing psalms from the Bible in chorus. In paintings the romantic incidents connected with Christ played a great part. Greek, Latin, French, English, German, Russian, all literature of the followers of Christ is full of their mythological allusions. Poetry, lyric, drama, all are based mainly on the theme of beauty and youth. Vigorous and lively music is necessary everywhere in the church, for

the funeral, in the battle-field, for a dinner-party, for the dancing-hall, etc. Cookery or perfumery, jugglery or mimicry, weaving or tailoring, bull-fighting or hunting, in every art of the Christian world there is evinced a real life. The theme in all these arts is that of beauty and youth.

Hinduism combines in itself, at different stages of its development, the renunciation and respect for life of Buddhism, the stern discipline and brotherhood of Muhammadanism, and the love and life of Christianity. The inactive God beyond the conception of mind and word is impersonal, but the active God of worship is idolised to an extreme. In the early Vedic stage God is personified in natural phenomena; then He is given a human body till at last He is conceived as having thousand heads, thousand eyes, thousand hands and so on.

Thus we see in the Paurāṇic age Brahmā is furnished with four heads, Śiva and other deities with three eyes, the goddess Durgā or Śakti, i.e., the personified energy with ten hands holding various attributes, the goddess of learning with a musical instrument. In the *dhyānas* or descriptions of various deities, all their characteristic features and qualifications are elaborately referred to. In these descriptions one feature which is practically common to all the gods and goddesses is that they are conceived at the height of their beauty. This is applicable not only to the goddess of love or wealth but also to the goddess of fury or terror.

Temples had already been erected when God was fully idolised. But the priest who renounced the world or went to the forest in his old age accompanied by his old wife alone, needed neither temple nor idol; he went on meditating on the impersonal God. The greater majority of priests, however, remain householders, enjoying life in all possible ways in an atmosphere of beauty and youth. Even in the early Vedic stage a worshipper had to be accompanied by his what is called *better half* in English. No religious obser-

vance would be complete unless one is accompanied by his wife. Rāma had to be accompanied by a golden image of Śitā for the performance of his horse-sacrifice in celebration of his suzerainty. And all possible phases and aspects of the conception of God were idolised. Thus Hinduism has given rise to an unparalleled pantheon and mythology. There is the god for creation, god for preservation, god for destruction. There is the god of death, there is the god of love, there is the god of war. There is a god for the fisherman, a god for the weaver, a god for the trader, a god for the hunter. All this statuary symbolises the self-expression of youth in as beautiful a body as an artist can conceive. Sculpture being the hand-maid of architecture such a variety of deities necessarily needed equally diversified types of temples of which, though the ancient remains are not too numerous, there are convincing proofs in all branches of our literature especially in the *Vāstuśāstras*.[1] Buildings have been distinguished as male, female and neuter, as round, oval, rectangular, quadrangular, octagonal and of other shapes, as running to seventeen stories, as having ninety-eight, forty-five, twenty and ten types, as being high like the Himalayas, white like the swan, etc.[2] In the words of Fergusson, it will undoubtedly be conceded by those who are familiar with the subject that, for certain qualities, the Indian buildings are unrivalled ; and that they display an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else. What remains to be added to this general characteristic is that Hindu architecture, much like sculpture, good, bad or indifferent, was always inspired by a sensual love and executed in an atmosphere of beauty and youth.

The Vedas which are the fundamental scriptures of Hinduism have been recognised as first-class poetic produc-

1 See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 5-33.

2 See the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 830, 831.

tions, full of life, vigour and beauty. Thus the Hindu mind could not think but in poetry. Excepting the commentaries and explanatory notes as represented by the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Sūtras* and one or two other branches of literature, poetry has been the vehicle of expression everywhere else, including lexicons, law-books, political sciences, astronomies, mathematics, medicines, architecture, sculpture, painting, singing, dancing, even histories, not to speak of epic works, lyrics and drama. Poetry can be woven only by the hand of youth in an atmosphere of beauty, whatever might be its nature, whatever might be its subject-matter and whatever might be its leading sentiment, either of love or laughter, pathetic or furious, heroic or terrible, expressing disgust or wonder, filial affection or spiritual resignation. Human love has always been a theme of Hindu poetry.

Poetry and music became almost identical at a very early stage: one of the scriptures is called a book of chants. Without music the Hindu life is impossible: it is necessary for wedding, for christening a child, for initiation, for amusement and for mourning, at birth and at death, for war and for peace. All music is but a beautiful expression of a heart full of youthful enthusiasm.

Although the arts like architecture, sculpture, poetry and music had their origin in the religion of the Christians and the Hindus in connection with the form of worship which is based on love, these arts along with the others of the above list became later entirely secular and developed in various ways. In the *Kāmasūtra* the arts have nothing to do with religion. Their object is neither salvation (mokṣa) nor ritualistic observances (dharma) but merely the gratification of material desires and sensual love. Cookery or perfumery, dancing or singing, painting or powdering, jugglery or physical exercise, gardening or weaving, is undertaken to earn money or to enjoy oneself. This fact, as noticed above, has been repeatedly pointed out by the commentator Yaśodhara. In fact, material desires and sensual

love can be nourished only by those who consider themselves ever young and immortal ; in other words, no artistic matter can be cultivated by those who are in the grasp of death and decay.

Countries or nations deprived of beauty and youth for some reason or other could not give rise to much fine art. While in the full bloom of her youth and beauty Africa, for instance, could think of erecting monumental pyramids and dream of devising means to preserve the perishable dead bodies in the form of mummies ; but since life and love have been taken out of her, there has been no artistic effort or expression in any way. The Grecian statuary no longer shows their life and vigour, beauty and youth. The famous buildings at Burobodor were built but once. The weavers of Bengal who once manufacturad the finest muslin in the world could no longer be induced even to produce *khadi.*

On the other hand, the genius of the Japanese for imitaton in all fine arts, the ever-new fashions of the French, the unrivalled formalities of the Americans, the extraordinary industry of the Germans and the unique thoroughness of the Britons show as if these nations will never become infirm by age, will never lose vitality and vigour and face death and decay, but will always retain their life and love, and will always worship youth and beauty.[1]

Like the Bengal School of Painting, most of our forgotten arts can, however, be revived if we are determined to do so. Everything need not wait for the raising up of the standard of our living. Unrestrained social conditions and plenty of wealth could not always give rise to much original art. The Persian carpet and the Dacca muslin were not woven under all these favourable circumstances.

1 To give any comprehensive outline of the various arts cultivated by all these nations, and of their complex relations to one another would necessitate entering into details and the employment of illustrations that would be incompatible with the extent and aim of this article.

It is, however, a fact that when so many fine arts grew up there was not so much want and privation in the country. But on the other hand, most of the famous artists of the world were born poor and only a few died rich. What is primarily needed is to cultivate the habit of a critical study and an intelligent appreciation of our artistic treasures. All the five-hundred and eighteen arts of which a mere mention is made were not equally developed, but many of them, in the neighbourhood of a few hundred, did undoubtedly reach the status of a fully developed science and can each claim a *Śilpa-śāstra*. The unearthing of our artistic treasures and unfolding of their worth and beauty would bring back life and love in us and awaken our youthful artistic instinct which is our precious inheritance. Biggest fruits and best flowers can grow only in the healthiest young plants on a fertile soil. The revival of the *Śilpa-śāstras* would revive our art consciousness.

P. K. ACHARYA

Some Pāṇḍya Kings of the Thirteenth Century

In spite of ceaseless endeavours on the part of scholars to remove the obscurity of the Pāṇḍya history of the thirteenth century, we are not yet in a position to afford satisfaction to the historian of the Pāṇḍyas. A study of the annual reports which are being published from year to year by the Madras Epigraphist on the subject makes the issue more complicated, for every report gives us the names of some Pāṇḍyan kings who flourished in the thirteenth century. The study of the dates of the Pāṇḍya kings and especially of this century is no new question. Drs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn, Messrs. Robert Sewell and Swami Kannu Pillai have examined this vexed problem. Dr. Hultzsch identifies the Sundara Pāṇḍya of the Raṅganātha Inscription with Jaṭāvarman *alias* Sundara Paṇḍyadeva who

ascended the throne in A.C. 1250 or 1251.[1] The historical importance of this inscription lies in the fact that this king took Śrīraṅga from the king of Karṇāṭaka whom he killed and also plundered the capital of the Kāṭhaka king, probably Kaṭaka (Cuttack). From the Jambukeśvara and Tirukkaḷukunram inscripitions we are able to identify the Karṇāṭa king with the Hoysala king Someśvara, and the Kāṭhaka king with one of the Gajapati kings of Orissa.[2]

Robert Sewell and Dr. Kielhorn have studied the dates of Pāṇḍya kings in some volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*. In volume IX of the *Epigraphia Indica*[3] Dr. Kielhorn published a summary of his studies by reducing the various names of kings in the 13th century to a consolidated list of eight Pāṇḍya kings. The late Mr. Swami Kannu Pillai then took up these complicated inscriptions relating to the Pāṇḍyas of the 13th century and began to scrutinise them with the method of verification in which he was a specialist. As a result of his patient study he arrived at some definite dates for the different kings of the period and these he published in the *Indian Antiquary*.[4] But what is more important and valuable is a tentative (genealogical ?) arrangement of most of these rulers with probable limits of the commencement of the reigns as well as the terminal year of each reign. In giving this list Mr. Pillai makes it clear that there is absolutely no pretence whatever to a genealogical arrangement. It would be interesting to reproduce the list here :

(1)	(2)	(3)
Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-1244)	Mār. Vīra Pāṇḍya (1252-1267)	Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya II (1254-1275)
Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1251-80)	Mār. Kulaśekhara I (1268-1310)	Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya III (1276-1293)
Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (1291-1315)	Mār. Kulaśekhara II (1314-1344)	Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya III (1296-1342)

1 Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 7ff. See also Ind. Ant., vol. xxi, p. 122 and 343.

2 Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 8.

3 See vols. VI to X.

4 Vol. 42 (1613), pp. 165-6.

(4)	(5)
Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238-55)	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara II (1237-1259)
Mār. Śrīvallabha (1257-1292)	Jaṭ. Vikrama Pāṇḍya Circa 1280
Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya III (1294-1307)	Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1270-1302)
	Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya IV (1302-1318)

From the above tabular arrangement it can be easily seen that at any period from A.C. 1250 to A.C. 1315 as many as five kings ruled at the same time in the Pāṇḍya country. Mr. Swami Kannu Pillai seems to explain this as follows; "two Māravarmans and two Jaṭāvarmans were co-regents with a fifth Pāṇḍya who might be either a Māravarman or a Jaṭāvarman."[1] Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer has rearranged the list of monarchs with a few variations in the years of both accession and termination.[2]

From *Koyilolugu*[3] and other records the exploits and conquests of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I seem to have been far-reachieg.[4] Among the remarkable achievements of the king are the conquests of the Cera, Cola, Pallava, Ceylon, Karṇāṭaka, Kāṭhaka and Kākathīya kings. Thus he was left in possession of the Koṅgu, Cola, Cera, Pallava and the Telugu countries. His seige of Śendamangalam must have been a war with the Pallavas whom he must have defeated and then reinstated. That the battle was against the Hoysalas, as Mr. Subramania Iyer suggests,[5] does not

1 Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 166.
2 See *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 175.
3 See Ind. Ant., vol. XL.
4 See *Historical Sketches of Dekhan*, pp. 164-175, *Sen Tamil*, vol. IV, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 337-41.
5 *His. Sketches of Dekhan*, p. 168.

seem to be probable. The coins bearing the legend *Kodaṇḍarāma* are attributed to this monarch. For does he not call himself a second Rāma on account of his invasion of the island of Laṅkā? At this time the king of Ceylon must have been Parākrama Bāhu II as evidenced by the *Mahāvaṃśa*, the famous Ceylon chronicle.[1] Celebrated soldier as he was, Sundara Pāṇḍya was able to extend his dominions over the whole of South India, including a large portion of the Telugu country. He seems to have ruled at least until A.C. 1270. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, who seems to have ascended the throne about A.C. 1254, was his contemporary. Equally remarkable are the exploits of this king who extended his victorious arms over the Cola, Kongu, and Ceylon chieftains, and performed the anointment of victors at Perumbarra-Puliyūr (Chidambaram).

It is suggested that Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya was the co-regent of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya,[2] and that he distinguished himself in the wars undertaken by the latter.[3] In the absence of a definite geneological tree, marking the relationship among the various kings mentioned, it is difficult to believe with the late Mr. Swami Kannu Pillai that the two Jaṭāvarmans and the two Māravarmans were co-regents with a fifth, either a Jaṭāvarman or a Māravarman. In this case the whole Pāṇḍya Kingdom must have been split up into two administrative divisions, the one under the Jaṭāvarmans and the other under Māravarmans, with a place for the fifth under either of the two divisions. This may be possible but not probable. At least there is no warrant for this division.

On the testimony of a foreign traveller like Marco Polo it is reasonable to believe that the expanded Pāṇḍyan kingdom became so unwieldy that it was necessary to divide the

1 Mudaliar Rasanayagam (*Ancient Jaffna*, p. 339).
2 *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 168.
3 *Ibid*, p. 169.

whole kingdom into five convenient territories over each of which a member of the reigning family was established, so that the subdued neighbours might feel the weight of their arms and not dare to disturb the peace of the land.

It would not be out of place to quote from Marco Polo. "Marco Polo represents Kayal as being governed by a King whom he calls Asciar ... and says that this king of Kayal was the elder brother of Sonderbandi the king of that part of the District of Malabar where he landed ..... This king (of Kayal) is sometimes spoken of as one of "the Five Kings" who reigned in various parts of Tinnevelly but whether he was independent of the king of Madura or only a viceroy, the people cannot now say....."[1] There is a view that the "Five kings" of Marco Polo refer only to the Tamil terms, *Panchavar* and *Panchavan* occurring in the *Śangam* Classics like the *Puram* and the *Śilappadikaram*.[2] It may be noted in passing that the Pāṇḍyas came to be known as the *Panchavar* ever since their matrimonial connection with the illustrious Pāṇḍya-Arjuna. The traditional story of the *Mahābhārata*-Arjuna's tour in South India, his marriage with the Pāṇḍya princess Chitrāṅgadā, the birth of a son Babhruvāhana who became the Pāṇḍya king in turn, may be recalled here.[3] Tradition asserts that the Pāṇḍyas became well known as the *Panchavar* from the time of Babhruvāhana. The term then is significant as indicating the relationship of the Pāṇḍyas with the Pāṇḍavas and has nothing to do with "the Five Kings" of Marco Polo.

By the time of the visit of Marco Polo and even before, the Pāṇḍya kings who ruled in different parts of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom were five in number. Each of these five chieftains held direct rule over his dominion. In the peiord covering roughly twenty years from A.D. 1250 to 1270 the five kings seem to be :

1 *Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 373-4.
2 *Puram*, 58; *Śilap*, 20, *l.* 33; 29, *Vallaipāṭṭu l.* 8.
3 *Sen Tamil*, vol. VIII, 10.

1. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, 1251-80.
2. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II, 1254-75.
3. Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II, 1252-67.
4. Māravarman Śrī-Vallabha, 1257-92.
5. Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, 1237-59.

It is, therefore, very likely that changes in the royal family or change of dynasty must have in course of time taken place, as a result of which two distinct branches, the Māravarmans and the Jaṭāvarmans, came into being. This is also warranted by what had happened during the twelfth century. From an inscription at Tirukkaḷambudur of the fourth year of Kulottuṅga III (1182 A.C.) and another inscription at Chidambaram of the same king, we are informed that Pāṇḍya Kulaśekhara's son Vikrama Pāṇḍya fought a battle with the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya who was assisted by the Sinhalese. Kulottuṅga helped Vikrama Pāṇḍya and got him crowned at Madura.[1]

Thus towards the latter half of the 12th century the Pāṇḍyas were fighting among themselves and it is plausible that this led to the establishment of two different capitals of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. These branches became unwieldy in their turn and sub-branches came into being. The rulers of these sub-sections were either subordinate or independent. If subordinate one of them must have been the paramount sovereign and the others—perhaps one of them a Yuvarāja—were subordinate to him. There is no evidence to support this theory. Hence the other possible theory is that those chiefs ruled independently of one another. Among these five chieftains of the Pāṇḍya *nādu*, inscriptions so far available show that two of them were really powerful and were celebrated for their valour. Others might have led quieter lives with no exploits to their credit. That this was so is obvious from the anointment of victors at Nellore

1 Ep. Rep., Ins., No. 1 of 1899; Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 169; *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 270.

and Chidambaram respectively. If Vīra Pāṇḍya was only a co-ruler with Sundara Pāṇḍya it is not in the fitness of things that he performed the anointment of victors himself and not even in the name of Sundara Pāṇḍya. It is therefore clear that he was an independent ruler and took credit for his own victories. This seems to be more probable in explaining the synchronism of a number of kings over the kingdom.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

The Origin of the Varman Dynasty of East Bengal

The Sena rulers of Bengal originally belonged to the Deccan as is proved by so many evidences, particularly by the Deopāra Inscription,[1] in which Sāmantasena is described as the "Head-garland of the clans of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas" and is said to have "singly slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa, overrun by hostile tribes." Dr. R. C. Majumdar, in his article "On the Origin of the Sena Kings of Bengal," has ably shown that the ancestors of this family of rulers were religious teachers in the Karṇāṭa country and Sāmantasena probably followed the armies of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI up to Bengal and settled there with his family.

In respect of social status and military achievements the Varman Kings of East Bengal were no less inferior to the Senas. The King Jātavarman married Vīraśrī, the daughter of Kalacuri Karṇadeva[2] (1042-1071 A.C.) and thereby became a brother-in-law of the Pāla emperor Vigrahapāla III, who also married another daughter of the same Kalacuri monarch.[3] Jātavarman's son Śāmalavarman established

1 EI, vol. I, p. 312, vs. 5, 8.
2 Ibid., vol. XII, p. 40, v. 8.
3 Mem. ASB, vol. III, p. 22.

social relations with the imperial Paramāras of Mālava, by accepting the hand of the daughter of Jagadvijayamalla or Jagdeo, the son of Udayāditya (1159, 1186 A.C.).[1]

Jātavarman was the most powerful King of the dynasty. He extended his authority over the Aṅga country, conquered Kāmarupa, vanquished the rebel Kaivarta general Divya and curbed the pride of Govardhana.[2]

While we know so much about this Varman family, our knowledge regarding its origin is very meagre. The Belava Copper-plate of Bhojavarmadeva records that[3] "(The knowledge of) the three Vedas is a covering for men, and those who are devoid of it are certainly naked, (thinking) so the kinsmen of Hari, the Varmans, mailing themselves with their hairs standing on end in their enthusiasm for the three Vedas and for marvellous fights, and wearing the very solemn name and possessing noble arms, occupied Siṃhapura, which may be likened to the cave of lions".[4]

This makes it sure that Siṃhapura was the ancestral home of this Varman family of the Yādava race. Mr. R. G. Basak suggests that this is the same as mentioned in the Mahāvaṃśa, VI, 35 ff. situated in Lāḷavaṭṭha, i.e., Rāḍha.[5] Mr. R. D. Banerji gives two suggestions for the identification of this place. In his opinion, it was either Sang-ho-pu-lo as described by Hiuen Tsang in the Punjab or Singhpoor or Seehore in Mālwa.[6]

There was a place called Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga. The great Ceylon King Sāhasamalla (1200-1202 A.C.) was born in Siṃha-

1 JASB, vol. X (New Series), p. 125.

2 E I, vol. XII, p. 40. 3 E I, vol. XII, p. 41.

4 Puṃsām=āvaraṇaṃ trayi na ca tayā hīnā na nagnā iti trayyā(ṃ) c=ādbhuta-saṅgareṣu ca va(ra)sād=rom-odgamair=varmmiṇaḥ |
Varmmāṇo=tigabhīranāma dadhataḥ ślāghyaṃ bhujaṃ vi(bi)bhrato bhejuḥ Siṃhapuraṃ guhām=iva mṛgendrāṇāṃ Harer=vā(bā)ndhavāḥ ‖ —v. 5.

5 Ibid., p. 37. 6 JASB, 1914, p. 124.

pura in Kaliṅga.[1] Prof. Hultzsch identifies this place with the modern Siṅgupuram between Chicacole and Navasannapṭea.[2] This formed the capital of a line of Kaliṅga Kings whose names, just like the Yādavas of East Bengal, end with Varman. They were[3]:

(1) Caṇḍavarman
(2) Vijayanandivarman
(3) Nandaprabhañjanavarman
(4) Umāvarman

Caṇḍavarman and Umāvarman are known to have issued inscriptions from Siṃhapura.[4] They, in their records, do not pretend to have their descent from any of the races of yore as mentioned in the early Sanskrit literature. No date is mentioned in their inscription, but from palæographical considerations they should be placed between c. 11th century A. C. to c. 13th century A. C.

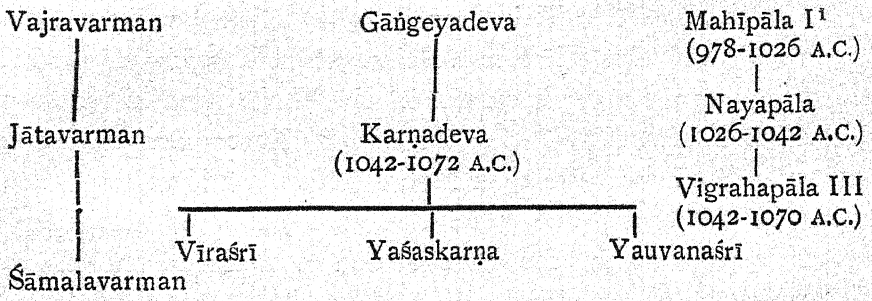
All these evidences, just referred to, go to prove that during 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A. C. Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga, occupied an eminent position. But, so far as our knowledge goes, neither the place Siṃhapura in the Punjab, nor that in Malawa, is known to have attained any pre-eminence during this period.

It seems from the names Vijayanandivarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman that "Varman" was something like a surname of Caṇḍavarman's family. It is expressly mentioned in a verse of the Belāva inscriptions that there was a glorious royal family in Siṃhapura whose members were known as the "Varmans" and from whom Vajravarman took his descent. The fact that Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman and his successors persistently assumed the appellation Varman

1 EP. Zeylauika, vol. II, part v, p. 227.
2 E I, vol. XII, p. 4.
3 Cf. E I, vol. XII, p. 5; ibid., vol. IV, p. 143.
4 Oṃ Svasti vijayasīhapurādvappapādabhaktakaliṅgādhipatīśa Śrīmahārājomāvarmmā (EI, vol. xii, p. 5 (l. 1-2). Sīhapura is the prākṛt form of Siṃhapura.

at the end of their names and that they ruled in Simhapura, strongly suggests that they belonged to the same Varman family as mentioned in the Belāva inscriptions. This establishes close relationship between Caṇḍavarman's family with that of Vajravarman. Consideration of all these things hardly leaves any doubt that Simhapura in Kaliṅga was the original home of the Varman dynasty of East Bengal. Now, it is to be decided what were the courses of events that brought Vajravarman to East Bengal and made him the supreme ruler of the province. The Belāva Inscription tells us :[2] "In the course of time, there was (one) Vajravarman, the auspicious ornament of the Yādava-soldiers, in their victorious march of battle, who was like death to his enemies." This coupled with the preceding verse of the same inscription gives us a hint that Vajravarman made his fortune out of this military campaigns which consequently established him on the throne of Vaṅgadeśa or East Bengal.

As Vajravarman's son Jātavarman married the daughter of Kalacuri Karṇadeva, he was apparently a contemporary of the latter. We may draw the comparative genealogical tables of the Varmans of East Bengal, Pālas of Gauḍa and Kalacuris of Tripuri in the following lines.



This tentatively makes Vajravarman a contemporary of Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, Pāla Mahīpāla and Nayapāla. Hence, as a matter of fact, he was also a contemporary of Rājendra Cola I who ruled from 1012 A.C. to 1042 A.C.

2. EI, Vol. XII p. 42.

1 J A S B, 1921, p. 6. 2 E I, vol. VIII, APP. II, p. 22.

Kaliṅga formed a part of the latter's dominion and the Varman family of rulers was apparently his subordinates. As this was the case, the military resources of Vajravarman, who was only a member of a feudatory royal family, seem to have hardly allowed him to march independently against such a distant country as East Bengal. He must have gained the rulership of that province with the help of some extraneous superior power. We have just noticed above that Vajravarman's family in Siṃhapura was feudatory to the great conqueror Rājendra Cola.[1] As for the latter's military achievements, we learn from the Tirumalai Rock Inscription dated 1025-26 A.C. that[2] he conquered Īlamaṇḍala, Kerala, Sandimattiva, Iraṭṭavādi, Śakkaragoṭṭam, Mādura-maṇḍala, Nāmaṇaikkoṇam, Pañcapaḷḷi, Māsuṃdeśa, Indraratha, Oḍḍaviṣaya, Kośalaināḍu, Daṇḍabhutti and Takkaṇalāḍam. It is further described that "he conquered Vaṅgāladeśa where the rain-wind never stopped and from which Govindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant and put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahīpāla, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets." I agree with Mr. R. D. Banerji in identifying Takkanalāḍam with South Rāḍha (South West Bengal) and Vaṅgāladeśa with East Bengal. It is quite likely that Vajravarman followed this valiant Cola monarch, with his Yādava armies, shared with him his victories over so many countries in the North and ultimately established himself on the throne of East Bengal when its ruler Govindacandra took flight. This must have happened between 1012 A.C. and 1025 A.C., the dates of Rājendra-cola's accession to the throne and the Tirumalai Rock Inscription.

D. C. GANGULY

1 E I, vol. IX, p. 233.

2 Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. V, no. 3, p. 71.

The Extent of Harṣavardhana's Empire

In 1923 I wrote a paper on Harṣavardhana in which I tried to demonstrate the falsity of two accepted historical assumptions: viz. (1) that Harṣavardhana's empire embraced the whole or nearly the whole of Northern India and (2) that he was the last great emperor of Hindusthan.[1] The views I stated therein have been recently challenged by Mr. Nihar Ranjan Roy, M.A.[2], and I propose to examine the arguments advanced by him.

After citing the well-known evidences to which I referred in my paper, Mr. Roy remarks: "We can, therefore, safely conclude that the whole Gangetic Valley from Thāneśvara to Magadha was under the direct control of Harṣa. What relation the adjacent countries surrounding this direct dominion had with Harṣa we cannot exactly ascertain" (p.778). It will be seen at once that this is nearly tantamount to acceptance of the position I wanted to maintain in my paper. Unfortunately Mr. Roy has not always kept in view this fundamental proposition and his remarks about individual states, when he considers them in detail, are not always consistent with it.

As regards the evidence of Harṣa's relation with other states outside the area mentioned above, Mr. Roy remarks: "The only evidence on the point is Yuan Chwang, supplemented here and there by Bāṇa. And Yuan Chwang, to our utter regret, is almost everywhere silent on the point. His silence has often been construed as significant, and there are scholars who think that the country or kingdom about whose political relation with Harṣa Śilāditya the Chinese pilgrim is silent must have been independent of the royal patron." (p. 778).

This statement requires careful scrutiny. It is not quite correct to say that Hiuen Tsang is silent about the states just outside the area. For while he does not specifically say anything regarding their relations with Harṣa he refers to their political status in a way which leads to the presumption that they were outside the empire of Harṣa. The states

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1 JBORS, September and December, 1923, pp. 311ff.

2 IHQ, 1927, pp. 769ff.

about whose political status he is really silent are almost all comprised within the area indicated above as forming Harṣa's dominions. In my last article I have assumed those states to be within Harṣa's empire. Thus after describing the limits of Harṣa's empire as indicated above I remarked: "This conclusion seems also to follow from Hiuen Tsang's accounts. The pilgrim first of all describes the three kingdoms of Kapiśa, Kāśmīra and Cheh-ka (Punjab), each of which extended its sway over minor countries in the neighbourhood. But he states nothing about the status, or even refers to the sovereigns, of any state from Chi-na-p'uhti to Magadha with the exception of .....If we construe the silence of Hiuen Tsang regarding the rest as an indication that these states were under the kingdom of Kanauj, the area indicated would closely correspond with the deductions made above regarding the extent of Harṣa's Kingdom" (p. 321).

Thus I was prepared to include within the empire of Harṣa a large number of states about whose political status Hiuen Tsang is really silent. The case is, however, altogether different with the neighbouring states about whose political status the pilgrim is not really silent. As I remarked, in continuation of the above passage: "This view is strengthened by the fact that while Hiuen Tsang is thus silent regarding the status of states within the area indicated, he refers to the sovereigns *of all the countries that surrounded it* viz. .. ..". Besides, it must be noted, that whereas Hiuen Tsang states in connection with many other states that they were dependencies of Kāśmīra, Kapiśa, Cheh-ka, Sindhu, etc. he does not say any such thing with regard to these states in respect of Har ṣa. There is thus a very strong presumption in favour of excludi ng these states from Harṣa's empire which can only be disproved by positive and satisfactory evidence. Let us now examine how far Mr. Roy has succeeded in rebutting this presumption in respect of individual states by means of positive evidence of a reliable character.

1 Valabhī.—Mr. Roy's arguments do not affect my old conclusion: viz. "There does not seem to be adequate reason for the assumption that Valabhī was a feudatory state under Harṣa" (p. 315). Mr. Roy admits that "there is no evidence of the Valabhī kingdom being a direct dependency of Harṣa or of the la tter's having any direct control over the former" (p. 776), but he infers from the expression '*Harṣadevābhibhūta*' that Harṣa "overpowered and subdued the lord of Valabhī". Referring to the rescue of the king of Valabhī by

Dadda II, he remarks "he might have continued to rule as an independent king but Harṣa's suzerainty must have been recognised... ..." (p. 777).

Apart from the contradictions involved herein, and leaving aside the question of 'rescue', does the expression *'abhibhūta'* lead necessarily to the inference that Valabhī acknowledged the suzerainty of Harṣa? Harṣa himself was defeated by Pulakeśīn and is referred to in Cālukya Inscriptions as *vijita* or conquered by Pulakeśin, but that does not indicate the acknowledgment of Pulakeśin's suzerainty on the part of Harṣa. It should be remembered that Hiuen Tsang not only refers to the king of Valabhī, but also refers to another kingdom, Surāṣṭra, as dependent on Valabhī. This is hardly compatible with the view that Valabhī itself was dependent on Harṣa.

2 Jalandhara.—The arguments by which Mr. Roy seeks to prove Harṣa's control over this kingdom would not stand any critical test. Hiuen Tsang says that a *former* king of this country was converted to Buddhism by an arhat. Thereupon the king of Mid-India gave this king sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India. In Mr. Roy's opinion the king of Mid-India could not be any other person than Harṣa and the above passage therefore proves his control over the kingdom of Jalandhara. Apart from the fact that Harṣa is hardly likely to be referred to simply as king of Mid-India by Hiuen Tsang, the passage hardly proves anything about the political relation of the two kings. The king of Jalandhara, in his new rôle of Protector of faith, is said to have travelled all over India, building new *stūpas* and *Saṅghārāmas* and visiting and inspecting old ones. It is difficult to place much historical value upon this story, except on the assumption that the king took to the life of a Bhikṣu and was patronised by kings of Mid-India and other kingdoms which he visited. But leaving aside these doubtful inferences we have more categorical references to the status of Jalandhara. In the Life of Hiuen Tsang (p. 190) it is said to be the 'royal city of North India'. Mr. Roy has quoted from Watters but has omitted to take note of the following remarks of that author on the opposite page: "According to the Life our pilgrim revisited Jalandhara and on that occasion was well treated by the king of 'North India' who had his seat of government in the city with this name" (vol. I, p. 297).

3 Kapilavastu.—About this kingdom Mr. Roy simply remarks "very close to Śrāvastī and presumably within the dominions of

Harṣa" (p. 782). He apparently ignores Hiuen Tsang's statement quoted in my article: viz. "There is no supreme ruler; each of the towns appoints its own ruler" (Beal, vol. II, p. 14).

4. Nepal.—Mr. Roy does me injustice when he attributes to me the opinion "that the king of Mid-India could not have extended his power as far as Nepal, nor had he any direct or indirect control over that kingdom" (pp. 782-83). I said that among the territories usually included in Harṣa's dominions, "there is certainly an element of doubt about Nepal." Then criticising Mr. Panikkar's arguments I concluded: "Thus the "mass of evidence" in favour of the hypothesis that Harṣavardhana conquered Nepal is by no means "almost conclusive" as Mr. Panikkar thinks and it is hardly fair at the present state of our knowledge to include Nepal within the empire of Harṣa" (p. 313).

Mr. Roy has not been able to bring any new argument which would induce me to change my views. The two stock-arguments—viz. (1) the probable use of the Harṣa era in Nepal and (2) the reference to the conquest of the Himālayan territory by Bāṇa—have been sufficiently disposed of in my previous paper. The first is at best doubtful, and as regards the second, as the Himālayan ranges stretch across the entire northern boundary of India, we need not look for Nepal unless there is any positive ground for the same.

5-7. Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra and Sindhu.—I believe Mr. Roy is the first to include these three kingdoms definitely within the empire of Harṣa. The arguments by which Mr. Roy seeks to prove his contention are weak in the extreme. Thus as regards Kāmarūpa he quotes the statement of Hiuen Tsang: "The reigning king who was a Brahmin by caste and a descendant of Nārāyaṇadeva was named Bhāskaravarman, his other name being *Kumāra*." Mr. Roy concludes from the above that "from this it may follow that Bhāskaravarman, though a king in his own realm, did not enjoy sovereign and independent authority" (p. 785). It is difficult to understand how the name Kumāra implies a position of dependency. To follow this line of argument the great king Kumāragupta of the Gupta Dynasty has also to be regarded as a dependent king. The testimony of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (Harṣacarita, Nirṇayasāgara Edition, pp. 214ff.) and Hiuen Tsang does not leave any doubt as to the independent position of Kāmarūpa. For the present it is unnecessary to go into details.

There is hardly any argument in favour of the inclusion of Kāśmīra within Harṣa's dominions. Mr. Roy quotes or rather misquotes

a statement of Watters which, when traced to its sources, is decidedly against his contention.[1] The presumed reference to Harṣa's rule over Kāśmīra in Rājataraṇgiṇī has no basis to stand upon. As Stein has already pointed out in a footnote to the English translation of the passage quoted by Mr. Roy, the 'Harṣa' of the passage lived, according to Kalhaṇa's own reckoning, about 1200 years before the correct time of Harṣavardhana.

As regards Sindhu, Hiuen Tsang describes it as a powerful kingdom with a number of states dependent upon it, and a mere 'śabda-śleṣa' in Harṣacarita, quoted by Mr. Roy, can hardly be taken as a serious argument in favour of including it within the empire of Harṣa.

8. Regarding the countries to the east of Magadha Mr. Roy's treatment is somewhat unintelligible. He does not refer to I-lan-na-po-fa-to, the first kingdom to the east of what I have regarded as Harṣa's empire. As I remarked in my last paper, Hiuen Tsang's statement clearly excludes it from Harṣa's empire. The same remark applies to Kajaṅgala, but here Mr. Roy takes his stand on the statement of Hiuen Tsang that Śilāditya in his progress to 'East India' held his court here. Mr. Roy argues from this that the country was within his dominions, but a careful perusal of the pilgrim's account leaves no doubt that he himself regarded the subjugation by Harṣa only as a temporary one. He expressly states that the country was being ruled by a neighbouring state. It is impossible to construe this 'state' as the dominion of Harṣa, as almost immediately after,

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1 Watters says that the tooth relic referred to by Hiuen Tsang "was not allowed to remain in Kāśmīr and was carried away a few years after Yuan-Chuang's visit by the great king Śilāditya" (vol. I, p. 269). This statement, however, proves nothing about the 'invasion of Kāśmīr' as assumed by Mr. Roy (p. 780). The removal of a Buddhist relic from a non-Buddhist country might have been easily effected by pacific methods. That it was so in this particular instance is proved by the detailed account in the Life of Hiuen Tsang (p. 183). We are told that Śilāditya-rāja, "coming in person to the chief frontier [of Kāśmīra] asked permission to see and worship it" and the king of Kāśmīra presented it to him. If we put any faith in this story Kāśmīra must be regarded as outside the empire of Harṣa.

he refers to the temporary occupation of Śilāditya. Could anybody believe that the pilgrim who took care to record a temporary residence of king Śilāditya would have used almost in the same breath the expression 'neighbouring state' to denote the 'dominion of Harṣa' ?

As regards the kingdoms of Pun-na-fa-tan-na Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa, Mr. Roy remarks : "No mention is made of any king or kings ruling in these countries and we can in no way definitely assert what relation these countries had with the "king of Mid-India' but as we have already seen and will see later on that the neighbouring kingdom had all been used to some sort of direct or indirect dependency of the monarch of the Mid-land, it will not be too much to infer that they must have recognised the suzerainty of Harṣa Śilāditya and there is no evidence to prove anything to the contrary (p. 785)."

This view might have been worth consideration if all the countries surrounding those states were definitely known to have been dominated by Harṣa. But as Kāmarūpa and two other states noted above were independent and the case of Nepal at least a doubtful one, this argument cannot be regarded as a valid one. 'That there is no evidence to prove anything to the contrary' does not mean much, for surely the burden of proof lies on him who proposes to include these states within the dominions of Harṣa. These and other passages in Mr. Roy's article tend to create an impression that being once possessed of the general idea about the greatness of Harṣa's empire Mr. Roy is eager and willing to accept any scrap of evidence which may substantiate this view without caring to subject it to the same critical test which would normally be applied to historical evidences of this class. My former paper was written precisely to combat this kind of mentality, and while I am prepared to keep an open mind regarding the extent of Harṣa's empire in view of possible discoveries of fresh materials in future, I must strongly insist that, for the present at any rate, we have no right to assume more than can be deduced from available data after they have been put to such critical test as we apply in other cases of similar nature.

I may conclude this portion of the criticism by an examination of one important fresh discovery of materials to which Mr. Roy has drawn our attention. The reference is to the Gaddemane Inscription published in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1923 (p. 83). "It is on a *viragal* or Memorial stone set up to commemorate the death of one Pettani Satyāṇka, a

commander of the army of Śilāditya, in his fight with a tribe of hunters forming the army of Mahendra." The editor himself notes: "The inscription supplies no clue to ascertain who the Śilāditya and Mahendra mentioned in it were. On palæographic grounds I am inclined to identify the Śilāditya of the inscription with Harṣavardhana Śilāditya and the Mahendra with Mahendravarman I of the Pallavas".....Mr. Roy remarks: "This Śilāditya could only possibly be Harṣa Śilāditya". I am unable to agree with him. We know of one Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya, a grandson of the famous Pulakeśin II. The dates of his Nausari and Surat plates show that he was a contemporary of Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya. When we remember the constant hostility between the Cālukyas and the Pallavas about this time, we may easily identify the Śilāditya of the inscription with this Calukya prince who lived in the second half of the seventh century A. C. Mahendra would then be identified with the Pallava king Mahendravarman II. In any case this supposition is as much valid as that of Mr. Roy and there is therefore no definite evidence to credit Harṣa with the conquest of the south.

I now come to the second part of the proposition viz., whether Harṣa was the last great emperor of Northern India. Mr. Roy remarks that 'none of the Pāla or Pratīhāra kings exercised the same amount of political power and prestige as Harṣa.' The ground for this opinion seems to be that "none of these Pāla and Pratīhāra sovereigns had ever enjoyed an unquestioned and undisturbed supremacy over their empires" (p. 791). It is as difficult to accept this argument as a general principle as to agree to the view that Harṣa 'enjoyed an undisturbed and unquestioned supremacy' (p. 791). Harṣa, as a matter of fact, had to wage wars till almost the very end of his reign, his expedition against Koṅgoda having taken place less than five years before his death. The boundaries of the empire of Mahendrapāla, according to most reliable evidences of inscriptions, were formed by Kathiawar, Karnal and Northern Bengal, whereas Harṣa's suzerainty over any territory outside Mid-India is at best doubtful. There is absolutely no evidence to show that Mahendrapāla's reign was more disturbed and his supremacy less unquestioned than that of Harṣa. Besides, whereas Harṣa's empire rose and fell with him, the Pratīhāra empire continued for nearly 3 generations. Even apart from Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla whose supremacy rests upon unimpeachable evidence, the same kind of evidence on which Mr. Roy relies in regard to Harṣa would also indicate Mahīpāla as

hardly a less important king than Harṣa. For the court-poet Rājaśekhara not only styles Mahīpāla as "Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta"—a title which cannot be regarded as an empty boast in view of the conquests of Bhoja I and Mahendrapāla—but also credits him with victories against the Muralas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Keralas, Kulūtas, Kuntalas and Ramaṭhas.

Then, since Mr. Roy attaches so much importance to stray notices or even indirect statement of Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa he cannot altogether ignore the evidence of Rājataraṅgiṇī about the conquests of Lalitāditya. Did not Lalitāditya, according to Kalhaṇa, conquer more territories and rule over a far greater empire than Harṣa? Has Mr. Roy any right to discredit the categorical statements of Kalhaṇa when he is ready to accept as positive evidence every statement, allusions or innuendos of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang? To my mind nothing but a blind prejudice in favour of Harṣa can ignore the fact that, so far as the extant reliable historical evidence goes, we have no right to regard the empire of Lalitāditya, of the Pālas or of the Pratīhāras as less in extent and importance than that of Harṣa. On the other hand, the Pratīhāra empire, in any case, must be regarded as far more extensive, far more solidly built, far more durable, in short, far more important in every respect than that of Harṣavardhana.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Yāgeśvara

This is a rare word that occurs in the following psssage on p. 25, l. 11ff. of Hertel's edition of Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcatantra :

> Devaśarmā 'ṣāḍhabhūtinā saha prasthitaḥ/ athaivaṃ tasya gacchato 'gre kācin nadī samāyātā/ tāṃ dṛṣṭvā mātrāṃ kakṣāntarād avatārya kanthā-madhye guptāṃ vidhāya devatārcanānantaram Āṣāḍhabhūtim idam āha/ Āṣāḍhabhūte yāvad ahaṃ purīṣotsargaṃ kṛtvā samāgacchāmi tāvad eṣā kanthā yāgeśvaraś ca sāvadhānena rakṣaṇīyaḥ/ ity uktvā gataḥ/ Āṣāḍhabhūtir api tasminn adarśanī-bhūte mātrām ādāya satvaraṃ prasthitaḥ/.....[Devaśarmā] yāvad āgacchati tāvad Āṣāḍhabhūtiṃ na paśyati/ tataś cautsukyāc chaucaṃ vidhāya yāvat kanthām ālokayati tāvan mātrāṃ na paśyati// ;

and it has been interpreted by Hertel as 'Lord of sacrifice, i.e. gold (apparently a slang expression like *'brahmahṛdaya'*)' in the Glossary that he has given at the end of the above-mentioned edition.

This interpretation is adopted and reproduced by R. Schmidt in his *Nachträge zum Sanskritwœrterbuch von Otto Bœhtlingk*, although, as a matter of fact, the context of the above-cited passage shows plainly that this can hardly be the meaning of the word. We find it stated in this passage (1) that Devaśarman, on seeing the river, took the money from its resting-place in his waist-cloth, secreted it in his wallet, and after worshipping the god, asked Āṣāḍhabhūti to guard the wallet and the *yāgeśvara* carefully in his absence; (2) that, as soon as Devaśarman was out of sight, Āṣāḍhabhūti took the money and went off quickly; and (3) that when Devaśarman, after his return, searched his wallet, he did not find the money therein. Since it is emphasized in the Pañcatantra of Pūrṇabhadra, as in the other Pañcatantra versions, that Devaśarman took such care of his money that Āṣāḍhabhūti, with all his efforts, could not get even a glimpse of it, it is scarcely conceivable that, on this occasion, he made open mention of it to Āṣāḍhabhūti by the name *yāgeśvara* and asked him to watch over it carefully. On the other hand, the fact that Devaśarman secreted the money in the wallet is sufficient to show by itself that he did not want Āṣāḍhabhūti to guess that the wallet contained money on that particular occasion, and that he could not therefore have spoken of it to him. The word *ca* too in the expression *yāgeśvaraś ca* shows likewise that the word *yāgeśvara* cannot refer to the money concealed in the wallet, but denotes some other thing which Devaśarman had with him at the time.

The word *yāgeśvara* is also used in the following stanza of the 12th canto of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*:

> sindhor jaitram ayam pavitram asṛjat tatkīrti-pūrtādbhutaṃ
> yatra snānti jaganti santi kavayaḥ ke vā na vācaṃ-yamāḥ /
> yad-bindu-śriyam indur añcati jalaṃ cāviśya dṛśyetaro
> yasyāsau jala-devatā-sphaṭika-bhūr jāgarti yāgeśvaraḥ ||

This canto is concerned with the svayaṃ-vara of Damayantī, and the above stanza, which is the thirty-eighth of that canto, is the sixth of a set of eight that are devoted to the praises of the king of Kāñcī. The sense of the first two pādas of this stanza is, "This [king] has created a pure ocean, namely, that wonderful ocean of fame, which excels the (well-known) ocean, (and) in which the worlds bathe; (regarding it,) what poets are there that are not silent?" The sense of the other two pādas,

however, and particularly of the word *jala-devātā-sphaṭika-bhūḥ* is not clear, and the commentary of Mallinātha, *yasya jalaṃ cāviśya asāv indur dṛśyetaraḥ sāvarṇyād adṛśyā jaladevatā āpya-śarīra-devatā-viśeṣaḥ san jāgarti| prakārāntareṇa utprekṣate| sphaṭikād bhavatīti sphaṭikodbhavo yāgeśvaraḥ san jāgarti| sphaṭika-liṅge yāgeśvara iti prasiddhiḥ*, does not throw much light upon it.

The commentator Nārāyaṇa too explains *yāgeśvara* as *sphaṭika-liṅga* (*yāgeśvaraḥ sphāṭika iti prasiddhiḥ*) and understands it as referring to Mount Kailāsa, an interpretation which seems to be correct; compare Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, I. 12: *uttare tasya Kailāsa-nāmni sphaṭika-śekhare| vijahāra Haro hāra-gaure girisutā-sakhaḥ||* He also, in one of his explanations, divides (like Mallinātha) *jala-devatā-sphaṭika-bhūḥ* into two words, *jala-devatā* and *sphaṭika-bhūḥ*, and *yāgeśvaraḥ* also into two words, *yā* and *ageśvaraḥ* (=Kailāsa mountain),co-ordinating *ageśvaraḥ* with *yā* and making out that Kailāsa was the *jala-devatā* that was watchful in the ocean of fame. This interpretation does not seem to me to be satisfactory; and I am inclined to explain *jala-devatā*, in case it must be regarded as a separate word, as equivalent to *jala-daivatya* and in co-ordination with *sphaṭika-bhūḥ* (=*sphaṭika-mayaḥ*) and *yāgeśvaraḥ*. The meaning of pāda d would then be, "(having entered into the water of which ocean, this *sphaṭika-liṅga*, pertaining to the water-god (i.e., Varuṇa), namely Mount Kailāsa, stands forth, invisible." The expression 'sphaṭika-liṅga pertaining to Varuṇa' presumably denotes a *sphaṭika-liṅga* that is like a pot in shape. Compare the following passage of the *Siddhāntaśekhara* cited in the *Vācaspatyabṛhad-abhidhāna* s. v. śivaliṅga (p. 5015):

nānā chidra-susaṃyuktaṃ nānā-varṇa-samanvitam/ adṛṣṭa-mūlaṃ yal liṅgaṃ karkaśaṃ bhuvi dṛśyate// tal liṅgaṃ tu svayaṃbhūtam aparaṃ lakṣaṇa-cyutam / svayambhū-liṅgam ity uktaṃ tac ca nānā-vidhaṃ matam// śaṅkhābha-mastakaṃ liṅgam vaiṣṇavaṃ tad udāhṛtam/ padmābha-mastakaṃ brāhmaṃ chatrābhaṃ śākram ucyate// śiro-yugmaṃ tathā jñeyaṃ tri-padaṃ yāmyam īritam/ khaḍgābhaṃ nairṛtaṃ liṅgam vāruṇam kalaśākṛti// vāyavyam dhvajaval liṅgaṃ kauberaṃ tu gadānvitam/ īśānasya triśūlābhaṃ lokapālādi-nissṛtam/svayaṃbhū-liṅgam ākhyātaṃ sarva-śāstraviśāradaiḥ.//

Alternatively, one can look upon *jala-devatā-sphaṭika-bhūḥ* as one compound word (this is what Nārāyaṇa does in one of his explanations). In this case, too, *jala-devatā* has to be regarded as having the sense of *jala-devatya* and used here as an attribute of *sphaṭika*.

From the following passage, *Himālaye Siṃhale ca Vindhyāṭavī-taṭe tathā| sphaṭikaṃ jāyate caiva nānā-rūpaṃ sama-prabham|| Himādrau candra-saṃkāśaṃ sphaṭikaṃ tad dvidhā bhavet| sūryakāntaṃ ca tat-raikaṃ candra-kāntaṃ tathāparam|| sūryāṃśu-sparśa-mātreṇa vahniṃ vamati yat kṣaṇāt| sūrya-kāntaṃ tad ākhyātaṃ sphaṭikaṃ ratna-vedibhiḥ|| pūrṇendu-kara-saṃsparśād amṛtaṃ sravati kṣaṇāt| candra-kāntaṃ tad ākhyātaṃ durlabhaṃ tat Kalau yuge||* cited (from the *yukti-kalpataru*) in the *Vācaspatya* (s, v. *sphaṭika*), we learn that the Himālaya mountain is the birth-place of two kinds of *sphaṭikas*, one, *sūrya-kānta-sphaṭika*, which gives out fire when the sun's rays strike upon it, and the other, *candra-kānta-sphaṭika*, which gives out water when the full moon's rays strike upon it, and is very difficult to get in the Kali-yuga. The first kind was perhaps regarded as *vahni-devatya*, and the second as *jala-devatya*. The meaning of the last two pādas of the above stanza would thus be, "The similarity to a drop of which (ocean of fame) the moon assumes [i.e. in which ocean of fame the moon seems to be a mere drop], and submerged in the waters of which, this *sphaṭika-liṅga* [namely, the Kaliāsa mountain] which is made of watery *sphaṭika*, stands up invisible."

It is futile to speculate as to which of the above two ideas Śrīharṣa had in his mind when writing this difficult stanza, or if he had quite a different idea altogether. In any case, there seems to be no doubt that this stanza belongs to the same genre as *Daśakumāracarita* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1917), p. 2, 4: *śaradindu-kunda-ghanasāra-nīhāra-hāra-mṛṇāla-marāla-suragaja-nīra-kṣīra - Girīśāṭṭahāsa-Kailāsa - kāśa-mīkāśa-mūrtya racita-digantarāla-pūrtyā kīrtyā 'bhitaḥ surabhitaḥ* and other similar passages in which the *kīrti* of a king is compared to the moon, Kailāsa, and other objects and is described as having travelled to the end of the world. Compare in this connection, Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (1911), p. 141, verses 28, 29:

apāyi muninā purā punar amāyi maryādayā atāri kapinā purā
punar adāhi Laṅkāriṇā/ amanthi Mura-vairiṇā punar abandhi
Laṅkāriṇā kva nāma vasudhā-pate tava yaśombudhiḥ kvām-
budhiḥ//[1] mahārāja Śrīman jagati yaśasā te dhavalite payaḥ-

1 Nārāyaṇa, in the course of his commentary on the above cited stanza of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* points out the superiority of the *kīrti-samudra* over the ordinary ocean thus: *samudrādhikyaṃ* tu—'sāgaraṃ parvaṇi spṛśed' iti vacanāt parvātirikta-kāle samudrasya aspṛśyatvād

pārāvāraṃ parama-puruṣo 'yaṃ mṛgayate/ Kapardī Kailāsaṃ sura-patir api svaṃ kari-varaṃ kalā-nāthaṃ Rāhuḥ Kamala-bhavano haṃsam adhunā//; ibid., p. 142, v. 48: asyorvī-ramaṇasya pārvaṇa-Vidhu-dvairājyasajjaṃ yaśaḥ sarvāṅgoj-jvala-Śarvaparvata-sita-śrī-garva-nirvāsi yat/ tat kambuprati-bimbitaṃ kimu śarat-parjanya-rāji-śriyaḥ paryāyaḥ kimu dugdha-sindhu-payasāṃ sarvānuvādaḥ kimu//; and ibid., p. 143, v. 70: Kailāsīyati ketakīyati hasat-kundīyati procchalat-kṣīrodīyati candanīyati lasat-karpūra-pūrīyati/ pīyūṣīyati śarkarīyati śaraccandrīyati kṣmāpate svar-gaṅgīyati Śaṅkarīyati bhavat-kīrtiḥ karīndrīyati//.

Mr. N. K. Venkatesan, who has written an article on 'The last days of Śaṅkarācārya' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras (I, 330ff.), refers to the above-cited stanza of the *Naiadhīyacarita*, and observing (p. 334) that the word *yāgeśvara* has no meaning in the context expresses his preference for the reading *yogeśvaraḥ*, which according to him, is found in some editions. He considers that this word *yogeśvaraḥ* refers to the *yogaliṅga* of *sphaṭika* which Śrī Śaṅkarācārya is said in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-saṃhitā* (72, 70)[1] to have left with Sureśvara, his successor in the pontifical seat at Kāñcī, for being worshipped every day. In support of this interpretation, Mr. Venkatesan refers to a statement in Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya* to the effect that Śaṅkarācārya brought five *sphaṭika-liṅgas* from Kailāsa, of which he deposited one each at Badarī-nārāyaṇa, Nīlakaṇṭha-kṣetra (in Nepal), Śṛṅgerī and Cidambaram, and that he kept the

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asya tu sarvadā pavitratvāt/ samudrasya bhūlokasthasyaiva janasya snānārhatvād asya tu lokatrayasya snānārhatvāt/ tasya varṇayitum śakyatvād asya cāśakyatvāt/ tasya ca candraika-sarvasvatvād asya ca bindu-rūpa-candratvāt/ samudre ca śrī-Viṣṇu-rūpāyā jala-devatāyāḥ suptatvād atra ca yāgeśvarasya jāgrattvāt/ evaṃ-vidho yaśasvī ko 'pi nāstīti bhāvaḥ//

1 Kāñcyāṃ śri-Kāmakoṭiṃ Kali-mala-śamanīṃ kalpayitvā Sureśe Śrīvidyārāja-pīṭhārcana-mahita-mahārājya-sāmrājya-lakṣmīm / saṃveśyātmīyaśiṣye sakala-bhuvana-sammoda-hetor mahātmā cid-rūpa-svānubhūtiṃ bhajati bhava-mahāmbhodhi-santā-raṇāya// Kāñcyāṃ śrī-Kāmakoṭau tu yogaliṅgam anuttamam/ pratiṣṭhāpya Sureśāryaṃ pūjārthaṃ yuyuje guruḥ//

most precious of them, the *yoga-liṅga*, with himself and used to worship it at Kāñcī every day; and he further cites the following verse from the *Śivarahasya (aṃśa IX, Ch. 16)*: *tad-yoga-bhoga-vara-mukti-sumokṣa-yogaliṅgārcana-prāpta-jaya-svakāśrame| tān vai vijitya tarasā 'kṣata-śāstra-vādair Miśrān sa kāñcyām atha siddhim āpa||*

Now it is very questionable if the above-cited books were in existence or the above-mentioned tradition about the *yoga-liṅga* was current, in the twelfth century A.C. when Śrīharṣa wrote the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. And even if one grants that they were, it is hardly conceivable that they were known to Śrīharṣa or that he has referred to that tradition in the above-cited stanza. Moreover, I find it difficult to subscribe to Mr. Venkatesan's opinion that the reading *yāgeśvaraḥ* has no meaning in the context while the reading *yogeśvaraḥ* fits well in it. For, to me, it seems that *yogeśvaraḥ* does not fit at all into the context while *yāgesvaraḥ* does (see above), and that there is no doubt that Śrīharṣa wrote *yāgesvaraḥ* in that stanza.

As we have seen above, both Mallinātha and Nārāyaṇa explain *yāgeśvara* as *sphaṭika-liṅga*.[1] This meaning fits well into the context in the above-cited *Pañcatantra* passage also; for, on p. 23 it is said that Āṣāḍhabhūti, resolving to somehow steal the money from Devaśarman, approached and prostrated himself before him, saying, *"oṃ namaḥ Śivāya."* This indicates that Devaśarman was a worshipper of Śiva, and since it is said in the above-cited passage that he gave the wallet and *yāgeśvara* to Āṣāḍhabuūti after worshipping the god,

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1 The word *yāgeśvara* occures in the following verse also (Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra No. 62, p. 143): *arghāyāmbudhir indumaṇḍalam api śrīcandanaṃ taṇḍulās tārā bilva-dalaṃ nabhaḥ suradhunī dhūpaḥ pradīpo ravih| kheṭāḥ pañcaphalāni kiṃ ca kakubhas tāmbūlam ārātrikaṃ Meruḥ śrī-jagatī-pate tava yaśo-yāgeśvarasyārcane||* and has been explained in the foot-note, as *yaśo-rupasya yāgeśvarasya Śivasya*, by the editor. This is not correct, and here too *yāgeśvara* denotes a *sphaṭika-liṅga*. The meaning of the verse is: "O king, in the worship of the *sphaṭika-liṅga*, namely, thy fame, the ocean is the *argha* (water that is offered); the moon the sandal-paste, the stars the rice-grains, the sky the bilva-leaf, the celestial river the incense, the sun, the lamp, the five planets the fruits, and the quarters *tāmbūla*, the Meru the lustration." The stanza describes how far the king's fame has extended.

it follows that the god that was worshipped was a *Śiva-liṅga* made of *sphaṭika*.[1]

It is this *sphaṭika-liṅga* that is referred to as *yāgeśvara*, and not money, as Hertel thinks.

I may, in passing, point out that Hertel has given a wrong interpretation of the word *bhagavad-viditam* also in the above-mentioned glossary. This word occurs in the following passage: *bhagavatā dhanuṣy āgneyaṃ śaraṃ saṃdhāyābhihitam| bho durātman dīyatāṃ asya tittibhasyāṇḍāni| no cet tvāṃ sthalatāṃ neṣyāmi| iti śrutvā samudro 'pi bhaya-cakita-sakala-parivāro vepamānas tāny aṇḍakāni gṛhītvā bhagavad-viditaṃ tittibhasya samarpayāmāsa|* Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcatantra* (p. 69, 3ff.), and has been interpreted by Hertel as "at sight of the Holy One."[2] This too is a mistake: *vid* has nothing to do with 'seeing' here but has the technical meaning 'to bear witness to' which it has even in the Ṛgveda (compare Benfey, *Orient and Occident*, III, 136 and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 3, 174). It and its synonym *jñā* have this meaning[3] in some passages in later literature also. Compare Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcatantra*, I, 141 (=I, 395): *ādityacandrāv anilo 'nalaś ca dyaur bhūmir āpo hṛdayaṃ yamaś ca| ahaś ca rātriś ca ubhe ca sandhye dharmaś ca jānāti narasya vṛttam||* "The sun, the moon,...are witnesses of man's action"—which is spoken by the weaver's adulterous wife and by Duṣṭabuddhi who call upon these superhuman beings to bear witness to their innocence. Compare also the following passage from Rāmabhadra-dīkṣita's *Śṛṅgāratilakabhāṇa* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., 1910, p. 29):

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1 The Śiva-liṅgas that are worshipped in houses are usually either bāṇa-liṅgas (these are oval stones found on the bank of the Narmadā river) or sphaṭika-liṅgas. The former are comparatively rare, and the latter very common. The worship of a sphaṭika-liṅga will, it is said in a Garuḍa-purāṇa passage (*sphaṭikaṃ sarva-kāmadam* cited in the *Vācaspatya*, p. 5015), ensure the fulfilment of all desires.

2 This meaning, too, has been adopted and reproduced by R. Schmidt in his above-mentioned *Nachträge*.

3 It is of interest to note that a similar usage is found in Tamil also. Thus in an inscription at Belūr (Epigraphia Carnatica, IX, p. 18) recording the sale of a house and some land, the witnesses Varadidevakon and Śokkaṇṇan write *ippaḍi arivēn* which is the exact equivalent of *evaṃ jānāmi* (or *vedmi*).

iyam astu kāñcanalatā vatsaram ekaṃ kalatraṃ me/
pradiśāmi paripaṇārthe pratidinam asyāḥ śataṃ tu dīnārān//
dadyām asyai mṛgamada-kuṅkuma-karpūra-mālyāni/
tāmbūlāny api nityaṃ pratimāsaṃ kṣauma-yugalaṃ ca//
iyam anyam apekṣeta madhye yadi sumadhyamā/
yāvaj-jīvaṃ kalatraṃ me bhavet paripaṇaṃ vinā//
evaṃ vetti Vasantaka itthaṃ jānāti Kalahaṃsaḥ/
viditam idaṃ Mālatyā vijñātam idaṃ ca vṛddha-Kamalinyā//
itthaṃ Bhujaṅgaśekhara-Kāñcanalatayor anujñayā likhitam/
Maṇalūru-purāśrayiṇā Mādhava-putreṇa Citralekheṇa//

The last stanza but one of this *kalatra-patra* or deed of concubinage that is written in approved legal form states, "Vasantaka is witness to this; Kalahaṃsa is witness to this; this is borne witness to by Mālatī; this is borne witness to by old Kamalinī."

Bhagavad-viditam thus means 'as witnessed by the Lord', and not, 'at sight of the Holy One'; it is equivalent to *bhagavatsākṣikam.*

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Further Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas

Mr. B. G. Tilak, the great Vedic savant, has remarked: "It appears to me that the oldest Vedic calendar like the oldest hymn was sacrificial and that the sacrifice or the year once commenced with Aditi at the Vernal Equinox in or near Punarvasu. The Phases of the moon, the seasons and the Ayanas further guided the ancient Aryans in measuring time for sacrificial purposes. The Asterism Abhijit (Vega) marked the approach of Viṣuvān or the central day, while Punarvasu, which soon after came to be called Yamakau—perhaps Yama and Yamī—indicated the beginning of the year. We may roughly assign 6000-4000 B.C. as the limits of the Aditi or the *Pre-Orion* period" (Tilak, Orion, pp. 205-6)

In this paper I propose to note down briefly further important evidence in support of the above-mentioned point.

1 Read at the Oriental Congress, Oxford, 1928.

The Vedic myth about the birth of Yama and Yamī, Manu and the two Aśvins (vide Bṛhaddevatā, VI, 162 to VII, 7) describes in an allegorical way the astronomical phenomena of the Punarvasu, i.e., Castor and Pollux and Manu (Eta Geminorum) once commencing the solar year at the Vernal Equinox. The myth of the birth of the Aśvinau cannot be better explained but with the help of astronomy. Astronomically interpreted the myth gives us a clear explanation of the phenomena of the Zodaical light as observed bofore and after sunset in an Arctic Home.

This is quite a new interpretation of the story. The commentary of Ācārya Aurṇavābha on Nirukta, XII, 1, 9 speaks to the same effect (Yāska's Nirukta, Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 819). Sir G. W. Cox has remarked that the twins are born when the night leaves her sister the dawn, when the dark one gives way to the bright. But Sir G. W. Cox has taken no notice of a contrary phenomena occurring after sunset. The Aśvins are adored at morning and evening tide as Rudrau, the terrible lords of death, who are thus identified or connected with another deity, who become of supreme importance in the later Hindu Mythology (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, part IV, chap. III, sec. i, p. 265).

The achievements of the twin pair are described in Ṛv., III, 97, where it is said that they adopt various forms, some bright and some black. In the Norse tale of Dapple-grin we have the Aśvins in their original form as horses (Sir G. W. Cox, Mythology of the Aryan Nations, pp. 207-208). Prof. Max Müller in his attempt to explain many Vedic myths on the theory that they are all dawn stories in different garbs has failed, in the opinion of Tilak, to grasp the real import of the legends of the Aśvins by disregarding the statements, which distinctly speak of them as dwelling or labouring in darkness (Tilak, Orion, p. 411).

Prof. Rhys being however more cautious has been gradually led to adopt the theory of the ancient Arctic Home of the Aryan people, inasmuch as all the different incidents in the legends under consideration can be accounted for only by this theory. In the sacrificial literature there are some indications about the oldest position of Punarvasu (T. Br., I, 1, 2 ; Dr. M. Haug, A. Br., IV, 12 note, p. 269). All such references go to show that at one time the sacrificial year, which was undoubtedly equinoxial, commenced near Punarvasu; or in other words the consecration of Agni was made on that day. The Viṣuvān was thus the day of the autumnal equinox.

The passage (Ṛv, IV, 25, verses 3, 4 and 5) proves the above explained position of Punarvasu in unequivocal terms if the meaning of the term Vasu be taken to be the stars marking the half of the ecliptic and visible in the polar skies in the Arctic regions as Pandit Bhagawandas has done (vide Aryan Astronomy, pp. 8f. and also Ṛv, I, 105, 6; VIII, 5, 13; Av, III; W. RW., RE; T. Br., I, 7, 6, 6). The word Punarvasu would mean the first asterism of the Deva-Nakṣatras. The Vasus are considered the best of the Devas in Ṛv, I, 43, 5. Formerly they were only seven in number, afterwards changed to eight. The southward half of the ecliptic was called Aṃśumatī and the sun moving in that part was called Kṛṣṇa or dark. He was also called Rāma (Yajurveda, XIX, 19, 58; Nirukta, 1, 7).

It is an admitted fact that the more backward we travel, the more strongly shall we be convinced that the sacrificial year commenced with the vernal equinox and not with the winter solstice and that the change of the commencement of the year from the vernal equinox to the winter solstice must have been made long before the vernal equinox was in Kṛttikās (Tilak, Orion, p. 207 et sequel).

Apart from the evidence, noted above, about the position of Aditi at the vernal equinox, the tradition of the same phenomenon is given in the story of the Asterismal Prajāpati (T. Br., I, 5, 2, 2).

The astronomical method of Tilak in the Orion is sure to give us striking results if we make a further minute study of the Vedic literature on the lines chalked out by him in the case of Punarvasu.

Thus we find that vernal equinoctial year once commenced near Tiṣya (Delta Cancri) or Puṣya, whose presiding deity is Bṛhaspati (Ṛv, II, 25, 3; IV, 50, 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9; X, 67, 5; X, 72, 2; T. Br., III, 1, 1, 5). The statement that Bṛhaspati performed the light-winning feat standing at the car of Ṛta, i.e., the Zodiacal belt proves the same thing (Ṛv, I, 56, 5; I, 39, 9; II, 23, 3 and 18). There is a constellation in the group Cancri, which is described as an arrow, consisting of three stars. This is known by the name of Triṣandhi (Ṛv, II, 24, 8; A. Br., 1, 25). Triśiras seems to be another epithet of the same constellation. It is wrong to suppose that Triśiras represents the stars in the belt of Orion. It certainly cannot be the star Sirius, i.e., Alpha Canis Major. That Triśiras once marked the vernal equinox in old days can be inferred from the myth about him as given in T. S., II, 5, 1, 1 and Bṛhaddevatā, VI, 147, 153. Similar description is found about Triṣandhi in the Atharvaveda. Next we find reliable evidence about Madhukaṣā being once near the vernal equinox. Madhu-

kaṣā is the name of the group of stars known as the bee-hive or the Praesepe in the region of the sign of Cancer (Kalinath Mukerjee, Astronomical Atlas). That some stars of Madhukaṣā must have marked the vernal equinox in old times may be inferred from the following references : Ṛv, IX, 1, 4, 21 ; Av, IX, 1, 1 ; 3, 4, 5. The myth of the gigantic crab of the Greek mythology strongly supports the above inference. Prof. J. Majumdar has inferred from the same myth that the astronomical phenomena as a whole must have occurred in North latitude 69° 51' at about 4000 B.C. Majumdar, Eagle and the Captive Sun, pp. 83f.). But in the higher latitudes of the Arctic regions the same phenomena may be proved to have occurred in more ancient times.

That the vernal equinox occurred near Aśleṣā, i.e., Alpha or Delta Hydrae can be proved from the following references : Av, XX, 34, 11 ; XX, 12 ; Ṛv, II, 12 ; II, 13, 5 ; S. Br., XI, 5, 5, 6. Arbudi and Nyarbudi seem to be ancient names of some stars in the head of Hydra (Av, XI, 10, 5). The head of Hydra, i.e., Vṛtra is said to be pierced by Indra or the sun God (vide Ṛv, I, 52, 10, 6 ; VIII, 6, 6 ; VIII, 65, 2). The myth of the churning of the Cosmic ocean helps us a good deal in coming to the same conclusion.

The constellation Aghā seems to imply the group of stars now known as Maghā, i.e., Alpha Leo, while Arjunī implies Purva-Phalgunī, i.e., Gama Leo and Uttara-phalgunī, i.e., Denebola or Beta Leo together.

The astronomical meaning of Ṛv, X, 85, 13 is : "when the sun enters Aghā, the rays of the Sun are powerless, indicating winter solstice, and on his entrance in Arjunī, they are again revived" (Cf. Av, XI, v, 1, 13 and Ṛv, VII, 103, 9).

The legend about Viṣṇu's head lying at Maghā and being cut off by the sprining of the bow which he held in his hand proves that the vernal equinox once lay near Maghā (Śat. Br., XIV, 1, 16). Similarly Vṛtra's head lay in Denebola and its tale in Pegasus, i.e., Ahirbudhnya shows that the vernal equinox was once marked by Denebola.

It is proved from the quotations in Taitt. Ār., III, 2, 74 and Av, 2, 8, which speak of Vicṛtau appearing on the Arctic Horizon, that the vernal equinox was then in Alpha Corvus (Hasta) and the south solstitial point then reached Vicṛtau or the Mūla asterism.

That Citrā (Alpha Virgo) was once at the vernal equinox can be inferred from the following facts :

(*a*) The story of the Deluge and the Great Fish.

(*b*) Tvaṣṭā the presiding deity of Citrā is said to be the Universal father (VS, IX, 9). From him the swift horse, the sun, was produced and he gave speed to the horse (Av, VI, 92, 1).

(*c*) The astronomical interpretation of the legend about Arjuna winning the hand of Draupadī points to the same direction.

Pandit Bhagawandas remarks that Ápaḥ (Delta Virgo) and Apāṃ Napāt (Theta Virgo) once marked the vernal equinox may be inferred from Ṛv, II, 35 ; X, 30, 3, 4.

Savitā is called Apāṃ Napāt in Ṛv, I, 26, 6.

The deity Savitā (Apāṃ Napāt) is a common heir-loom of all the Aryans. The phenomenon must have occurred about 13000 years ago. The Great Babylonian and Hebrew Deluge must have occurred at the same time. The star Revatī (a star of the Pisces) would be then at the autumal equinox.

I am as yet unable to find out any authority to prove that the constellation Svātī (Arcturus or Alpha Bootës) once lay at the vernal equinox.

The constellation Viśākhā was once known as Rādhā in ancient times. The dual deity Indrāgnī is its presiding deity.

From Ṛv., VI, 59, 1, it is inferred by Tilak that Indrāgnī are invoked to destroy the Pitars, styled Devaśatravaḥ i.e. Pitṛyāna is ended. Indrāgnī here appears to mean the first new moon in the new year (vide Tilak, Vedic Chronology and Vedāṅga Jyotiṣ, p. 162).

From Ṛv, XI, 59, 6 and Ṛv, I, 123, 8, Tilak has inferred that after the circuit of the dawns is complete, the Sun appears on the Arctic Horizon, when Indrāgnī having destroyed Devaśatravaḥ complete their victory by the achievement of the Sun (vide also Av, VIII, 1, 4, 7).

Indrāganī are the best of Soma drinkers (Ṛv, I, 21, 1, 5 ; Ṛv, III, 12, 6).

Viśākhā was so called because it was possessed of two branches, caused by the equinoctial colure bisecting the Zodiacal portion of the Viśākhā.

Mitra, the presiding deity of the constellation Anurādhā is praised in Ṛv, III, 59. If Anurādhā be at the vernal equinox, Kṛttikās (Pleides) would mark with autumnal equinox and Beta Delphini the north solsticial point, the polar star being marked by Delta Cygni.

I am as yet unable to find out sufficiently clear and unequivocal

authorities to prove that we can carry back the position of the vernal equinox beyond the Anurādhā (Alpha Scorpio or Antares).

In conclusion I beg to submit that the most active portion of the Vedic period may be carried back even beyond 15,000 B.C. or the Scorpio period and that there are grounds for carrying it back even still further.

When everything can thus be consistently explained, I leave it to scholars to determine whether the above period should or should not be accepted as determining, as correctly as it is possible to do under the circumstances, the oldest period of the Aryan civilization. It is the unerring clock of the heavens that has helped us in determining it and it is, in my opinion, hardly probable to discover better means for the puposes.

V. H. VADER

The so-called Indo-Aryan Invasion

Mr. Jainath Pati has done well to raise the Indo-Aryan question again. In his lively article in the IHQ, December, 1928, he asks, "Is Indo-Aryan invasion a myth?" and he concludes that there was no invasion of any kind, not even gradual immigration. It is doubtful if a question which has already been debated for a century can be now considered finally settled, and I propose only to make some remarks which will give Mr. Pati the opportunity of making his conclusions more positive and if possible more convincing.

The question is really a part of the general Indo-European question, and no one thinks that the last word has been said, especially in view of the discoveries still going on. It will be as well to begin with the points on which we agree. There are two distinct aspects of it, the philological or linguistic and the archæological, the latter involving ethnological questions as well. On the linguistic side there is general, though perhaps not final agreement, and I have not found anything new in Mr. Pati's remarks. It rests upon the fact that we find extending over an area stretching from the west of Europe to India a group of languages with many common features, and hence appropriately termed Indo-European. Our German friends prefer to speak of it as Indo-Germanic, and with this we need not quarrel.

We have all agreed not to use the term Aryan in the sense of Indo-European. To Max Müller, as we know, Aryan meant not merely this whole Indo-European group but a group of peoples as well. He found it as an ethnic term applied by the Iranians and Indians to themselves, and he arbitrarily extended the term to all the peoples who spoke similar languages. This was putting dogma in the place of scientific inquiry.[1]

How are the common features in all the Indo-European languages to be explained? We may consider the possibility of parallel and independent growth. We know that Hindustani expresses the genitive relation by adding a suffix, and that Hungarian does so by means of similar method, but both have hit upon this device quite independently. Similarly, English can express the future of any verb by using the verb *will* and modern Greek has adopted its own verb *thelo*, 'I will', for exactly the same purpose, but these languages are as free from mutual influence on this point as if they were on different planets. Between the various Indo-European languages, however, the resemblances are so many and so close that no one tries to explain them in this way. When we find words like *pateres*, *pente*, *agros* in Greek, and *pitarah*, *pañca*, *ajrah* in Sanskrit, we can only conclude that in an earlier stage these words were identical in both languages, and that in one or both of the present languages they have become modified. There is an instructive parallel in the Romance languages. The Italian, French, Spanish, Rumanian, and some other languages all go back to an earlier stage called Latin. No one supposes that any of the speakers of these languages, except perhaps a few in Italy, are descendants of the tribe of people who once called themselves *Latini*. But it is clear that those who first began to speak Latin in Gaul or Spain had to learn their Latin by coming into direct contact with speakers of Latin, and we know from history how this came about. Through invasions and immigrations the speakers of Latin imposed their own tongue on Gauls, Spaniards, Iberians, Dalmatians, Belgians and others, who each in their own way modified

1 Mr. Pati is quite mistaken in supposing that Max Müller's charming style is responsible in the least for the present belief in what he calls the "myth." No philologist should base his views on what someone else may have said, least of all on what Max Müller said fifty years ago.

the pronunciation, and introduced into it words of their own tongues.

In the case of the speakers of the Indo-European group we have no history to go on, and we are even less likely to find out who were the original speakers of the original language than we are to find the original Latins, but we can at least put the question how the Indo-European group of languages spread to the West as far as the British Isles and Iceland, and to the East as far as Bengal and Turkestan in ancient times. It is a question that has been asked and has received more or less hypothetical solutions for more than a century. The first stage of inquiry was to mark off clearly the Indo-European group, and to set aside the question of the origin of Semitic, Hamitic, Ugro-Altaic, and other groups by which the Indo-European is surrounded. The question as to the place where the primitive language acquired its peculiar characters and became what we call Indo-European is evidently closely related to the question of the manner of its dispersion. Taylor in his *Origin of the Aryans* has pointed out some of the reasons for thinking that the spread was rather by gradual penetration than by violent irruptions. We find, for example, certain striking features in common between the Keltic and the Italic branches, as if they grew up side by side; but we also find that Keltic and Germanic share certain peculiarities, and so with other branches. This is in favour of the gradual development of the various branches side by side, rather than of successive and independent inroads from a primitive centre. It is further an argument in favour of the view that the place from which these branches spread was somewhere in Europe, and that they developed within the area where we still find the bulk of the Indo-European languages. In any case the spread appears to have been an extension into lands already inhabited, for in every branch we find linguistic peculiarities which appear to be due to intermixture with other tongues.

On the other hand, we know that extensive migrations did take place in ancient times, and we have recently become aware of the former existence of a language in Central Asia, usually called Tocharian, which unlike any of the other Asiatic branches is a *centum* language, and is more nearly related to Latin than to any of the other Asiatic branches. Shall we say that here we have the migration or invasion of a whole people from Europe to Asia, or is this language a survival of a people who remained in Asia in their primitive home?

As yet there is no general agreement on the point, and it is unlikely that by means of mere philology the question will ever be settled. We need the help of archæological and ethnological evidences. Even those who hold that the original centre was in Europe are not agreed as to where it was. Much archæological evidence about prehistoric centres of culture in Europe has been collected, but it has never been correlated with the linguistic evidence for such cultures. Yet until we can say of a given culture, such as a neolithic settlement in Denmark, or an aenolithic culture on the Danube, and decide whether it is pre-Indo-Germanic, or a non-Indo-Germanic group, our conclusions about the primitive Indo-European movements will always be resting on more or less unproved hypotheses. Philology alone will never settle ethnological problems.

These are some of the facts that we have to bear in mind in discussing that section of Indo-European question which relates to the Indo-Iranian branch, but the latter question is far less complex. For one thing we can be certain that the separation of the Indians and Iranians was much later than the separation of these peoples from the other branches. With the help of new archæological discoveries we may even entertain the hope of finding an approximate date for it. Further, we need not debate the question whether the earliest speakers of the languages that developed into Iranian and Vedic came from Europe. They were already in Asia when we first find them, and the question before us is whether the Vedic or pre-Vedic people invaded India or not, or as Mr. Pati prefers to put it, whether Indo-Aryan invasion is a myth. The usually accepted view is that Vedic shows such close resemblances to Iranian, and so many of its religious and other terms are identical, that the speakers of the two languages must once have been in close contact. No modern scholar has suggested that both peoples ever lived together in India, so that the separation must have taken place by one of them going into India. These were the ancestors of the speakers of Vedic, and yet Mr. Pati denies that they invaded India. Then how did they and their language get there? Mr. Pati does not say. His conclusion is that "the circumstances are not only such as not to warrant any inference of an Aryan invasion into India but rather stand against any such inference." Then what does Mr. Pati infer? This only tells us what he thinks did *not* happen. Will he not give us something positive? If he thinks that the people whom he calls Aryans never invaded India, does he think they were always there?

In that case how did they get their language? Is the resemblance of their language to that of the Iranians a mere accident? Or does he think that some of them came out of India and left a language in Iran very like their own, not to speak of other related languages in Europe equally in want of an explanation?

Mr. Pati must pardon us if these suggestions look rather ridiculous, but it is really for him to suggest how it is that a Vedic language and a people who spoke it have ever existed in India. Until he puts some credible theory in the place of the one that he denies, he convinces no one. His denial is like denying that the Irish invaded Ireland, or the Swedes Sweden, or the English England. He has attacked Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and I do not wish to trench upon the province of that able scholar, who can quite well defend himself, but surely Mr. Pati knows that Dr. Chatterji is merely stating the view of all scholars except Mr. Pati himself on this question. Surely he should not express wonder at anyone holding that view, when he has not told us what other view he expects us to put in its place.[1]

Six pages are devoted to a quite separate question, which do not forward the argument, and this is the question of the relation of Vedic to Sumerian, and to the archæological discoveries at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa. Seeing that we do not yet know who the builders were nor what langugage or languaes they spoke, what he thinks these discoveries prove about an Aryan invasion is not clear, so we will turn first to the Sumerian. He gives a list of instances of what he thinks are Sumerian words in Sanskrit. This is not the first time that contact of Vedic culture with Mesopotamian has been suggested.

Let us suppose that all these suggested Sumerian roots in Vedic are certain; what do they prove? Every one of these words belongs to a language outside India. If they were borrowed, the natural inference is that they were borrowed in the region where the Sumerian language was established, south of Mesopotamia, and that then the Vedic or pre-Vedic people took them with them to India. This is a strange way to disprove an Aryan invasion.

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1 Mr. Pati really ought to be more careful in his language than he is, when he speaks of the "direct lie" to Dr. Chatterji's view that the Aryans were the first tamers of the horse. Does he think that the Vedic people were the first Aryans? The horse had been tamed before any Vedic people existed.

But perhaps Mr. Pati thinks that the inhabitants of Mohen-jo-Daro were Sumerians. He quotes with approval Dr. Brown's statement that the early inhabitants of the Indus valley may have used a language akin to classical Sumerian, and that the early Indian Aryans borrowed from them. They may, but at present this is an idle guess. We know absolutely nothing of their language as yet, but again let us imagine that some day it will be proved that the inhabitants of Mohen-jo-Daro spoke Sumerian. What bearing has it on the question of an Aryan invasion? If the pre-Vedic people picked up some foreign words, whether in Mesopotamia or in the Indus valley, how does it prove that they never invaded India?

Mr. Pati also argues from ethnological grounds, though here he does not find anything to contradict an invasion, but merely that it is "a gratuitously supposed invasion," nor does he say what he thinks the evidence proves. Does he think that it is possible to identify a race by the mere shape of the skull, not to speak of the language, which the owners of the skulls once spoke? Perhaps when he has told us what he thinks really took place instead of an invasion, and how it was that the Vedic language got into India, he will then also state the linguistic evidence which he thinks can be drawn from the ethnological facts.

EDWARD J. THOMAS

Indo-Aryan Invasion of India—Not a Myth

In the Dec. Number of the 'Indian Historical Quarterly,' 1928, there is an article by Mr. Jainath Pati headed 'Is Indo-Aryan Invasion a myth', and the reply which the author gives is found at the end as follows: "We cannot believe in any appreciable disturbance in the composition of the population of the Punjab, by a gratuitously supposed invasion about 700 to 1200 years after the date of the old skeletons (found at Harappa). The circumstances are not only such as not to warrant any inference of an Aryan invasion into India, but rather stand against any such inference" (p. 693). The interesting and even strange finds at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro have shaken the belief of some scholars in the so-long accepted theory of an invasion

of the Aryans in the Punjab in Vedic times. At what period the Ṛgveda was compiled is a matter of dispute yet. Tilak and others believe that it was compiled about 3100 B.C., while European scholars (with the exception of Jacobi) believe that it was compiled about 1200 B.C. But both believe that the Ṛgveda indubitably evidences the incoming of the Aryans into the Punjab about its time, very probably as conquerors, and certainly as new settlers, just as Europeans went into America about 1600 A.C. and colonised the land, sometimes conquering the Red Indian aboriginal people there. The question, therefore, arises whether the arguments of Mr. Pati based on these new finds are really of any value so as to compel us to abandon our accepted belief and to take up the opposite view that Indian Dravidian Invaders went out of India into Sumeria and are still the inhabitants of the Punjab as they were thousands of years ago.

It seems to me that the author of the abovementioned article has not sufficiently grasped the difficulties which stand in the way of arriving at the conclusion he proposes. In the first place, the new finds are yet confined to Sind and Western Punjab and no such discoveries have yet been made in the Eastern Punjab and the Gangetic valley. It is accepted by all, as found at the census of 1901 by Sir H. Risley, that the population of the Punjab and Rajputana (the Rajputs particularly) is truly Aryan. What are the racial characteristics of the Aryan people all over the world, in Europe and in Asia? They are as follows: long heads, tall stature, fair complexion and fine noses. These are the very characteristics of the Indo-Aryans as they are described in the Ṛgveda; and it strongly contrasts the Dāsas with the Aryans by describing the former as dark and noseless.

We may here point out that the first great defect in the argument of Mr. Pati is that he nowhere speaks about the noses of the finds at Harappa. Long head or dolichocephale is not the decisive factor in the determination of race as distinctly pointed out by Sir H. Risley and other authorities. The Dravidians also have long heads and the Celtic Aryans have broad heads. The decisive factor is the form of the nose at the root as well as at the end. The Mongolian type has a broad nose at the base and the Dravidian at the end. The fine-nosed incoming Aryans were so struck with the broad noses of the aboriginial people that they called them noseless. Even colour does not decide race, as the white colour of the Aryans has changed to brown among the Rajputs owing to the extreme heat of the country they inhabit. But they as well as the Jats and Gujars of the Punjab

have still the fine noses of the Aryans. We do not yet know what kind of nose the skeletons found at Harappa bear; but we know for certain that the Dravidian population of India has still broad noses though they have long heads. The Jats, the Gujars and the Rajputs are, therefore, a distinct race and they have the same racial characteristics as the Persians, the Greeks, the very fine-nosed Romans and the Germans. We cannot but believe they all form one race. They must have come into their modern lands from somewhere outside. India is not their home but is the home of Dravidians and the Indo-Aryans, *viz.*, the Jats, Gujar Rājputs and others, must have come into India as conquerors or new settlers. The Ṛgveda often speaks of the destruction of the forts of the Dāsas and there is very little doubt that they were conquered and dispossessed and driven southwards.[1] The Ṛgveda usually speaks of two (even three) peoples, Arya and Dāsa (यो नो दास आर्यो वा पुरुष्टतादेव इन्द्रयुधये चिकेतति), with opposite characteristics and the Aryans from their many distinguishing points must have come into the Punjab from some cold region outside as we shall presently show.

They cannot have been Sumerians, as shown by us in detail in the Appendix to our history of Sanskrit literature, vol I, section I, recently published. The occurrence of a few words identical in sound and in meaning among them cannot make them one people. Here again the same defect appears in the argument of Mr. Pati, as in the argument based on dolichocephale. The finding of a few, indeed many, words identical in sound and meaning cannot establish identity of language. Guṇa or some other words may be found in Sumerian and in Vedic Sanskrit with the same meaning. But they may have travelled from one to the other or may have even started independently of one another by the same tendencies. It is grammar which is the decisive proof of identity or affinity of language. Case-forms of nouns and verbal forms must be shown to be similar or identical, before we believe in the affinity of languages. Now it has been established beyond doubt that the Vedic Indo-Aryans and Persians and Europeans not only possess the same racial characteristics but spoke languages which are allied from their case-forms of nouns and conjugational forms of verbs as also identity of words of common use. It is, therefore, certain that they all originally formed one

1 Dāsa is described in the Brāhmaṇas as कामोत्प्राव्यः 'ousted at pleasure'.

people and spoke one language. How grammar is the soul of language and not words may be seen from how many Arabic and even English words we constantly use in Hindi. But Hindi does not thereby become Arabic or English, for it subjects these foreign words to its own grammar. Hindi thus by its grammar remains a Sanskrit-born language. We must, therefore, not be misled by the occurrence of a few words with identical meaning in Sumerian and Sanskrit. Guṇa probably may have travelled from Vedic Sanskrit as the Vedic Aryans were great mathematicians. The Indo-Aryans are originators of the world-current decimal system and even of Arithmetic. Other words may have come into Vedic Sanskrit from Sumerian. We must remember that there must have been communication between Vedic India and Sumeria, believing, as we do, that the Indo-Aryans were established in Eastern Punjab when the Sumerians were at Harappa or Mohen-jo-Daro from 3000-2500 B.C. If we take the Ṛgveda to belong to about 1200 B.C. even then the Vedic Indians after coming into India had communication with Babylonians, and there might have been an interchange of ideas and words. But that the Vedic Indians did not come from Sumeria in a second wave of Invasion as Waddell holds will appear clear from the following. Indeed in either view of the date of the Ṛgveda compilation, the Vedic Indians must be looked upon as entirely disconnected with the Sumerians or Babylonians.

The chief deity of the Vedic Aryans is fire of which there is no trace in the religion of the Sumerians or Babylonians. The importance of fire can only be realised in a cold region, especially in parts of the temperate zone where the sun disappears for several days or even months. The Persians have stuck to fire worship down to this day though the Indians in the hot plains of India have taken to other deities. But the Vedic deity still remains fire, and orthodox Brahmins not only often keep Agnihotra but kindle fire at every religious ceremony. We know that among western Aryans too fire continued to be worshipped and kept up. Uṣas is another deity which is found in the Ṛgveda worship but has no counterpart among the Sumerians. This deity is entirely a cold region deity, as its importance can only be realised when the sun disappears for a long time. In such a region several days of bright dawn pass before the sun comes up. Indeed the description of Uṣas in the Ṛgvedic hymns as a goddess circling round the horizon like a courser (30 in number) can apply to an arctic region as Tilak showed at length in his 'Arctic Home in the Vedas'. This goddess

was still remembered by the Vedic Aryans in the Punjab and the hymns sung to her. Some of the finest hymns preserved in the Ṛgveda are associated with the name of Uṣas. The Sumerians have no such deity among them. The only female deity with them is probably Ishtar which has been identified with Venus.

These two Vedic deities make it certain that the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans lived somewhere in the higher latitudes of the temperate zone or the lower latitudes of the Arctic region where the sun disappears for months. We have a further proof of this in the fact that the Roman years originally consisted of 10 months. The Ṛgveda also speaks of Angirasas who were Navagvas and Daśagvas, *viz.*, those who sacrificed for nine months and those who sacrificed for ten months. They watched the sun and moon carefully and knew months by their conjunctions. When the sun disappeared they could not sacrifice. The same fact is further supported by the number of seasons mentioned in the Ṛgveda. The seasons are said to be five only in the Ṛgveda. When the sun rose, there was Vasanta or spring and the year commenced. But at the end there was only Hemanta. The commentators always explain the number five by stating that Hemanta and Śiśira are to be taken together.

The Vedic Aryans thus must have originally lived in colder climes than the Punjab and must have come into it by immigration. Though this incoming is not expressly described in the Ṛgvedic hymns, we have often stories mentioned of how Sudās crossed the rivers of the Punjab helped by the prayers of Visvāmitra. In the Ṛgveda Nadīsūkta, rivers from the Ganges up to the Indus are mentioned in order. In a subsequent hymn, Sarayu of Oudh is mentioned and we may believe that the Vedic Aryans slowly spread from the Indus to the Sarayu. Nay, in the Śatapatha we have a story in which there is a clear reference to the advance of the Aryans from the Sarasvatī eastwards, as from its bank the fire of Māthavya under the guidance of Gautama went eastwards till it stopped at the bank of the Sadānīrā in Behar.

These Vedic statements lead clearly to the inference that the Indo-Aryans came into the Punjab from outside and slowly spread eastwards up to Mithilā. But we have an actual incursion into the Punjab mentioned in the Zend Avesta legend pointed out by Tilak, the importance of which cannot be underrated. Owing to continuous snowfall the ancient Aryans left their ancient home and several parties went into several countries, one of which went into the land of seven

rivers but were there troubled by heat and serpents, a correct description of the Punjab. We have here a reliable piece of foreign evidence to prove the Aryan incursion into the Punjab of which we have so many other proofs from ethnology, language and religion. We further know that the social customs of the Vedic Aryans were almost the same as those of many ancient European peoples.

The theory of an invasion and occupation of the Punjab by Aryans is thus based on strong evidence of different kinds and nothing has yet been found, as far as we can see, which should compel us to give up this theory. The finds at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro indeed show a high culture; but then there is nothing found which can establish a connection with Vedic civilization. Indeed this has been admitted on all hands. Not only no Vedic deities have been found, but the favourite Vedic animals, the horse and the cow, are not much in evidence, while the buffalo is conspicuous. The Vedic civilization may be less advanced than that found at Harappa or even that of the Dravidians who originally occupied the land. But further than this how does this find disprove the incursion of the Indo-Aryans into the Punjab? Dr. Keith can only suggest an admixture of the incoming Aryans with the original Dravidians. "Complete destruction of pre-existing people is a comparatively rare phenomenon." But, as suggested before, the sparse Dravidian population of the Eastern Punjab may have moved southwards and there is no question of complete destruction, though even destruction may be inferred from the story of Sarpasatra given in the Mahābhārata; this satra is mentioned as having taken place at Takṣasīlā. There is further the story of the burning of Khāṇḍavavana and the killing of serpents there. Whatever the fact, we find the Punjab at present actually occupied almost wholly by an Aryan population and we may believe that as in Germany which is solely occupied now by Teutonic races without any trace of earlier peoples, we have in the Punjab a distinctly Aryan population, the earlier inhabitants having been actually destroyed or moved southwards.

The real difficulty is presented not by these finds but by the existence of cerebrals in Vedic Sanskrit. The occurrence of a few words with identical meaning in Sumerian and in Vedic Sanskrit is of no consequence whatever as stated already. But whence came the cerebrals ट, ड, ण, ष in Vedic Sanskrit as they are not found in the cognate Aryan languages? They must have been taken in the Punjab from the Dravidians owing to the supposed admixture. But

even this does not disprove the theory of an Aryan invasion of the Punjab. The two peoples being distinct as also their languages, one of them must be taken to have come into the land from outside. The presence of cerebrals might prove admixture of races. But as a matter of fact there exists no mixed population in the Punjab, the people being most unequivocably Aryan ; we have to account for the appearance of the cerebrals in the Vedic language in another way. We know that the cerebrals exist in Dravidian languages ; they may therefore have come in even by contact. But there is a still more probable source. It is strange that the author does not see that cerebrals exist in Teutonic languages. The Germans and the English use ṭ and ḍ only and not t. English has both d and ḍ but not t. French and Latin have t and d (dental) only and not ṭ and ḍ (cerebral). Vedic Sanskrit has both these sounds. The presence of both can be well accounted for by the fact that Vedic Aryans were formed of both Teutonic and Celtic branches of the Aryan people. We have shown elsewhere in detail that the Solar Race Aryans are Teutonic and long-headed and the Lunar Race Aryans are Celtic being broad-headed like the Celts (Gauls and Latins). It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Vedic Sanskrit has got both cerebral and dental sounds.

Some argument is sought to be derived from the peculiarities of the Paiśācī languages; but it is well-known that Vedic Sanskrit has left some Vedic words even now in the border languages, and there may be a few forms current there. But it is difficult to see how this would disprove the established theory of invasion of the Punjab in Vedic times by the Aryans. So also is the reckoning of months from Mārgaśīrṣa among the Pashto-speaking people irrelevant. We know that the original names of months in Vedic times were Madhu, Mādhava, etc. and that the names Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, etc. came later in Brāhmaṇa times. These names came into vogue between 2500 to 2000 B.C., as shown by Sankar Balkrishna Dikshit in his uinque work in Mārāṭhī on the history of Hindu Astronomy. It may be added that when these names were introduced, the months' list commenced with Mārgaśīrṣa and not with Caitra. This must have been so all over Northern India. For we find in the Bhagavadgītā also मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहम्. In the Mahābhārata in XIII, where Viṣṇu is to be worshipped by different names in different months, the enumeration commences from Mārgaśirṣa. When about the 1st century B.C., ancient Indian astronomy was amalgamated with Greek astronomy at Ujjain and

Siddhāntas were formulated at Ujjain, the months' list commenced with Caitra and the list of Nakṣatras with Aśvinī. While this new method was gradually adopted all over India, people in the extreme Noth-West stuck to the original reckoning. But this history has no bearing on the question whether the Vedic Aryans did or did not come into India from outside.

It seems to us, therefore, that there is nothing so far found or advanced which can shake the established theory of an Aryan invasion of the Punjab. The arguments on which this theory is based are too strong and too many to be overthrown and the only argument worth considering is that of the appearance of cerebrals in the Vedic languages. It may prove at best an admixture of races but cannot disprove the theory of invasion. And as shown above, cerebrals do exist in German and English. It is possible, as Sir John Marshall thinks, that Sumerian remains may be found in Eastern Punjab and even in the Gangetic valley. But even if that happens it will only go to prove that the Aryan invasion of the Punjab took place later than 2500 B.C. At best it may establish the date of the Ṛgveda; but it cannot disprove the fact of the invasion so patent from the Ṛgveda and the Zend Avesta. We may, therefore, still hold that the Indo-Aryan invasion of India is an unquestionable historical fact and not a myth.

C. V. VAIDYA

The Date of Zoroaster

The traditional date being unacceptable for the very cogent reasons given by Keith[1], there remains only the literary evidence to fall back upon for this purpose. This cannot give any certain result, but is important in so far as it serves as a check on other methods. The result thus arrived at is that Z. cannot be placed below 700 B.C., for the metres of his Gāthās are certainly more archaic than those of the Ṛgveda. The pādas of the Gāthās of Z. are regulated only

1 IHQ, III, pp. 683ff.

by the number of syllables and a fixity as to the caesura. Even the number of syllables is not always the same in verses of the same order.[1] In the Ṛgveda, as Arnold has shown, there is regularity as to quantity, as well as to the other features noted above. And when we remember that in the later Āvestā almost the same śloka metre prevails as in later Sanskrit (a fact that impelled the great authority on ancient Indo-Aryan metre[2] to postulate the communication of this kind of metrical composition by Indian bards who might have travelled to Persia), we cannot get away from the fact that the metres of the Gāthās are more primitive than those of the earliest Vedic bards.

Secondly, the language of the Gāthās is in some respects more ancient than that of the Ṛgveda. The Indo-European short e and o are still there, which are not to be found in the Vedas. The Gāthic "preserves the pronominal forms *ma-* and *thwa-*; the first persons in the primary form of the thematic verbs have the form ā; the plural neuter has the verb in the singular".[3] All this coupled with the fact that in many respects, notably the final long vowel, Gāthic agrees with Vedic as opposed to Sanskrit and even the language of the Brāhmaṇas, makes it very difficult for one to bring down the date of Z. without corresponding lowering of the date of the Ṛgveda. And since the latter sits immovably on the Brāhmaṇas, which latter are immovable from the sixth century B. C., the time of the rise of Buddhism, to attempt to locate Z. anywhere below 800 B. C. is sheer perversity.

But there is one more piece of evidence of a more definite character. It has been available since long, and its decipherment has solved the mystery hidden in the twin words Asura-Deva. How did they come to acquire opposite meanings in the two sister dialects, Avestan and Vedic? It has been suggested that it represents a religious feud between the speakers of the two dialects.[4] The question would be really solved could we know when it took place. The only suggestion which has gained so far any appreciable amount of acceptance is that it took place some time about the supposed separation of the two peoples, when the Aryans came down to India. This besides being gratuitous, is false and is absolutely opposed to all available evidence.[5] Besides, it is opposed to the fact

1 Haug, Essays (ed. West), p. 143. 2 ERPP, p. 22.
3 IHQ, III, p. 686. 4 Haug, Essays.
5 The Indo-Aryan Invasion—a Myth, IHQ, Dec., 1928. For the opposite view, see Ency. Brit., art. Zoroaster.

that in the earlier portion of the Ṛgveda itself Asura has the meaning, higher than Deva, at least in no way inferior to Deva.[1] This means clearly that Asura degenerated in India after the proto-Indo-Aryan tongue had already spread in India and become Vedic and the earlier ṛks had been composed. I summarily reject the theory of any portion of the Ṛgveda having been composed outside India. It has been sufficiently dealt with by others.[2]

There is a preconceived idea prevalent in the minds of some scholars that there was no intercommunication between the Iranians and the Indians for a long time after the spread of the Aryan language in India. The fact of the two dialects having the same words with opposite meanings presupposes either intercommunication, if the development be later, or a religious feud leading to separation, if the development took place at the earliest stage. The latter would mean that the Vedic should not use Asura in good sense. This is opposed to the present evidence. That the Khyber and other passes were closed in the pre-Buddhistic period is disproved by the finding in the records of Egypt and Turkey of the 15th Century B.C. of Indian names and gods[3], corresponding almost exactly to the tradition of the flight of the Bhojas and others for fear of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata and referred to by me elsewhere[4]. There is Purāṇic tradition about the marriage of Kṛṣṇa's grandson with the daughter of the Asura king Bāna, near Meru,[5] which is probably to be connected with Merv, or the king referred to may be of Assyria (either Assur-bani-pal or one of his predecessors), the descent of Purus, Yadus, from a marriage of Yayāti with the daughters of Śukra, (without doubt indentifiable with Kai Kāûs of Persian tradition) and the Asura king of the time.[6] This is a record of a time not when the Asuras were still held in esteem, but when they were

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1 Sans. Wörterbuch, under *asura*. Also Keith, Rel. Veda, ch.15, s. i.

2 Ved. Ind., I, p. 383. See also Keith Rel. Veda, Ch. 15, s.1, where the degeneration in the meaning of Asura in India is discussed.

3 The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People, Sten Konow: for other references see Keith, Rel. Veda, p. 5, f. n. 1 and 2.

4 JBORS, 1920, p. 222 ff., n. 2 (contd. on p. 223).

5 HV, Ch. 269.

6 Mbh, I, 77-83. For the identification of Śukra, see Lassen, Alt. Ind., I, Anhang, p. LXXXIX, f.n. 3 as also Keith, Rel. Veda, p. 232.

thoroughly detested. Could the panegyrists of the kings and of Kṛṣṇa think of such connections if they were not based on some facts? But the most telling evidence is the astronomical observation made near about Delhi and recorded in the Parsi Tiśtrya Yasht.[1] It could not travel to Persia or Balkh but through men. There should be, therefore, no *a priori* objection to later religious feud between India and Iran.

When did daēva acquire the sinister meaning of later Avesta? In the time of Z. it had no such denotation. There is only one certain place where it is used in the sense of what in German would be called "an incorporeal" and that is Yas., XXXII, 4. Here too it has got no bad sense. Nay, it is used in its original or secondary sense of god :—

yāt yūstā framīmathā yā maṣyā aciṣtā daŋtō
vaxṣēŋtē daēvō-zuṣtā. ...

'Thus through your making it has come to pass that the worst sinners are called beloved of God'. Moulton after Prof. Bartholomae says that here there is a reference to the Ṛgveda and possibly it is traceable to Ṛv, II, 40, 1-2. Commenting on this Moulton[2] says, "Daēva-zuṣtā, identical with devajuṣṭa, a compound found in the Ṛgveda to denote what is acceptable to the Devas. The consciousness of the older (?) reputation of the Devas is latent". In all other places the word daēva is used in the sense of "the worshippers of Devas." Thus in Iran we are confronted with the same state of affairs as in India. In Iran the earliest records show the two words to have good sense. In India the two words have good sense almost throughout the whole of the family books of the Ṛgveda; the only two places in this earlier portion, II, 30, 4 and VIII, 99, 5 where the St. P. Lexicon and, following it, Haug[3] say it has the later meaning, are not given that meaning by Griffith, and that, rightly. The degeneration of Asura in India took place about the time of the close of the family books and before the completion of the other books; while in Iran, daēva degenerated in sense after Zarathustra.

This gives us the lower limit of Z's time. He cannot be placed after the close of the Ṛgvedic period. What is the upper limit? This question can be answered only by determining who was the opponent against whom he so vehemently thundered in the Gāthās.

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1 EZ, p. 23.

2 Ibid, p. 356, f. n. 2.

3 Essays, p. 269. The reference to the 32nd hymn for the 30th is a mistake.

"He could not be an Indian". Why ? No clear answer. It is forgotten that so far as is known Devas were worshipped by Indians and Indians alone. Mills suggests that they might be some tribes following the Ṛgvedic religion but settled in Afghanistan. That is possible, but history does not record any great personality there, such as the opponent of Z. must have been. It is not even supported by tradition. The name of the opponent as interpreted by modern scholarship was Grehma. He was the priest, perhaps, of the opposite camp and preached his own peculiar materialistic doctrine which proved very embarrassing to Z. for some time.[1] The leader of the opposing forces was Bendva. Later Avesta does not know of these names. It knows of only one Gaotema. Modern scholars are hard put to it to connect this name with history without being guilty of anachronism.[2] All attempts have so far proved failures. To connect it with Buddha is preposterous. His preachers did not reach Iran before the 2nd Century B.C. At least neither Buddha nor his followers can be said to have met Z. But there is another interesting account preserved in Persian tradition. It says that one Senkerakās from India had a philosophical contest with Z., and was defeated.[3] Looking up the Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, the nearest name that we find corresponding to this name is Śārkarākṣya and it is recorded of him that he with Uddālaka Āruṇi, who is very often called by his family name, Gautama, and also a few others went to the land of the Kaikeyas and had a long philosophical discussion with their king Aśvapati, the result being that he was defeated. Uddālaka is a great personality in Vedic tradition and the fact that he is reported to have been defeated (which is the same thing as to have been taught there) has the value of a statement made against one's own interest. Aśvapati is the same as Vīṣtāspa, the possessor of horses, or the king of horses ; and, as I have shown elsewhere, Kaikeyas is the sanskritized plural of kīk (Kīk > kaiki > kaikayas[4]), the designa-

1 Gāthās, Yas. 32, 9 ff. For Mills' opinion, see his Gāthās in English, p. 151 and Preface, p. XVII, XVIII.

2 Moulton, EZ and ERPP, p. 141 ff.

3 Desatir, The book of Shet Zartust, 64. If it is taken into account that the old Pahlavī script had the same sign for r and n, it is quite possible that the name might have read Serkerakās.

4 Pāṇini, 4, 1, 92 and 95. The whole point has been discussed by me in my essay 'Kṛṣṇaism and Zoroastrianism,' which will be

tion by which the Kāvyas, the tribe to which the patron of Z. belonged, were known outside their own camp among their enemies. The location of these people by the author of the Rāmāyaṇa is outside India near Bālhīka country.[1] Their dialect is said to be the principal Paiśācī dialect.[2] In the Pahlavī commentary, which is the work of the former opponents of Z. after their conversion to Z.'s faith (Moulton demonstrated it regarding the later Avesta, and the conclusion holds good regarding the still later commentary), the unbelieving Kāvyas are termed Kīks.[3] Now this story about Jana Śārkarākṣya and Uddālaka is found in so early works as the Chāndogya Upaniṣad,[4] and Śatapatha Br. and even here it is described as a long past event. And, no doubt, the pupil of Uddālaka, Asur Binda Auddālaki (also called Kusurubindu, perhaps owing to palaeographical defect) is mentioned as the name of a teacher in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, almost a contemporaneous work with the last portions of the Ṛgveda.[5] These identifications are found to be complete but the arguments are too long and varied to be given here. I, however, cannot help mentioning here that Haug had long before definitely asserted that Grehma of the Gāthās is identical with Gṛtsamada of the Ṛgveda,[6] the author of the first book of the Gautamas,[7] and one Gāthā itself mentions another name of the opponent teacher as Aurunā Xrafaṣtrā (Yas., 34, 9) [Sk. Aruṇa Kalpa -aśitṛn,[8] clearly a proper name ; "reddish vermin" (Mills) would be absurd]. Others translate Aurunā by 'wild'. That the Kaikeya Binda, the General who fought against the Pāṇḍavas, was the same as Bendva of the Gāthās is also suggested by many other details. Be it mentioned here that the Mahābhārata war which is nowhere alluded to in the Brāhmaṇas, which know not even Yudhiṣṭhira, is only a reproduction of the great religious war fought in Iran by the followers of Z. against his opponents. Darmesteter had the insight to see that many of the incidents described in the Mahābhārata were taken from Persian

published soon. Kaikayaḥ is also found ; see S. W.B. and Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa.

1 Rāmāyaṇa, 11, 68, 11-22. 2 ZDMG (1910), Konow, p. 100.

3 Mills, Dic., pp. 132-3. 4 V, 11-18. Ś. Br. x, 6, 1, 2ff.

5 V. I., pp. 127 and 176 (vol. I). 6 Die Gathas, pp. 175-7.

7 Keith, Rel. Ved., p. 1. But I still doubt if it is a proper name and not a nick-name meaning the tormentor.

8 Mills, Dic., pp. 18 and 141.

traditions, notably the story about the ascent of the five Pāṇḍavas to Heaven.[1] These and many other points lead one to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata story is but an enormously enlarged Indian version of the Iranian Religious War of Z.'s time, sufficiently hinted at in the Gāthās, described in Ayadgar-i-zarirana and the Shāhnāmā of Firdausi and brought into India by the later Kuru tribes from Uttara-Kuru, the Otterkorroi of the Greeks. The Kuru tribe is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda, one Kuru-Śravaṇa being mentioned only in the 10th Book, and their Purohitas, the Kaśyapas,[2] are mentioned only in the 9th Book. The connection of the Persian monarch Cyrus (original Kurush) with the Kurus was long ago suspected and this connection is supported by the fact that one of the ancestors of the Kurus is said to be Vālhīka. The mother of Vidura is said to be a Parāsavī.[3] Vidura dies the death of a Parsi and his body is not allowed to be cremated.[4] In the Gāthās, Vidura is highly respected (Yas., 28, 4 ; 45, 8). The opponent of Z. in the traditional explanation of the Gāthās is said to be blind.[5] In the Mbh., we have the head of the Kurus described as blind, a necessary development due to the distance in space and time. The opponents in the Gāthās are said to be duse-xṣathrā—bad rulers ; (48. 5) dus-sast-is, evil-teaching (45. 1 ; 32. 9), etc. In the Mbh. we have them as Duḥśāsana, Duryodhana, etc. the positive of Spitama = Sk. śveta, white, is Pāṇḍu here, and the character and name of Yudhiṣṭhira, a truth-loving man, begotten by Yama, the traditional ancestor of the Persians, and different from Manu, the traditional progenitor of the Indians tallages with those of Z. His four brothers, corresponding to the four brothers of Z., his excessive regard for the dog,

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1 JBBRAS, IV, p. 97.

2 V.I., vol. I, pp. 145 and 165. Kaurāyana cannot be connected with Kuru. Kaśyapa has been connected with the Caspian Sea, and he is the father of the Asuras. The first Zoroastrian city in India was called Kaśyapapura (HPI, p. 79). Mṛgas are said to be the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa, from where the Zoroastrians were imported by the son of Kṛṣṇa (VP, II, 4, 69-70), and Asita Mṛgas are the sons of Kaśyapa, and were the Purohitas of the Kuru king Janamejaya (V.I. I, 4).

3 Lassen, I.A., I, p. 635.

4 Mbh, V, 25. It is very curious that Yudhiṣṭhira wants to cremate Vidura, but a voice from heaven says, he must not be cremated.

5 Mills, Gāthās, 31, 10, Taraporewala, Selections, pp. 36-7.

inexplicable by Indian traditional habits,[1] his regard for the Sun,[2] and his total absence from the Saṃhitās (and Brāhmaṇas) though his traditional ancestors, Vicitravīrya, Pratīpa, Śāntanu,[3] as also his descendants, Parīkṣit and Janamejaya[4] with their brothers are mentioned, prove that his name was introduced into India later and that he was the same as Z. That would explain the original favourable treatment of the Kauravas in the Mbh. and the retouching of the epic on the arrival of the Spitama-Pāṇḍavas later in India. In the Buddhist account the Pāṇḍavas are at least in one place described in a very bad light.[5] But the first convert to Z.'s faith was Maidyo-i-maunha, Sk. madhyamāsa—middle moon, black moon—Kṛṣṇacandra. And nothing is known of his early history

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1 See Contra Gautama Dharma Sūtras, xv, 24, 32, 33; Āpastamba Dharmasūtras, I, 5, 15, 16-17; II, 7, 17, 20 (SBE, II).

2 Mbh., III, 3. Yudhiṣṭhira does penance and worships the Sun silently, and calls him Mihira also, the name under which he is worshipped by the Parsis even today. Yudhiṣṭhira is called 'The World Teacher' (Ibid, ch. 24, v. 4 (929)) who knows everything of this world. He is worshipped by Vyāsa, Śaunaka, "and other ascetic Brāhmaṇas, in the same way as Ṛṣis worship Indra" (ibid, ch. 26, v. 25 (995)). Later he is even called God (ibid, bk XV, 11). He, like Z., was attempted to be burnt alive, but was saved. His ancestor was Puru as Z.'s was Pourushaspa. In Jaina Harivaṃśa he is said to have gone to Pallava-deśa in the North of India and became *muni* and remained there till the end of his life (Sargas 64 and 65).

3 V. I., I, p. 377; II, 33.

4 Ibid, I, pp. 273-4, 493. Pargiter, I. H. Tradition, pp. 113-4. Pargiter tries his best to support the Purāṇic account of there being 2 Janmejayas with a Parīkṣita as father and 3 brothers having their names as Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena. But the utmost confusion in the Purāṇic geneology at this point is best explained by taking them as trying to introduce a new name without breaking from the Vedic account totally. The Vedic literature knows only one Janmejaya Pārīkṣita, and he was at least for a period against the Iranian priests, the Asitmṛgas, Kaśyapas, and his brothers are also reported to have been anti-Magists, as can be clearly gathered from the story of their having beaten the heavenly dogs, for which they had to atone heavily (Mbh., I, 3ff.).

5 Jātaka no., 536.

in the Brāhmaṇas excepting that he was an anti-Vedist and the pupil of the Terrible Āṅgirasa. As from the Gāthās Z.'s *regard for the Aṅgirasas is apparent, though he expresses his difficulty* also in having a term for those Aṅgirasas who were opponents of the good religion,[1] his thunderings against the Daēvas might will have earned for him the nickname of Ghora among the Indians. Geldner's theory that Zarathustra belonged to the 14th century B.C. seems to be correct, for Kṛṣṇa's date according to the Purāṇas as calculated by Mr. Jayaswal comes to about that time. His contemporaneity with Uddālaka is proved by the fact that he was the class fellow and therefore a contemporary of Utaṅka (Mbh. I, 2 & XIV, 53f).

An investigation into the etymology of the name of the Parsi Prophet makes the case for the 14th century B.C. very strong. Bartholomae discreetly left the point untouched. Others see the word to contain uṣtra. But while the Christians take it to mean a camel, the Parsis take it to mean light. As regards the first part of the word, there is greater uncertainty. But all are agreed on one point that the *th* in it ought to have been ta or *t*.[2] The *th* in the middle of the word, they seem to imply, cannot give any intelligible Avestan word. The real problem is to explain how this sound entered the word. So far as is known there is only one rule in Sanskrit which aspirates an unaspirated sound in any word. It is that when an element having an aspirate consonant loses its aspiration on being joined to any word, the aspiration is thrown back or forward on the last or the initial unaspirated consonant :—dagh-ś*dagh-t-ś dhak ; duh-ś dhuk ; [3] rabhta-ś rab-dha ; runadh-ti-ś runad-dhi ; rundh-tām-ś rund-dhām.[4] The operation of this most natural physical law of sound changes would have very simply explained the whole mystery round Zarathustra. If the *t* of the last portion were originally an aspirate which became an unaspirated sound owing to the peculiar phonology of Avestan which does not allow the surd aspirants *x*, *th* and *f* to appear (with an immediately preceeding *s* or written *n*) "as answering to older aspirate,"[5] the preceding *t* would be naturally aspirated into *th*. And this gives us a good and intelligent meaning. "Sthira" as the last component of an Avestan word would instead of appearing as *-stira or *-stara, by another rule of syncopation

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1 Yas., 43, 15 ; 44, 12
2 Av. Gr., p. 239.
3 V. G. S. § 54.
4 Ibid, § 626 (*a*), (*c*), 69.
5 Jackson, Av. Gr., S. 78.

in compounds, appear as -stra,[1] the preceding *u* changing the *s* into *sh* according to another law similar to Sk.[2] Sthira in compounds means powerful, e.g., jātūṣṭhira, "naturally powerful" (Ṛv, II, 13, 11; see Ved. Ind. I, 288). The whole word Zarathushtra has an adjectival meaning, though of course capable of being used as a noun. This aspect of the matter has not been considered by those who insist on seeing the camel in uṣtra. For if Zarathushtra means "the old camel" or the "the sorrel camel" (Mills), what would Zarathushtrotema mean—camelest ?* When this objection occurred to me I naturally turned to what my Parsi brethern had to say on the point, and I found that I was anticipated though differently (I refer to Taraporewala, Zarathushtra, pp. 23-4). Haug failed in observing it.[3] This superlative had been in use in Iran from a very early time and denoted the Chief ruler of the Iranian Polity.[4] But he even makes the mistake against which he protests, and accepts another suggestion of taking uṣtra to mean light. So far as Vedic is concerned the pontiffic decision of S. W. B. is against any such conjecture and as regards Avestan, I know of no such use, nor is any cited. The only word, then that would give an adjectival meaning, as also -stra as the last element of the word in question is -sthira. The word that would then fit in similarly with the first element would be either jaritus (of a singer) or hartus (of him-who-takes-away, a fighter's). Both give good sense, but both have got objections to meet. Let us see which to accept.

(a) *Jarituṣṭhira, singer's power. This would be supported by the fact that he preached by singing, as also by the fact that his nearest equivalent name among the Vedic bards was Jarūtha by which he was probably known, for the person named Jarūtha is hostilely referred to in the ṚV. in three places[5] as having been burnt and

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1 Ibid, S. 876.

2 Macdonell, V. G. S., S. 67 (c). Av. Gr., S. 155.

* The affix 'tama' may also come after nouns in the Vedic language. Cf. Kaṇvatama = the greatest of the Kaṇvas. ṚV, I, 48, 4—Ed.

3 Haug, Essays, etc., pp. 296-7.

4 Yas. XIX, 17-18. The translation cannot be The Head of the Church.

5 V.I., I. 279, ṚV. vii. 1, 3; 9, 6; x. 80, 3. The lightning is inferred from the fact that in x. 80, 3, Agni is said to have burnt Jarūt "from the waters."

destroyed by lightning. Sāyaṇa, followed by Ludwig and Griffith, calls him an Asura,[1] and the Greek tradition about Z. records that he was killed by lightning.[2] The name Jarūtha is derived by Sāyaṇa from √gṛ, to sing, saying; it means one who makes loud sound. But the defect is that it cannot be eliminated.

(b) *Hartuṣṭhira, of a fighter, powerful. This is supported by the Gāthās. They open with the wail of the Soul of the Kine for "energetic help," and end with a fierce call to arms [3]

"attack those deceivers and quick let it be"—even as Kṛṣṇa ended, yudhasva,—fight.

It is further supported by the Parsi tradition[4] about his having died fighting while defending his fire temple.

But all this is based on the supposition that the law of aspiration in internal sandhi might be taken to have worked in external sandhi as well, besides that Gāthic instead of having its own form in its own way simply copied it from Vedic, for the Avestan Gen. form of hartṛ would, on the analogy of dātṛ, be zarthrō or *zarithrō.[5] This is not so. Zarathushtra has as its last element an adjective, and we have already noticed that its superalative was freely used to designate the chief of the Iranian polity.[6] The last element must be the representative of -sthira. We further know that this element was in Vedic times used to form compounds and at least one of them was used as a proper noun, Jātū-ṣṭhira and Havi-ṣṭhira.[7] Then, is there no way out? Is there any reason why we should divide the word between *th* and *u*—zarath and uṣtra only, especially when it makes no sense? Why not zarathu-ṣtra? Tu and thu are two of the 47 principal primary suffixes that were used in the ancient language to form derivatives.[8] Zarathu is then quite as good and regular a form as any that we know of and the most doubtful suggestion of Mills[9] and Jackson[10] and others that the word had acquired irregularity in the course of usage, is less than useless. The citation of haritāśva

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1 Comm. on X. 80, 3. 2 Taraporewala, Zarathushtra, p. 32.
3 Mills, Gāthās in English Verbatim, Yas. 53, 8; p. 196.
4 Taraporewala, Zarathushtra, p. 32.
5 Jackson, Av. G.S., p. 322.
6 Yas. XIX, 18, xxvi, 1 See Taraporewala, Zarathushtra, p. 24 and his Selections, p. 191.
7 V.I. I. pp. 223, 282. 8 Av. Gr. SS. 759, 790, 794.
9 Mill's, Dic., p. 496 (1118). 10 Av. Gr. S. 869, note.

and haridaśva does not prove anything, for they are quite regular forms.[1] Rather the fact that these are quite regular forms in Sk. and the word zarathushtra is found in its present form for the first time in the earliest record as the name of a person who was early deified,[2] and whose name therefore, should have been very much respected and cared for, totally disproves any such hypothesis. Zarathushtra, therefore, means "in-fight-steadfast," regard being had for the fact that it was used in very early times as a designation of the Chief-ruler (ratu, not Head-priest as is generally translated) of the Iranian Polity. It also fits in with the fact that in the Gāthās themselves he is declared to have been sent by God in response to the wail of the Soul of the Cow. It may be noted here that according to Haug this was not the name of the prophet, but simply a title—Spitama being his real name.[3]

This etymology helps us in fixing the age of the prophet. For, we find that in the Indian tradition not only is there an exact counterpart of Z. having similar personal and family names (Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira = Spitama Zarathushtra), four brothers, descended from Puru, worshipper of Truth, closely connected with Yama and the Asuras, himself said to have been connected with them through blood, his palace having been built by Asura Maya (which may be a Prakrit form of maga, attracted to Sk. maya, or māyā); deified early (at least as regards Arjuna, even in Pāṇini's time),[4] if not himself, at least his close companian, Kṛṣṇa, being the first to raise the respect for the cow into religion. The noble, innocent beast though called aghnyā, sometimes in the Ṛgveda, was freely eaten, down to the times of the Dharma-sūtras—Gautama, xvii, 27-37; Āpastamba, 1, 6, 17, 30-1; the injunction of Vṛhannāradīyam, 22, 16 against performing its sacrifice in kaliyuga rather suppports Kṛṣṇa's claim to his being the first real Gopa.[5] For only

1 S. W. B.

2 Yas. 42, 21. 3 Haug, Essays, p. 297.

4 Pāṇini, iv, 395ff., cf. IHQ, (1926), pp. 186-8,—a note on this point by K. G. Subrahmanyam. Yudhiṣṭhira is actually mentioned to have been worshipped by the great Brāhmaṇas, as the ṛṣis worshipped Indra.—Mbh., III, 26. There are the statues of the Pāṇḍavas worshipped at Kurukṣetra. At Allahabad near the fort, people worship the images of the five Pāṇḍavas.

5 Cf. Yas. 29. See also Guthrie, The Hymns of Zoroaster, p.

thus can we interpret the Govardhana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, who is called Indra of the Cows in the Purāṇas but Asura in the Buddhist literature, a suggestion which is very strongly supported by the Harivaṃśa, (chs. 93ff., JBORS, 1920, p. 227), which, as against all the Purāṇas, preserves a genealogy according to which Kṛṣṇa was descended from an Asura Madhu, for which reason he was called Mādhava (this word is, in my deliberate opinion, a vernacularised or sanskritised form of maidhyōi-maonha, or may be of Mazda). Him the Atharva (Weber, Hist. Sk. Lit. pp. 147, 304) and the Ṛg-vedas (viii, 96, 13-15, so, taking Aṃśumatī=Yamunā, with Sāyaṇa and agreeing with Sitanath Tatvabhushan, Krishna and the Puranas, p. 14) also call Asura. Besides, Yudhiṣṭhira was also called a Pārtha, suggesting connection with Parthia of Iran, Pāṇḍavaśreṣṭha or Pāṇḍavatama, almost exactly equal to Spitama and the "Song" of "Bhaga" (=Baga, the equivalent of deva in Avesta) of Kṛṣṇa, has the same features to distinguish it from the other portion of Hindu literature of his time,—Upaniṣads, Brāhmaṇas ; the emphasis on action, and the right of every man and woman, not excluding the Śūdras, to receive his teachings,[1] coupled with the fact that Yudhiṣṭhira's name and also those of his father and brothers are not mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and his Parsi characteristics noted above,—all point out that Zarathushtra was turned into Yudhiṣṭhira in India, long, long after the end of the ministry of Kṛṣṇa Candra Mādhava-Maidhyoi-maonhā of the Gāthās.[2] The latter disappears from the Iranian world after Z.

XXII. The corresponding wail of the Indian cow occurs not in Mbh., or the Viṣṇu Purāṇa but in the Purāṇa of Bhaga-Bhāgavata.

1 Ency. Brit., 11th art. Zarathushtra ; Taraporewala, Zarathushtra, 65-7 ; Yas. xxx, 11, 2, 46, 12 ; See Tilak's, Gītā Rahasya. Cf, Gītā, xii 15 ; ix, 30, 32.

2 The story of the Iranian Religious war must have travelled to India, especially as the Kurus were closely connected with the contending parties. This formed the nucleus of the pro-Kuru original epic by popular tranference. Later when Kṛṣṇaism gained ground pro-Pāṇḍava elements were introduced, Z., who in vedic times was known either as Jarūtha or Ghora Aṅgirasa, was correctly translated into Yudhiṣṭhira. Otherwise how to explain his total absence from vedic literature and the fact that the whole of the war portion of Mbh.

At this time might have occurred at least some of the wars between Devas and Asuras referred to in the Brāhmaṇas.[1] But Kṛṣṇa's time is not recorded in the Purāṇas with any degree of exactness. The only person of his time about whom there is any exactness is Parīkṣit. (This record is another evidence of there having been no such war in India as is recorded in the Mahābhārata, and there having been no such person as Yudhiṣṭhira, for otherwise their date was more important to be remembered than that of Parīkṣit). But in the Vedic and Brāhmaṇical literature, Parīksit and his successor's reigns are very highly praised[2] and therefore their dates are remembered in the Purāṇas. The period from the birth of Parīkṣit to Mahāpadma's coronation is given there as 1015 or 1050 years (Pargiter, The Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 58, 74). The latter event has been fixed, though not with exactness, in the 4th cent. B.C. (372 ? B.C.), (V. Smith, Early History of India, 3rd ed., p. 48). This date is corroborated by many other dates and cannot be said to be a later invention, for it goes against the prevailing belief that the war took place in the beginning of the Kali era, some thing like 2500 years earlier. In the Brāhmaṇas, Janamejaya is never mentioned as a contemporary person but one of the past age. Thus Kṛṣṇa cannot belong to any date after the 14th-15th century B.C. (Cf. Jayaswal, JBORS, 1916). And so Zarathushtra. This is not only in accord with Geldner's view*

1 Haug, Essays, pp. 270-1 ; Taraporewala, Zarathushtra, pp. 11-2. It may be of great importance to note here that the boyhood legend of Kṛṣṇa, about which there is almost a concensus of opinion among scholars, is a later development, being not found in the Mbh. It is found in the Shāhnāmā ; only it is there related in relation to Kaikhusro. Was this a still later importation ? See Shahnama (Nawalkishore press), pp. 129ff. ; for a brief reference, see Persia (The Story of the Nations), pp. 61ff. We find similarly that the story of Yayāti's marriage with the Asura maidens is nowhere referred to in the Brāhmaṇas or the Vedas. See Shāhnāmā, p. 102. It is to be remarked that this story is related of Kaikāūs, the same person (Śukrācārya of Indian tradition) whose daughter is in that way said to have been married to Yayāti, Mbh., I, chs. 77-83. Similar is the case with some other parts of the Mahābhārata story.

2 Atharvaveda, xx, 127, 7-10 ; V. I., 1, pp. 520, 493-4 ; 273-4.

* Geldner has subsequently changed his view materially. See EZ, p. 18, n. 2.—Ed.

but is supported by the cuneiform record of Assyria, where Assara Mazâš, Asura Mazda, on all accounts a word coined by Zarathushtra, appears on a record of about 1500 B.C.[1]

The conclusion at which, therefore, we arrive is as follows :—

Z.'s date after the 8th cent. B.C. is impossible, but before the 8th cent. B.C. certain, and in the 15th cent. B.C. most probable.

JAINATH PATI

On some fiscal terms occurring in the Ancient Indian Land-grants

I

Hiraṇya

In the Ancient Indian inscriptions recording the royal grants of land at least from the end of the 5th century onwards[2] a clause is frequently found to the effect that the donation is made with the

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1 Moulton, ERPP, pp. 57, 73. The discovery of the inscription cannot disprove the otherwise most probable view that Mazdah is the special revelation of Z. It would simply fix the date of Z. (Cf. my essay—Kṛṣṇaism and Zoroastrianism). For the originally anti-Vedic character of Bhagavatism, see Canda, The Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 98-107.

Abbreviations explained :—VI = Vedic Index ; IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly ; ERPP = Early Religious Poetry of Persia ; Rel. Ved. = Keith's Religion and Philosophy of the Veda ; HV = Harivaṃśa ; Alt. Ind. = Alterthumskunde (Indische) ; EZ = Early Zoroastrianism ; Moulton, Dic. = Dictionary (of the Gāthās) ; Mbh = Mahābhārata ; IHT = Indian Historical Tradition. Av. Gr. = Avesta Grammar ; VGS = Vedic Grammar for Students ; Yas. = Yasnas of the Avesta ; S. W. B. = Sanskrit Wörterbuch ; HPD = Hadivala, Paris of Ancient India ; VP = Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

2 One of the earliest land-grants mentioning the term *hiraṇya* is the Khoh copper-plate inscription of the Uccakalpa Mahārāja Jayanātha, dated $\frac{177 \text{ G E}}{406\text{-}7 \text{ AC}}$ (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* no. 14).

hiraṇya and other dues of the king, while the inhabitants of the village (or part of the village) in which the land is situated are required to pay to the donee thenceforth the customary *hiraṇya* and other revenues. *Hiraṇya* as a revenue term occurs likewise in the *Rājadharma* and *Nīti* sections of the Smṛitis and Purāṇas (cf. Gaut. X, 25, Viṣṇu III, 24, Manu VII, 130, Agnipurāṇa ccxiii, 27 etc.). The Arthaśāstra, though it does not include *hiraṇya* in its regular list of constituents of the body of income (*āyaśarīram*),[1] refers to it as a branch of the king's revenue. Thus in the chapter relating to the duties of the Samāhartā ("Collector-General," "Obereinnehmer")[2] we are told that this officer should prepare a written record (*nibandha*) specifying *inter alia* the contributions payable by the villagers severally and collectively under the heads of grain, domestic animals, *hiraṇya*, forced labour and so forth. In the traditional story of the origin of kingship recorded by the Arthaśāstra[3] the people having chosen Manu, the son of the Sun, as their king, fix $\frac{1}{6}$ of the crops, $\frac{1}{10}$ of merchandise as well as *hiraṇya* as his share. In the similar story that has been preserved in the Mahābhārata[4] the people, having obtained Manu as their king by the favour of the god Brahmā, promise to pay him $\frac{1}{50}$ of domestic animals as well as *hiraṇya* and $\frac{1}{10}$ of crops.

The meaning of the term *hiraṇya* in the above contexts has not yet been satisfactorily solved. It has been most often translated as 'gold',[5] though other explanations have also been suggested.[6] The usual translation, however, has been found to throw so little light upon its specific character that various attempts have been made further to solve the mystery. Thus it has been suggested in connexion with the occurrence of the term in the Smṛitis that it is either 'a

1 Ibid., II, 6.
2 Ibid., II, 35.
3 Ibid., I, 13.
4 XII, 67,17-32.
5 Cf. the trs. of Bühler in SBE II, p. 227, Ibid. XXV, p. 237, Jolly Ibid. VII, p. 16, Fleet, *G.I.*, p. 124 ; Shamasastry, Arthaśāstra tr., 2nd ed. p. 173 ; Meyer, *Das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya*, p. 225. Also cf. N. G. Majumdar (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, part III, Rajshahi, 1929), who translates *samasta-rājabhoja-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāyaḥ* as '(with) all the income such as taxes and gold enjoyed by the king'.
6 Cf. the trs. 'payment in money' (Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 160), 'the tax in money' (Senart, Ibid., pp. 61-62), and 'tax in cash' (Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 167-169).

tax on the hoard' or 'a tax on the capital of the annual income'.[1] A more desperate explanation that has been offered[2] is that it refers to the right of the State to the gold and probably other mines as well.

The current explanation of *hiraṇya* in the sense of gold as mentioned above may be proved to be unsound on the following grounds :—

(*a*) In the Smṛti texts referred to above *hiraṇya* is usually joined with '*paśu*' (domestic animals) and it occurs in the same context as the crops, trees, roots, fruits, flowers, leaves, grass and so forth among the recognised sources of the king's revenue. It therefore evidently belonged to the group of taxes relating to the simple agricultural and industrial products of a village.

(*b*) In the land-grants *hiraṇya* is often[3] conjoined with *bhāga-bhogakara* which, as we shall presently see, has to be understood in the sense of the king's customary grain-share called *bhāga* in the Arthaśāstra and *bali* in the Smṛtis. In other cases[4] it is joined with *dhānya* or (the king's share of) the crops. *Hiraṇya*, therefore, was a tax of the same nature as the king's grain-share which was paid in kind.

(*c*) It is extremely improbable for a state like that contemplated in the Smṛtis to draw part of its normal revenue from gold whether we understand by it a tax on the accumulated hoard of the metal or a tax on the income estimated in gold currency.[5]

The clue to the correct explanation of *hiraṇya* is to be sought in some characteristic forms of the Indian land-revenue known to later times. In the mediæval period of Indian history while payments of the land-revenue (before the revenue reform of Todar Mall) were made in kind, certain special classes of crops were

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1 N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Kauṭilya*, pp. 139, 140.

2 See Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, p. 302. With the above may be compared Mr. R. D. Banerji's tr. of *sa-hiraṇya* in some of the land-grants (e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, no. 23. Ibid., XV, no. 18) as '(with the right of mining) gold'.

3 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, I, no. 10, Ibid., II, no. 23, Ibid., III, no. 7, Ibid., IV, no. 29, Ibid., VII, no. 22, Ibid., XIV, no. 13 etc.

4 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, I, no. 13. Ibid., IV, no. 8, Ibid., VI, no. 28.

5 Furthermore, *hiraṇya* not only means 'gold' but it has also the general sense of any precious metal.

always assessed in cash.[1] In the light of these examples it may be justifiably concluded that the ancient *hiraṇya* was a tax of this nature. It was, in other words, a tax in cash levied upon certain kinds of crops, as distinguished from the tax in kind which was charged upon the ordinary crops.

II

Bhāgabhogakara

Like *hiraṇya* the term *bhāgabhogakara* may be traced in the ancient Indian land-grants at least from the end of the 5th century after Christ.[2] It is not known to the literature of the Smṛtis, nor as a revenue-term in the Arthaśāstra. It has been usually taken to consist of three distinct items *bhāga*, *bhoga* and *kara* and translated accordingly.[3] A clue towards its correct interpretation is supplied by a passage in the Arthaśāstra,[4] where persons occupying fields and embanked reservoirs (*setu*) from private owners on condition of *bhāgabhoga* are distinguished from those who hold the same on condition of *avakraya*, *prakraya*, *ādhi* (mortgage) and so forth. Here *bhāgabhoga* is explained by G. Śāstrī to refer to the condition of paying a specific share of the resulting product. We may, then, take *bhāgabhogakara* as a tax (*kara*) of the nature of a specific portion of the agricultural produce payable to the king. It is, in other words, the king's grain-share indicated by the terms *bhāga* and *bali* in the Arthaśāstra and the Smṛtis respectively.

III

Coravarjjam, sacauroddharaṇa

The ancient Indian land-grants from the close of the 5th century onwards frequently contain the clause that the donation is made

1 See Baden-Powell, *Land-Systems in British India*, vol. I, pp. 273, 274. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann and Jarrett's tr., vol. II, p. 65 ; Forbes, *RāsMāla*, p. 571.

2 See the Khoh Grant of Jayanātha mentioned above.

3 Cf. the trs. of Mr. R. D. Banerjee (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, no. 23 ; Ibid., XV, no. 18, etc.) as 'shares, right of easement taxes', and of Vogel (loc. cit., pp. 167-169). On the other hand Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 160) translates it as 'share of the producer'.

4 III, 9.

coravarjjam, or *cauravarjjam*.[1] Fleet[2] translated this expression as 'with the exception of the right to fines imposed upon thieves', while Vogel[3] took it to signify that the donee was excluded from the special privilege of persecution of thieves such as was connoted by the term *cauroddharaṇa*. Both these explanations may be shown to be untenable on the following grounds :—

(*a*) The context in which the term invariably occurs shows that it was an immunity granted in favour of the donee and not a right reserved for himself by the donor,

(*b*) There is not the slightest vestige of authority to show that the transfer of the rights of jurisdiction was ever contemplated as possible in respect of the pious grants of land,

(*c*) Whatever might have been the case with the minor offences, jurisdiction over thieves was not certainly exercised by the village authorities. Hence the question of its transfer would not arise in connexion with the grants of single villages or village lands mentioned in the inscriptions.

We propose to connect the expression *coravarjjaṃ* and its equivalents with a kind of tax imposed upon the villagers for protection against thieves, in other words, for maintenance of the village police. In favour of this view may be mentioned the fact that the Arthaśāstra[3] includes *corarajju* ('rope for binding thieves') in the list of the king's receipts under the head country-part (*rāṣṭra*). Now is one place[3] we are told that while the village headman is to be liable for loss suffered by the caravan within the village limits, the superintendent of pastures (*vivītādhyakṣa*) is to be responsible for loss on the village boundary, and the officer charged with arresting thieves (*corarajjuka*) is to be liable for loss in a place which is not pasture land.[4] It is legitimate to suppose that the function of tracking criminals thus entrusted to the *corarajjuka* would entail the collection of a fee or tax from the villagers, and that this was indicated by the term *corarajju*. In modern times, too, the tax for the main-

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1 For the earliest examples see Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, nos. 21, 23, 27. Other terms of a similar nature are *coradrohavarjjaṃ* (*G. I.*, no. 25, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, no. 28, etc.) and *corarājāpathyakārivarjjaṃ* (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, 21, XII, 3, etc.).

2 II, 6. 3 II, 34.

4 A very similar rule occurs in Yājñavalkya, II, 271.

tenance of the village-police is a well-known institution under the name *caukīdārī*.

In the land-grants of the Pāla kings and the Rāmpāl grant of Śrīcandra one of the clauses is that the grant is made with the *cauroddharaṇa*. This expression was understood by Vogel[1] to mean that the special privilege of persecution of thieves corresponding to the *infangtheof* of Old English law was conferred upon the donee. Another explanation is suggested by Mr. N. G. Mazumdar who translates the expression[2] as 'with police-protection.' Both these interpretations are unsatisfactory. As we have already observed, there is no authority for the supposition that the grant of rights of jurisdiction was ever contemplated in the case of holders of pious grants. Again, there seems to be no reason why the privilege of protection should be conferred only upon such classess of persons. Moreover, the *cauroddharaṇa* is mentioned in a list of oppressions (*pīḍanas*) from which exemptions are granted to the donee in the inscriptions of Ratnapāla and Indrapāla, kings of Prāgjyotiṣa, while an inscription of king Balavarman specifies that the land assigned to the donee is not to be entered by a number of oppressors among whom are included the *cauroddharaṇika*.[3] In accordance with the explanation of *coravarjjam* given above, we propose to take *cauroddharaṇa* to mean that the tax for maintenance of the village police was assigned to the donee along with the land itself.

IV

Daśāparādha, pañcāparādha

A frequent clause contained in the ancient Indian land grants from the beginning of the seventh century onwards,[4] is that the land

1 Loc. cit., p. 129. Cf. Mr. R. D. Banerjee's translation of *cauroddharaṇa* (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, no. 23 ; Ibid., XV, no. 18) with right of extirpation of robbers.

2 Loc. cit.

3 *JASB*, 1896-1897. The grants of Balavarman, Ratnapāla and Indrapāla are assigned by Hoernle dates approximating to 990, 1010-50 and 1060 A. C. respectively.

4 One of the earliest recorded instances containing this clause is the Maitraka grant dated $\frac{286 \text{ GE}}{605\text{-}6 \text{ A.C.}}$. For the fuller forms see *Ep. Ind.*, III, 9,36, VII, etc.

is granted to the donee *sadaśāparādha* or in the fuller form *sadaṇḍa-daśāparādha*. This expression was taken by Fleet[1] to imply the donee's right to the proceeds from fines for the commission of ten offences by the villagers. Fleets' explanation has been followed by all later writers. The only difference of opinion on this point has centred upon the list of specific offences referred to in the clause in question. Fleet himself held it to consist of 3 specified sins of the body, 3 of the mind and 4 of speech. On the other hand, Jolly[2] connected it with a list of ten grave offences mentioned by Nārada, while Hiralal[3] identified it with a series of ten offences mentioned in the Śukranīti (III, 6).[4] A recent writer,[5] after justly pointing out the improbability of offences of the mind being made the subject of legal punishment, prefers to take the phrase in the sense of judicial fines in general. Leaving these minor points out of account the fundamental objection that may be urged against Fleet's interpretation of *daśāparādha* is that there is no authority for the view that the grant of rights of jurisdiction to holders of religious grants was contemplated in the ancient times. The phrase undoubtedly stands for a kind of income accruing to the king from the villages, since the Cambay grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV dated $\frac{850 \text{ śaka}}{930 \text{ A.C.}}$[6] includes the income from *daśāparādha* with the contributions in grain and domestic animals in a list of the king's receipts (*utpatti*). Its precise nature in relation to the royal endowments of land is indicated by a Nepal grant of the 6th or 7th century recording a king's dedication of a village to a certain Buddhist establishment.[7] There the privileges conferred upon the donee are declared among other things to comprise that in case of commission of the five offences, such as theft,

1 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 189 *n*.

2 *Recht und Sitte*, Eng. tr., p. 270. 3 *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 47 *n*.

4 To the above add B. C. Mazumdar (*JBORS*, 1916, p. 53 n), who, after mentioning that the phrase was till lately in vogue in permanent leases in the Sonepur State, quotes the opinion of some to the effect that it included "adultery, assault, defamation and offences relating to village roads and water reservoirs."

5 Beni Prasad, *The State*, p. 303.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 36 (Kielhorn's list of South Indian Inscriptions, no. 91).

7 See Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*, III, Inscr. no. XX.

adultery, murder, complicity and so forth, the person alone of the delinquent is to be seized by the kings' officers. It would thus appear that the terms *daśāparādha* and *pañcāparādha* in the ancient grants involved a remission of penalties for the commission of traditional lists of offences by the villagers.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Rāvaṇa and His Tribes

In my two articles on the Aboriginal Names and the Aboriginal Tribes in the Rāmāyaṇa, an attempt has been made to elucidate the language and the customs of the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas and the former have been identified with the Savaras and other Mūndāri tribes of the modern times. It was not possible then to say much about the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā, of whom the epic gives a fuller account. In this paper I propose to study the ways of life of these men and show how some of the tribes now living in the hills and jungles of the Central Provinces still maintain the ways of life of the Rākṣasas.

Before the customs and manners of the people of Laṅkā are taken up for study, it is but necessary to give a little attention to the physical features of their lord whom tradition pictures as an unnatural being with ten heads and twenty arms. The clan of Laṅkā derived their importance in the story mostly from their leader. All the great performances he is said to have achieved are attributed to his ten heads and arms of double that number. It is therefore essential to observe if the epic really supports this popular belief; it is only an unfounded notion that has somehow caught the minds of the people of India.[1]

The epic contains the description of Rāvaṇa in all situations. There are given the pictures of Rāvaṇa asleep, and Rāvaṇa dead;

1 The notion has taken such deep root that it has found its way into art. It has become a convention. Any crooked picture of a human being with ten faces is taken to represent Rāvaṇa. Even an illiterate person recognises the figure of Rāvaṇa.

Rāvaṇa on his throne in the council Chamber and Rāvaṇa in his car fighting with his enemies are truly depicted in it. A study of these pictures, especially of his appearance in sleep and in death, enables us to know his real appearance ; for, it is admitted by our śāstras that a person however much he disguises his true nature at other times reveals himself in sleep and in death. First let us observe him when he was taking repose after a day's activity.

While Hanumān was going from room to room in Rāvaṇa's mansion searching for Sītā, he saw, in one apartment, the Rākṣasa king lying at full length, sound asleep (V, 10).[1]

15 kāñcanāṅgadasannaddhau dadarśa sa mahātmanaḥ/
vikṣiptau rākṣasendrasya bhujāv indradhvajopamau//
16 airāvataviṣāṇāgrair āpīḍana-kṛta-vraṇau/
vajrollikhita-pīnāṃsau viṣṇu-cakra-parikṣatau//
17 pīnau samasujātāṃsau saṅgatau balasaṃyutau/
sulakṣaṇa-nakhāṅguṣṭhau svaṅgulīyaka-lakṣitau//
18 saṃhatau parighākārau vṛttau karikaropamau/
vikṣiptau śayane śubhre pañca-śīrṣāv ivoragau//
....
22 tābhyāṃ sa paripūrṇābhyām bhujābhyāṃ rākṣaseśvaraḥ//

In this description every word employed to picture the arms is used in dual number, which shows that they were only two in number. In the same passage, his head is said to be only one.

tasya rākṣasa-rājasya niścakrāma mahāmukhāt :

here '*mukhāt*' is singular ; and also

mukuṭenāpavṛttena kuṇḍalojvalitānanam ;

here '*ānanam*' also is singular. Because there was only one face, he must have only one head and one neck. While sleeping, Rāvaṇa was seen with one head and two arms alone. How did he appear when he lay dead in the battle-field ? His brother, Vibhīṣaṇa, seeing him said (VI, 112) :

3 vikṣipya dīrghau niśceṣṭau bhujāv aṅgadabhūṣitau/
makuṭenāpavṛttena bhāskarākāravarcasā//

Bhujau and its adjective are in the dual number and *makuṭena* in the singular.

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1 The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa edited and published by T. R. Krishnamacharya of the Madhva Vilas Book Depot, Kumbakonam, has been consulted to prepare this paper.

Rāvaṇa's wives rush into the field and falling on his body lament (10). One of them *'aṅke śiraḥ kṛtvā ruroda, mukhamīkṣatī.'* Here *śiraḥ* and *mukham* are in the singular number. Another of his wives laments :

9 'upahṛtya ca bhujau.....hatasya vadanaṃ dṛṣṭvā'.

Bhujau is dual and *vadanam* is singular.

Mandodarī, his principal wife, laments describing his face (VI, 114, 36) :

Kirīṭa-kūṭōj-jvalitaṃ tāmrāsyaṃ dīptakuṇḍalam/
.... vaktraṃ na bhrājate//

Āsyam and *vaktram* are both in the singular number. In the pictures of 'Rāvaṇa asleep' and 'Rāvaṇa dead,' he is shown with one head and two arms like an ordinary human being. In waking moments, he might appear differently. It is necessary to observe how he is depicted while he was active.

After Rāvaṇa had revealed himself to Sītā in the Pañca-vaṭī cottage, he begins to extol himself by telling her of his glories and prowess. Regarding his strength he says (iii. 4 9) :

3 udvaheyaṃ bhujābhyāṃ tu medinīm ambare sthitaḥ.

Bhujābhyām is dual and therefore he had only two arms.

Having taken Sītā to Laṅkā, he showed his mansion, pleasure-gardens, jewels, etc. When he found her unmoved, he bowed to her feet with his head, saying (III, 56) :

37 na cā 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ kāñcin mūrdhnā strīṃ praṇameta ha.

'Mūrdhnā', being singular, intimates only one head. In these two cases Rāvaṇa informs that he had only one head and two arms.

While struggling with Jaṭāyu, the lord of the Rākṣasas kicked the lord of vultures with his two fists and two legs (III, 51) :

40 muṣṭibhyāṃ caraṇābhyāṃ ca gṛdhrarājam apothayat.

When Hanumān was about to accost Sītā in the Aśoka grove, he saw some lights approach and concealed himself in the foliage of the tree on which he had perched. Amidst the procession, Rāvaṇa was seen and was at once identified to be the person seen sleeping in the apartment in the mansion (V, 18) :

30 so 'yam eva purā śete puramadhye gṛhottame.

This is a sufficient guarantee that Rāvaṇa was unchanged when he woke up. The number of his limbs remained the same as when he was asleep.

Hearing Sītā curse him for his misbehaviour, Rāvaṇa looked at

her with angry eyes. Here the word for eyes is used in the dual number (V, 22):

23 vivṛtya nayane krūre Jānakīm anvavaikṣata,

and in the succeeding verses, the words for arms and ear-rings (*bhujā-bhyām* and *kuṇḍalābhyām*) are used in the dual number alone ; as he is said to have only two ear-rings and two eyes it is certain that he had one head only.

When Hanumān was captured by Indrajit and was taken captive to the presence of Rāvaṇa, the vānara saw the king of Rākṣasas shining with '*śirobhir daśabhiḥ*' which cannot be taken to signify ten-heads; for, immediately afterwards Rāvaṇa is said to shine with '*pūrṇa-candrābha-vaktreṇa* (V, 49, 7). Here *vaktreṇa* being singular signifies only one face. Had he really ten heads, he ought to have been said to shine with ten faces.

Similarly in the description of Rāvaṇa as he appeared to Sūrpanakhā, when she ran to Laṅkā to report about the ignominy done to her and the destruction of the Rākṣasas in the Janasthāna, it is said, (III, 32) that he was with '*viṃśatibhujam, daśagrīvam* ; but it cannot be taken to mean twenty arms and ten heads as in the same passage he is said to have two arms :

nivārayati bāhubhyāṃ yaḥ śailaśikharopamaḥ.

Even at the time of war, he is described with one head only. When Rāvaṇa came into the battle-field for the first time, Rāma asks Vibhīṣaṇa (VI, 59) who he was :

26 asau kirīṭī calakuṇḍalāsyo nagendra-Vindhyopamabhīma-kāyaḥ.

During the fight that ensued Nīla is said to have performed a dance from Rāvaṇa's head to the top of the standard post and from the latter on to his head (VI, 59) :

81 dhvajāgre dhanuṣaś cāgre kirīṭāgre ca taṃ harim.

Here 'kirīṭāgre' being singular suggests only one crown and consequently one head. Even in the final duel with Rāma, he is said to have only one head ; and when it had been cut off by Rāma's arrow, immediately another of the same size, form and appearance, is said to have grown in that very place. Every time it had been struck off, at once another stood up in that same place. At last quite vexed and tired, Rāma sent an arrow into the heart of Rāvaṇa and killed him (VI, 107) :

54 Rāvaṇasya śiro'cchindacchrīmajjvalitakuṇḍalam/
tacchiraḥ patitaṃ bhūmau dṛṣṭaṃ lokais tribhis tadā//

27 tasyaiva sadṛśaṃ cānyad Rāvaṇasyotthitaṃ śiraḥ/
tat kṣipraṃ kṣiprahastena Rāmeṇa kṣripra-kāriṇā//
28 dvitīyaṃ Rāvaṇaśira śchinnaṃ saṃyati śāyakaiḥ/
chinnamātraṃ tu tacchīrṣaṃ punar anyat pradṛsyate//
29 tadapyaśani-saṃkāśaiś chinnaṃ Rāmeṇa sāyakaiḥ//
... ...
(VI, III) 16 chikṣepa paramāyattas taṃ śaraṃ marma-ghātinam//
... ...
18 bibheda hṛdayaṃ tasya Rāvaṇasya durātmanaḥ//
19 rudhirāktaḥ sa vegena jīvitāntakaraḥ śaraḥ/
Rāvaṇasya haran prāṇān viveśa dharanītalam//

Then, 22 gatāsūr bhīma-vegas tu nairtendro mahādyutiḥ/
papāta syandanād bhūmau Vṛtro vajrahato yathā//

It has already been seen that the corpse had only one head and two arms. It is strange to observe that, in this description of the duel, not even once is Rāma said to have chopped off even one arm of Rāvaṇa; perhaps it was not the object of the poet to say that Rāma's purpose was to disable the Rākṣasa, but to destroy him altogether.

From these evidences it is confirmed that Rāvaṇa had one head and two arms like any human being. The notion that he had ten heads and twenty arms must have been the result of certain interpolators, who, misconceiving the significance of such appellations as *daśagrīva* and *daśāsya* of the Rākṣasa lord, had inserted into the text of the poem passages or expressions to propagate the meaning which they had trusted to be true. These interpolations which had grown into the body of the poem before any scholar thought of writing a commentary led the commentators to proceed on the lines indicated by those interpolations. When Rāma-cult grew, everything concerned with Rāma lost its mundane colour and acquired that superhuman gloss that generally attaches to the life of all great men—men that had done good to the world at large and attained godhead. Thus Rāvaṇa was made into a demon of ten heads on the unauthenticated meaning given to *daśagrīva* and *daśāsya* found used to name Rāvaṇa in the original poem. Now since it is discovered that the poem does not vouchsafe that meaning but confirms that the king of the Rākṣasas had only one head and two arms, the real significance of those names has to be investigated into in future.

As the study of words is very greatly helped by the ways of life followed by the inhabitants of Laṅkā, it is but meet that the

latter should be taken up here. A careful study of the epic shows how faithfully Vālmīki depicted the habits of a living people when he described Laṅkā and its inhabitants. The chief points that ethnologists consider for a study of a tribe or clan are found painted in word-pictures. The house and the village planning, the social and family life, the marriage customs, the funeral ceremony and the superstitions are all pictured, true to life, in the poem. When these are fully elucidated it becomes possible to identify these Rākṣasas with the tribes that are living in modern India.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, three septs of Rākṣasas are found mentioned. Virādha represents one sept and Kabandha represents the sept called the Dānavas. Kabandha himself says (III, 71, 7) :

śriyā virājitaṃ putraṃ Danos tvaṃ viddhi Lakṣmaṇa.

These Dānavas are said to be one of the classes mentioned as *pūrva-devas* in the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. They were hostile to the Laṅkā tribe of Rākṣasas, because Rāvaṇa is designated as '*dānavadeva śatruḥ*' (VI, 59, 143) and '*hantāraṃ dānavendrānām*'. With regard to these two tribes, except funeral customs, nothing else are given in the poem. With the help of that datum, I have identified them with the peoples living now in India (Aboriginal Tribes in India, "Man in India," vol. 5, nos. 1 and 2).

The Rākṣasas of Laṅkā are fully dealt with in the epic. The house-construction and the town-planning together with the village gods are found described in the Sundara-kāṇḍa. A study of this exposes a good deal of the social life of the Rākṣasas and the poet has described it as understood by a foreigner.

When Hanumān went to the gate of the city of Laṅkā, which was walled all round, he was challenged by the guardian angel whose name was Laṅkā (V, 3, 45): (Aham tu nagarī Laṅkā svayam eva plavaṅgama).

But he beat her down, and while expiring she told him that the Self-existent had told her :

47 yadā tvam vānaraḥ kaścid vikramād vaśam ānayet/
tadā tvayā hi vijñeyaṃ rakṣasāṃ bhayam āgatam//

Because this guardian angel had been vanquished, the city became vulnerable not only to Hanumān but to the vānara hordes afterwards. Such guardians are not said to have existed either in Ayodhyā, the chief city of Kośala, or in Kiṣkindhyā, the city of the vānaras. This is a pecular feature of the Rākṣasa capital alone.

Of the tribes living in the hills and jungles of the Central Provinces

it is the Kui—Gond tribes that establish a guardian goddess in every village. At the entrance into the village is installed the god called the Niśān Pennu. It is represented by a round oval shaped stone of about 6 to 9 inches in height and it is placed under a tree at the gate. That it may not be meddled with by idlers, it is covered with a heap of stones arranged in the form of a dome. They believe that, if this Pennu is removed from that place, or in any way damaged, some evil would befall the village. Either an epidemic would break out or the crops would fail. On every festive occasion, the villagers make offerings to this goddess so that she may protect them and their wives and children. Niśān means the emblem ; so she is the emblem of the village, or in the words of Vālmīki, she is the 'grāmaḥ svayam eva'.

Passing beyond this, we go into the village in which the houses are built in parallel rows leaving streets between them. At the head of the main street which is broader than any other in the village, is the residence of the headman. A wall or a fence runs all round it and is provided with a gate opening into the middle of the street. Within this enclosure are houses to serve the needs of the family. The kitchen, the store, the bed-room, the cattle shed, are all provided for. The garden is behind the dwelling houses and a space is set apart within the enclosure for all the villagers to enjoy drinks on festive occasions.

The Kuis are very fond of intoxicating drinks and they use several kinds of liquors. Dried mohua flower yields a drink which is much praised by these tribes. Ragi or other kind of grain is fermented and a liquor is distilled. Fermented porridge of ragi, called *'londā'* is an essential item at every festival. It gives a very strong intoxication ; those who drink it become so intoxicated that they even commit murders. A fermented mixture of honey and water also is much liked. The Kuis also drink toddy drawn from the sago palm (caryota urem)

Along with these drinks they like to have some kind of animal food. On ordinary days goats and fowls supply dishes ; but on festive occasions, buffaloes, cows and pigs are slaughtered ; all kinds of birds except the crow, which they consider to be their friend, are eaten by them. Animals from the smallest reptile to the biggest buffalo, with the exception of the dog and the jackal, are eaten.

Women wear a great variety of neck-ornaments made of beads, cowries or trinkets ; bangles and wristlets are worn from the wrist to the elbow ; anklets of the S type adorn their feet while every toe is provided with ornaments made to suit each toe. Similarly the

fingers also are furnished with rings. Bunches of small metallic bells are inserted into the rings of the toes so that when they walk or dance a pleasant chime is made.

This is in outline the life that one sees in a Kui village. On festive days there will be a greater bustle and a more elaborate ornamentation. Such was the aspect presented to Hanumān by Laṅkā. It was on the night when the moon was in the first quadrature, that Rāma's messenger had roamed through the streets of the Rākṣasa city (v, 5, 5, vibhāti candraḥ paripūrṇaśṛṅgaḥ). The whole town is described to be active. It may be inferred that preparations for a great festival that had to take place on the next full moon day might have been going on when Hanumān entered the town.

At first he passed through the main street wherein he saw houses of different shapes and forms. While going along he heard men singing and women dancing, keeping time to the music by drums and flutes. Sorcerers were droning hymns which were heard like Vedic hymns chanted by the Aryan priests. Passing on in this way he came to the end of the street and found the main gate in the boundary wall of the mansion of Rāvaṇa. Entering it he observed (V, 6):

36. śibikā vividhākārāḥ.....
latā-gṛhāṇi citrāṇi citraśālāgṛhāṇi ca//
krīḍā-gṛhāṇi cānyāṇi dāru-parvatakāni ca/
kāmasya gṛhakaṃ ramyaṃ divāgṛhakam eva ca//
(kāmasya ca gṛhaṃ divyaṃ divāgṛhakam eva ca//)

Here 'śibikāḥ' means structures. They are all enumerated in the succeeding lines. 'Dāru-parvataka' being associated with 'krīḍā-gṛham' has been understood to signify a kind of pleasure house. But the words forming the compound mean 'hillocks of wood'. 'Dāru' means wood. Vessels made of wood are mentioned as dāru-pātrāṇi (VI, 114, 114). 'Dāru' is understood to mean fuel. Pieces of wood intended for fuel are stacked in the form of hillocks or towers; it is a common sight in every village in this Agency. As it rains abundantly in these parts, it becomes a necessity to stack fuel as a provision for the rainy season, during which time it is not possible to secure even one piece of dry wood. As it was after the rains that Hanumān went to Laṅkā, it is but reasonable that he saw such piles of fuel.

Then he examined apartment after apartment with the hope of finding out Rāma's wife. He first entered the main hall and did not find her there. Thence he passed on into the sleeping rooms in which

he found Rāvaṇa stretched in deep slumber; his principal wife was found in the same state; Rāvaṇa's other wives were all seen lying in different postures and poses. Not finding Sītā in these rooms he passed on into the drinking ground (pānabhūmi), where he saw,

Fair women sleeping on the ground
Where wearied with the song, perchance,
The merry game, the women dance,
Each girl with wine and sleep oppressed,
Had sunk her drooping head to rest.
... ...
There deftly mixed with salt and curd
Was meat of many a beast and bird,
Of kid, porcupine and hare
The dainties of the sea and air (Griffith).

The town-planning and the social life are the same for the Rākṣasas and the Kuis. The description of Rāvaṇa's wives sleeping with their ornaments disturbed and deranged is a true picture of Kui women lying down deep drunk.

In this connection the war dress of the Rākṣasas deserves mention. When Rāvaṇa went to the battle-field for the first time, he is said to have been followed by beings with faces of the tiger, the horse, the camel, the stag and other animals (VI, 59, 24)

yaiś caiṣa nānāvidha-ghorarūpair-vyāghr = oṣṭranāgendra-
mṛgāśvavaktraiḥ.
bhūtair-vṛto bhāti vivṛtta-netraiḥ.....

These were the Rākṣasa soldiers wearing masks resembling the faces of wild beasts. This was one of the several ways in which the inhabitants of Laṅkā terrified their enemies or the peaceful settlers of the Daṇḍaka forest.

The Kui tribesmen also have the custom of wearing masks with faces representing a wild animal or wearing bison or stag horns on their heads. In former times they used to wear this dress during the time of war, but now they wear it during festive occasions and dances.

"The war dress of the Khonds is elaborate and consists of a leather cuirass in front and a flowing red cloak, which with an arrangement of bison horns and peacock's feathers is supposed to strike awe into the beholders' minds" (Thurston's Castes and Tribes, vol. III, p. 364). The peacock feathers worn by the Ganjam maliah Khonds seems to have been borrowed from the Savaras that live in their midst. It

does not form part of the attire of the tribes of Khonds living in the other parts of the Eastern Ghats.

"For dances.....stag and bison horns are also worn on the heads of some" (Central Provinces Gazetteers : Chhatisgarh Feudatory States, p. 51).

The Bonda Porajas who live in the south-western jungles of the Vizagapatam Agency also wear bison horns on their heads during the time of dances. Wearing of horns on the head or masking the face with animal faces is purely a custom of the Dravidians, especially of the classes that belong to the family to which the Kuis and their allied tribes belong. This kind of costume is also represented in ancient sculptures and in the modern pageantry of the civilized communities of India.

The sculpture on Plate XXX of the History of Fine Art in India shows the war dress similar to the one described in the Rāmāyaṇa. But for the figures of the three soldiers, the sculpture can doubtlessly be taken to represent a group of masked dancers. The combination of the unmasked armed men with the armed maskers, affirms that the panel shows a group of soldiers going to battle. The Rāmāyaṇa informs that the Rākṣasa army was composed of both masked and unmasked fighting men. The double-edged short sword in the hand of one masked figure and the knotted mace in the hand of the other are a clear evidence against this identification with the peaceful monks. The unmasked figures show by their low nasal ridges and the high cheek bones that they represent a people that belong to the Kui tribes. This panel clearly intimates that the Dravidian classes had the custom of appearing in such costumes at the time when the Gandhāra art was flourishing.

The Tongsa Lama Dance shown in the picture on page 19 of the Indian Pictorial Education, vol. 1, no. 3, shows some masked dancers. The head gears of these maskers are similar to those worn by the Kui tribes during the time of amusement. This custom might have been adopted from the Dravidians who had originally inhabited the country. The very name of Bhutan (=Bhūtasthāna) is an undeniable evidence of its early occupation by a Dravidian tribe that are called Bhūtas in Sanskrit literature. That costume which was originally intended to strike terror into their enemies' hearts became adopted in time for peaceful amusements.

The Rākṣasas, not only to terrify their enemies but also to deceive others, appeared in different shapes and forms by change of costume.

It is this habit that acquired for them the appellation of 'kāma-rūpiṇaḥ.' Rāmāyaṇa, III, 10. 10 : Rākṣasair daṇḍakāraṇye bahubhiḥ kāma-rūpibhiḥ.

The Rākṣasas appeared in several forms so that it was impossible to discern the real from the pretentious. They appeared in deceptive disguises.

When Hanumān had destroyed the Aśoka garden, its watchmen went to Sītā and asked her who he was. Then she replied, V, 42, 8 :

rakṣasāṃ kāma-rūpāṇāṃ vijñāne rā gatir mama/

How can I discern who he was as all the Rākṣasas had the faculty of appearing in disguise. Then she added that she did not know any other except the deceitful Rākṣasa that had gone there a little while ago.

When Hanumān approached Sītā as she was about to strangle herself to death with her hair, she mistook him for Rāvaṇa in disguise. V, 34, 25 : rakṣasāṃ kāma-rūpatvān mene taṃ rākṣasādhipam.

The criterion of her judgment was the disguise and she had been so much deceived by the disguise of Rāvaṇa that she considered even real appearances to be false.

This character of 'Kāma-rupa' is clearly explained by the inhabitants of Citra-kūṭa settlement. II, 116, 14 :

nānā-rūpair virūpaiś ca rūpair vikṛta-darśanaiḥ//
apraśastair-aśucibhiḥ samprayujya ca tāpasān/

The disguises were of different kinds ; of queer forms, of unnatural shapes, and they were unpleasant and awkward. Wearing such disguises and changing costume every moment, the Rākṣasas used to terrify the peaceful inhabitants of the Aryan settlement on the slopes of the Citra-kūṭa hill.

Rāvaṇa himself appeared to Sītā first in a disguise. He approached the cottage as a begger and asked for alms. This was to draw Sītā out. Sūrpa-nakhā told Rāma that she was a 'Kāma-rūpiṇī,' which by the above discussion appears to mean 'capable of putting on false appearances'.

The next ethnological information supplied to us by the epic is with regard to the marriage customs of the Rākṣasas of whom Rāvaṇa was the lord. Rāvaṇa himself tells Sītā (v, 20, 5) that abduction of women was the law of marriage of his tribe. When he spoke to her of his glory, he told her that all his many wives had been girls brought away by force from different communities (III, 47, 27).

It appears that a Rākṣasa could marry any woman, married or unmarried, and that marriage consisted in bringing away the woman from among her relatives :

bahvīnām uttama-strīṇām āhartānām itastataḥ/

In the sleeping apartment Hanumān saw (V, 9, 69-70)

rājarṣi-pitṛ-daitya-gandharvāṇāṃ ca yoṣitaḥ/
rakṣasāṃ cābhavan kanyās tasya kāmavaśaṃ gatāḥ/
yuddha-kāmena tāḥ sarvā Rāvaṇena hṛtāḥ striyaḥ/

With a desire to have a pretext to fight he brought away the damsels by force. When their parents came to obstruct, he fought with them and drove them away. Separated from their kith and kin, what could the damsels do but yield to the lust of their abductor ?

Mandodari, Rāvaṇa's principal wife, lamenting over his corpse said (VI, 114, 54).

devāsura-nṛ-kanyānām āhartāraṃ tatas-tataḥ.

When Rāvaṇa consulted his counsellors as to what he should do, since Sītā, however much she had been tempted, refused to share his bed, they advised him, as he was a strong man, to follow the example of the cock-fowl (VI, 13, 4) :

balāt kukkuṭa-vṛttena vartasva su-mahābala.

These instances show that abduction of girls was the law of marriage amongst the Rākṣasas. So long as unmarried girls were brought away there was no trouble. But when married women were so treated, he had to fight. It is said that he had fought with Takṣaka and brought away his wife (III, 32-13)

Takṣakasya priyāṃ bhāryāṃ parājitya jahāra yaḥ/

The parents or brothers do not care so much for their daughters or sisters as husbands do for their wives. When he brought away Takṣaka's wife, the latter went against Rāvaṇa to demand her, but was defeated and driven back, because Rāvaṇa was stronger than Takṣaka. The parents of the girls of marriageable age did not care to waste their energy, because, their daughters must marry some one ; why not Rāvaṇa be that some one ? He was too strong for them to fight with and wealthier than any person living in those days. But the husbands did not allow their wives to be so easily taken away. Rāvaṇa was challenged by Takṣaka ; but being of inferior strength, Rāvaṇa could easily repel him. But he could not deal so easily with Rāma ; he had been warned by Mārīca regarding the strength of Rāma ; and the destruction of the Janasthāna Rākṣasas by Rāghava, single-handed, had been a severe intimation of the

prowess of the Ikṣvāku prince. But Rāvaṇa did not pay heed to these warnings and took away Sītā. He was aware that his own men of Laṅkā would not approve of his action. That was the reason why he had not consulted any of them before he started on the adventure. When Rāma with his Vānara horde beseiged his capital, he could not avoid calling the council of war and tell his warriors of the cause of this danger and request them to concert measures to retain Sītā for him and to drive away the invaders. Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother, taunted him that he had not been consulted when he stealthily brought away Rāma's consort from the Pañcavaṭī; yet he consented to defend Laṅkā and its king (VI, 12, 30). Mandodarī complained that Rāvaṇa had not heeded the advice of the elders (VI, 114, 76, 78). All these people disapproved of the action of Rāvaṇa, not because it was contrary to the custom of their tribe, but because the husband of the woman was a man of acknowledged valour. Had Rāma been a person of inferior prowess, there would not have been even one dissentient voice in Laṅkā. Every sane person in Laṅkā could understand from the way Rāma had vanquished Khara and his followers, that Rāma was of superior valour.

The marriage of the Kuis consists in the man bringing away by force the woman he loves. If the woman is brought away to the man's house, they become man and wife. "In savage societies marital unions were generally effected by the violent capture of the woman. By degrees these captures have become friendly ones, and have ended in peaceful exogamy, retaining the ancient custom only in the ceremonial form" (Thurston's Castes and Tribes, vol. III, p. 387).

It was this violent union that was suggested by "balāt kukkuṭa-vṛtti", but Rāvaṇa said that he could not adopt that means in this case as he had been cursed by Brahmā for having committed violence on Puñjakasthalī. This story might refer to a social reform introduced into the Rākṣasa community at that time. The need of such a reform might have been felt both by the harm done to the girl and the example presented to them by the more civilized Aryan communities. The savagery is given up now, but the carrying away of the girl and the fighting are still religiously observed. Even after the marriage has been arranged by the parents, the young man lies in ambush on the path along which the bride is expected to go alone or accompanied by friends of her own sex, and pounces on her and carries her off to his house. She resists much but is very soon overpowered by him. Hearing of this, her kith and kin run to the house

of the bridegroom and a fight ensues between the two parties. When both parties are tired, the feast and other formalities commence.

In more civilized classes, the bride is held by the hand and her people pretend as if they were fighting with the party of the bridegroom. In highly civilized communities, as those of the Telugus and the Tamils, some article, instead of the bride, is carried away by the bridegroom from the house of the bride. This is a formality religiously observed after the *Śeṣahoma* rites have been finished. Thus amongst the Dravidian communities in India, the system of the Rākṣasa marriage is seen in all stages from its violent to the most harmless form of the substitution of an article for the bride.

After the bride or the substituted article has been carried off by force and the formality of fight is gone through, the giving of presents takes place. Now in these days, the presents and their value are settled beforehand and are paid before the bridegroom runs away with the bride. All these presents, whether they be clothes, ornaments, grain, or cattle, seem to have been originally intended as an inducement to the woman to consent to live with the man. Gradually some of them became transferred to the bride's parents and brothers. The habit of inducing the bride to live with her abductor by giving her valuable things seems to have been in vogue even in the time of Rāvaṇa. After he had carried away Sītā to Laṅkā, he showed her all his wealth and splendour and offered to make her the queen of all his kingdom. When he approached her, while she was in the Aśoka grove (v, 20, 17f.) he again told her that he would make her the queen of all his wealth and added,

"The broad rich earth will I o'errun,
And leave no town unconquered, none.
Then of the whole an offering make
To Janak, dear, for thy sweet sake" (Griffith).

The abductor must make the bride and her parents happy. It is only then that the bride would consent to marry him. The system of paying the bride price, which is a common custom with great many tribes, seems to have resulted from the offers originally made to induce the woman to live with her abductor or seducer. In the primitive times, when cattle formed the medium of barter and exchange, the price of the bride was paid in the form of cattle. But as other things became substituted as media, those were included in the price paid for the bride. In modern times when metallic currency became common, the

bride is given for so many coins and in certain families the parents grow rich by selling their daughter to the man who pays the highest amount. This custom has gained ground amongst the semi-civilized poor families. But amongst the tribes that live in remote parts the price of the bride is given in kind even in these days.

Now we have to study the custom prevalent amongst the Rākṣasas regarding the disposal of their dead. In my paper on the Aboriginal tribes in the Rāmāyaṇa, it was shown that Rāvaṇa's body was cremated after the Aryan fashion, because Rāma had desired it. In speaking about the disposal of the body of Virādha, it was stated that the Sanātana-dharma of the Rākṣasas was only burial. Kabandha's funeral was a compromise between the Rākṣasa and the Aryan funerals. The body was burnt after the Aryan fashion and the burnt ashes were then buried. That there might be no need of conveying the ashes from the place where it had been burnt to the pit in which they were to be buried, the pyre was arranged in the pit itself and the body was burnt on it. This shows how cleverly the Kabandha class of the Rākṣasas, the descendants of Danu, adopted the Aryan cremation without apparently transgressing their ancient custom of burial. But the case of Rāvaṇa's tribesmen was different. Some had altogether given up the old ways and embraced the Aryan Dharma completely. Vibhīṣaṇa presents to us the type of a thoroughly aryanised Rākṣasa. Another set of men, unable to resist the overwhelming strength of the invaders, temporarily suspended their natural pursuits and retired into the peaceful life of hermits; but whenever opportunity offered itself, they were ready to show themselves out in their true colour. Mārīca is a type of this class. The majority of the Rākṣasas, being secure in their stronghold of Laṅkā, scrupulously maintained their native customs, uncontaminated by foreign influences; nor were they afraid of any outward chastisement. They had even tried, by opening a base of operations at Janasthāna, to suppress the Aryans and spread their influence in the whole country to the south of the Jumna.

Rāma was not at first aware of all the ways of the Rākṣasas. Light repressive measures were thought to be sufficient to bring them into the right way. When the Aryan settlers in the Daṇḍaka forest complained to him of the havoc done to them by these cruel people, Rāma thought that a light chastisement was enough to stop their cruelties and make them live in peace with the settlers. Mārīca told Rāvaṇa

that he had been twice taught a lesson by Rāma and that consequently he had chosen to end his life in the peaceful pursuit of a hermit.

But while living in the Pañcavaṭī, Rāma discovered to his dismay that all his repressive measures had no effect on the cruel way of these man-eating inhabitants of the forest. When Khara with all his followers came against him, he killed them all to a man and thought that the Rākṣasas, as a class, had been annihilated. This action of Rāma roused hostilities with a more formidable enemy ; to bring them to adopt the Aryan way and give up their cruel pursuits, he had tried several means but found them stubborn and unyielding. They fought to a man and died in defending their customs. The class as a whole disappeared ; but their dharma persisted. That also must be destroyed and supplanted by a better system of social laws. How can that be achieved in a society wherein all men except the women had died ? It was only by treating the dead body of their leader according to the proposed system that the whole organisation of the Rākṣasas could be altered. Rāma, therefore, desired that Rāvaṇa's body should be given the Aryan cremation. To understand it rightly, it is necessary to quote here briefly the rites sanctioned by the Vedas. In the burning ground the corpse was dressed for cremation (Av., xviii, 2, 57). The face of the corpse was covered with the omentum of a cow (Av., xviii, 2, 58). Then his staff, if the deceased was a Brāhmaṇa, or his bow, if a Kṣatriya, was taken from him (Av., xviii, 2. 59-60). A goat was then slaughtered and its parts laid on those of the corpse. Fire was applied to the funeral pile (*The Age of the Mantras*).

This was the method of cremation amongst the Aryans. Rāvaṇa's funeral was not completely in accordance with it. His body was adorned with jewels and cloths, and parched rice was strewed over it. A goat (medhya paśu) was killed. Along with the body on the pyre were placed all his articles (vi, 114, 115).

pādayoḥ śakaṭaṃ prāpur ūrvoś colūkhalaṃ tadā//
dārupātrāṇi sarvāṇi araṇiṃ cottarāraṇim/
dattvā tu musalaṃ cānyaṃ yathāsthānaṃ vicakramuḥ//

Araṇi and uttarāraṇi are the pieces of wood with which fire is kindled. *Musalaṃ cānyaṃ* shows that a staff different from his own was placed in his hand, for his own had been smashed to pieces by the arrows of Rāma (VI, 114, 83); then

116 tatra medhyaṃ paśuṃ hatvā.....
117 gandhair mālyair alaṅkṛtya Rāvaṇaṃ dīnamānasāḥ//
lājair avakiranti.....

Rāvaṇa's body was decorated with sandal paste and flowers, and fried grain was scattered over his body. Then a goat was killed, and his body was covered with its skin.

From this it appears how far the Aryan ritual was followed. Except the burning, there is no other resemblance. Rāma's aim also was only that much. For he told Vibhīṣaṇa to cremate the body (VI, 114, 100):

kriyatām asya saṃskāro mamāpy eṣa yathā tava,

and to accomplish this, Vibhīṣaṇa brought all the required articles.

In 102 saṃskāreṇānurūpeṇa yojayāmāsa Rāvaṇam Anurūpeṇa shows that the cremation suitable to a Rākṣasa was given. It does not appear to be reasonable to say that such funeral as was prescribed by the Vedas for the body of a person that had performed yajñas had been given to Rāvaṇa's body. Those that bury the dead place the articles of the dead person in the grave. That was the custom of burial in ancient times and the graves of the ancient peoples show that. But when they learned to burn the dead, the custom of placing all the things that belonged to him by the side of the body was not given up. In the case of Rāvaṇa also, his staff, his utensils and ornaments are said to have been placed on the pyre. Thus Rāvaṇa's funeral was a compromise between the Aryan cremation and the Rākṣasa burial.

The Kuis do not remove the ornaments from the corpse. It is covered with a cloth. Along with it, they carry to the cremation ground the clothes, plates, drinking vessels and ornaments belonging to the dead person. The weapons belonging to him, if there be any, are also taken to the place. In Gumsoor Maliahs the Kuis tie a goat to the foot of the corpse. But in other places, the Kuis take a goat to the cremation ground along with the corpse and leave it there. The Kui funerals are said to extend over a period of twelve days; but Rāvaṇa's funeral is said to have been done in one day. Perhaps, the twelve days' ceremonies are only an elaboration of what is said to have been prescribed for one day in ancient times.

The Kuis have several superstitions, the chief of which is that a man can change himself into the form of a tiger and prey upon men or cattle. "They believe that they can transform themselves into tigers or snakes, half the soul leaving the body and becoming changed into one of these animals, either to kill an enemy, or satisfy hunger,

by having a good feed on cattle in the jungle" (Thurston's Castes and Tribes, vol. III, p. 405).

The superstition was extant amongst the Rākṣasas also. Mārīca told Rāvaṅa that he had transformed himself into a beast of prey and drank the blood of the inhabitants of the Daṇḍaka forest (III, 39).

2 rākṣasābhyām ahaṃ dvābhyām anirviṇṇas tathākṛtaḥ/
sahito mṛgarūpābhyāṃ praviṣṭo daṇḍakāvane//

3 dīptajihvo mahākāyas tīkṣṇaśṛṅgo mahābalaḥ/
vyacaran daṇḍakāraṇyaṃ māṃsabhakṣo mahāmṛgaḥ//

4 agnihotreṣu tīrtheṣu caityavṛkṣeṣu Rāvaṇa/
atyantaghoro vyacaraṃs tāpasāṃs tān pradharṣayan//

5 nihatya daṇḍakāraṇye tāpasān dharmacāriṇaḥ/

6 ṛṣimāṃsāśanaḥ krūras trāsayan vanagocarān/

The superstitious belief of the people has been thus recorded by the poet.

The crow is treated as a friend by the Kuis. To kill it is as sinful as killing a friend. In the Rāmāyaṇa, the crow is made to behave in a way inimical to Rāma who was an enemy of the Rākṣasas (v, 38, 12-36). But the poet had taken greater advantage of the enmity the Kuis show to the Brahmani Kite (Garuḍa). They readily kill it; Vālmīki made Garuḍa and his sons behave in a friendly way to Rāma and his allies.

When Rāma came to reside in the Pañcavaṭī, Jaṭāyu, the younger son of Garuḍa, offered his friendship and promised to keep guard over Sītā when the two brothers went to hunt in the forest. When Rāvaṇa was carrying away Sītā, Jaṭāyu obstructed him and fought with him to release her. The hatred with which the Kuis treat this class of birds is illustrated in the merciless slaughter of Jaṭāyu by Rāvaṇa. The first informant of Sītā's abduction was this Jaṭāyu whose life lingered till he saw the two princes.

Sampāti, the elder son of Garuḍa, showed the place where Sītā had been hidden to the Vānaras while they were despairing of finding her.

Lastly, Garuḍa himself came to the succour of Rāma and his brother when they both lay tied down in the serpent bond. The serpents all fled away when they heard the rustling of his wings; he went to Rāma and relieved him of all pain by fanning him with his wings. Thus the birds, ill-treated by the tribesmen, are made to behave courteously to Rāma and his followers.

The last ethnological evidence is furnished by the council of elders whom Rāvaṇa invited when his stronghold had been beseiged by Rāma and his Vānara host. This council is the prototype of the tribal assemblies held on similar occasions in Kui villages. Matrimonial disputes, cases of abduction, illicit intercourse, quarrels regarding the guardianship of the children that have lost their fathers are some of the questions that are brought before these councils, and under the tree in the centre of the village are flat stones arranged for the elders to sit on, while the headman occupies the one at the trunk of the tree. Whenever the council is to be held, previous intimation is given to all. The place of meeting and the tree are held very sacred by the villagers.

Thus from the statements contained in the epic about the characteristics of the Rākṣasa clan, it is shown how those customs are followed now by the Kui tribes now living in the jungles of the Eastern Ghats. That the Rākṣasas spoke a language allied to the Dravidian tongues and had followed some customs which have now almost disappeared can be known by the study of some words which are found used to designate the Rākṣasas and their lord. In the next paper I propose to take up the study of those words.

G. RĀMADAS

Indian Society as pictured in the Mṛcchakaṭika[1]

Modern Indian life is more a struggle for existence than an object of enjoyment, but the life as depicted in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* appears to be one more of play and pleasure than of pity and pain. The intention of the writer of this paper is to make an attempt to illustrate this and to show that the material civilisation of the ancient Indians developed as much as the spiritual side of its counter-

1 A lecture delivered at a meeting of the Sanskrit and Bengali Association of the Dacca University held on October 3, 1928.

part. The opinion held by some people that the ancient Indians did not know how to enjoy life is a myth.

Introduction to the Subject-matter

H. H. Wilson, writing (in 1834) about one hundred years ago said, "The place which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* holds in the dramatic literature of all nations, will, however, be thought a matter of more interest by most readers than its antiquity or historical importance. That it is a curious and interesting picture of national manners every one will readily admit; and it is not the less valuable in this respect, that it is free from all exterior influence or adulteration. It is a portrait purely Indian. It represents a state of society sufficiently advanced in civilisation to be luxurious and corrupt, and is certainly very far from offering a flattering similitude, although not without some attractive features." Most scholars hold such view and treat this drama as a picture of contemporary society, the only exception being Prof. Sylvain Lévi, who says that "the Indian Society has certainly never resembled a picture which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* traces in it."

In the treatment of my subject, I have avoided discussion of the most vexed and controversial, though most important, question of the authorship and date of this drama. From the style and diction of the Sanskrit used in it without much of rhetorical devices, the various Prakrit dialects used free from artificialities, and the incidental references to various social manners and customs, to religious faiths and practices and to some of the political laws and regulations prevalent in the contemporary society, I regard the drama as a composition of respectable antiquity, written, some time before, but not later than, the fourth century A.C. Here I have dealt with only a few points, relating to the social, domestic, political and religious aspects of the life of the people at the time.

Outline of the Plot of the Drama

King Pālaka of Ujjayinī was a tyrant. His tyrannical oppression caused discontent amongst some of his subjects who were conspiring to bring about an insurrection and set up another person on the throne. The wicked king threw into dungeon one Āryaka, the son of a cowherd, apprehending that the latter was destined to depose the king and occupy the throne, as announced

concubine, Śakāra, was a coxcomb of despicable character. Cārudatta, the hero, was a brāhmaṇa merchant of a very lofty and amiable character, but was reduced to extreme poverty by frequent acts of munificence. Vasantasenā, the heroine, was the richest courtesan of the city, possessing excellences much surpassing those of married ladies. She loved Cārudatta earnestly and was anxious to meet her lover once more. One evening she had to take shelter in Cārudatta's house on being pursued by Śakāra whom she hated heartily and was not disposed to answer his solicitations for love-making. On that occasion she at her departure kept her casket of ornaments as deposit with Cārudatta. As ill-luck would have it, a burglary occurred in Cārudatta's house and the deposited casket was stolen by one brāhmaṇa thief named Sarvilaka who took to this undesirable profession only to collect a ransom for purchasing the freedom of a female attendant of the heroine named Madanikā, with whom he had fallen in love. When the thief was talking with his mistress in Vasantasenā's house about the theft committed by him in Cārudatta's mansion, Vasantasenā happened to overhear their conversations. In the meantime Cārudatta sent through his companion Maitreya to the heroine a very valuable pearl-necklace given by his devoted wife, Dhūtā, for repaying the value of the deposited ornaments. Vasantasenā accepted the necklace although she had already been in possession of her own casket of ornaments as received from the thief himself who on his mistress's advice delivered it to the courtesan. After this, she herself proceeded on a very dark and stormy evening to Cārudatta's house, drenched in rain, and passed the night in the company of her lover there. Next day after she had given away her ornaments to the little son of Cārudatta to get a golden toy-cart made for him in place of an earthen one, she was to go to meet her lover to the Puṣpakaraṇḍaka garden by driving in Cārudatta's carriage. But she got into a wrong carriage belonging to the villain, Śakāra, in which she was carried unknowingly by his pious driver Sthāvaraka, to his master waiting in the same garden for the arrival of the carriage for returning home. Cārudatta's carriage was, however, used by the cowherd, Āryaka, who made good his escape from the jail-cell where he was kept enchained by the tyrant king. It was the revolutionary party headed by Śarvilaka who brought about Āryaka's escape. On his appearance before Cārudatta in the garden, the latter easily recognised Āryaka whom he immediately sent home in his own carriage, so that he might evade inspection by city-guards

and be not troubled by police officers as he was just on his way to the garden. Out of fear of treason for helping Āryaka in this way, Cārudatta came away home without waiting any longer in the garden for Vasantasenā's arrival. Here, on the other hand, Śakāra was pleasantly surprised to find Vasantasenā appearing there in his own carriage. He now offered fresh proposals of love to the heroine which she scornfully rejected. The villain out of rage at once strangled her to death with his own hands when he failed to persuade his driver Sthāvaraka and another attendant to perpetrate this sinful and atrocious deed on his behalf. Vasantasenā dropped down dead to all appearances and was with very great difficulty taken afterwards to a neighbouring Buddhist monastery by a mendicant whom in his worldly life she had saved from the hands of gamblers by paying off his debts to them. Lest his cart-driver Sthāvaraka should disclose his name in connection with this murder, Śakāra kept him confined in his own palace. To feed fat his ancient grudge he then proceeded to the law-court to lodge a complaint against Cārudatta declaring before the presiding judge and the assessors that Vasantasenā had been killed by Cārudatta for the sake of her ornaments. During the trial the hero's friend, Maitreya, unwittingly let fall from his armpit Vasantasenā's ornaments recently given to Cārudatta's son, which he was carrying to the heroine's house for their return. Amongst other unfortunate evidences, this display of the ornaments, finally, though wrongly, convinced the judge of Cārudatta's guilt. King Pālaka rejected the judge's recommendation for Cārudatta's banishment from the kingdom and pronounced a sentence of the extreme penalty on the accused. Sthāvaraka jumped down from his master's place when Cārudatta was being led along with the royal proclamation of his guilt by beat of drum, to the place of execution by the Cāṇḍālas. But Śakāra asked the people not to believe his servant's story that it was his master (i.e., he himself) and not Cārudatta who throttled Vasantasenā. But, woe to Śakāra! when Cārudatta was about to be impaled, Vasantasenā, accompanied by the Buddhist mendicant who had rendered her first aid in the garden where she had fallen almost dead on the day of the cruel incident, now appeared on the scene. Cārudatta's innocence was established and Vasantasenā was legally married to him and the title of wife (*vadhū*) was conferred on her by the new king, Āryaka, who only recently installed himself on the throne by killing the wicked king Pālaka.

It may now be observed from the brief narration of the main plot with its episodes that the play-wright has introduced both high and low-class people into his drama, and for his plot he has largely drawn upon "real life", so that he could keep for the future generations a picture of life in contemporary society, including its government and laws.

Domestic character of the Hindus and some of their manners and customs. Their residences etc.

The division of the people of the society into the four different castes with its sub-divisions was well marked in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* society (cf "ब्रह्मचत्रविशस्तरन्ति च यया नावा तथैवेतरे"—I, 32). The kings of ancient India were advised by political philosophers to be upholders of the *varṇāśramadharma*, the institution of the four castes and the four stages of life. But the new and bold interpretation of the caste-system, which found clear expression in the writings of authors on Nītiśāstra, specially Śukra, namely that the accident of birth (*jāti*) was to be no criterion of a man's worth in life, may be traced in many passages and events in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Śukra writes—

"न जात्या ब्राह्मणश्चात्र क्षत्रियो वैश्य एव न।
न शूद्रो न च वै म्लेच्छो भेदिता गुणकर्म्मभिः॥" I, 38.

"The Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra or even the Mlecha are not separated (from each other) by birth, but they are so by merit and work." Again, in another place, he writes—

"कर्म्मशीलगुणाः पूज्यास्तथा जातिकुले न हि।
न जात्या न कुलेनैव श्रेष्ठत्वं प्रतिपद्यते॥" II, 55.

"Work, character and merit (of men) are the objects which are to be respected, and not so much their caste and family. Superiority cannot be established only by means of caste and family."

Cārudatta, the hero, was by birth a brāhmaṇa, but he was a merchant (*sārthavāha*) by profession. And we know that the latter's duties were to be performed by Vaiśyas according to the orthodox view of the caste-system. But men born even in a Cāṇḍāla family may, by the loftiness of his character, surpass those born in the privileged classes. We can illustrate this from the Cāṇḍālas' (executioners') [illegible] Cārudatta

to the place of execution amidst the sorrowful lamentations of his little son and others, declaring that it was the king's cruel command that was responsible for the execution and was, therefore, to blame, but they themselves were not responsible for this action, because—

"ण हु अम्हे चाण्डाला चाण्डालकुलम्मि जादपुव्वा वि।
जे अहिभवन्ति शाहुं ते पावा ते अ चाण्डाला॥" X, 22.

"Verily we are not Cāṇḍālas, though born in their family, but Cāṇḍālas and sinners are they who persecute a virtuous man."

The popular idea of a gentleman of ideal character in this society may be illustrated by a verse in which Cārudatta's character is described by the poet thus—

"दीनानां कल्पवृक्षः स्वगुणफलनतः सज्जनानां कुटुम्बी
आदर्शः शिक्षितानां सुचरितनिकषः शीलवेलासमुद्रः।
सत्कर्त्ता नावमन्ता पुरुषगुणनिधिर्दक्षिणोदारसत्त्वो
श्लेकः श्लाघ्यः स जीवत्यधिकगुणतया चोच्छ्वसन्नीव चान्यै॥ I, 48.

"He was the wish-yielding tree to the distressed, bent down with the fruits of his own virtues; to virtuous people he was their family head (i.e., he regarded all good men as members of his own family); a mirror to the learned, a touch-stone for testing moral conduct, he was, as it were, an ocean with righteousness for its coast-line (which he was not to transgress). Always hospitable and scorner of none, a treasure of all manly virtues, courteous and magnanimous—such a man alone, deserving praise for his manifold virtues, really *lives*, while others only *breathe*."

Noble persons' sons, generally denoted by the term *kulaputras*, possessed a fine sense of decorum in their conduct and were always afraid of indecorum (*śīlavañcanā*). But in all societies, as also in that depicted in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, virtuous qualities and wealth could not always be found together ("दुल्लहा गुणा विहवा अ"—II). Good men appear to have been kind to their servants and bad men proud of their possessions and pelf.

There is evidence in this drama to show that men of the upper middle class living in cities resided in brick-built houses with gardens surrounding them on all sides. There were public squares in cities called *nagara-catvaras* where dedicated bulls roamed about for their rumination. Gentlemen made use of covered carts (*pravahaṇa*) with cushions (*yānāstaraṇa*) for their ladies and also various other sorts of carriages for different purposes, such as *gosthīyāna* (carriage for large

It is very difficult to check one's temptation to try to visualise in this connection the splendour of the palatial establishments of rich courtesans of old days living in big cities and describe in an outline the colossal residential quarters of Vasantasenā which had eight different courts. Incidentally this description will indicate the flourishing condition of different crafts and arts in that society. The high portal over the gate-way of her palace was made of ivory and was sustained by beautiful pillars which bore the massive doors of gold set with precious gems, stair-cases and crystal windows opening the whole of Ujjayinī to view, the chief porter sitting there on guard. In the second Court, a zoological garden as it were, one finds well-built cart-bullocks, the snorting buffaloes, the fighting ram, the beautifully-maned horses, the tied-up monkey, and the strong built elephant, all taken care of by different sets of servants. In the third court can be seen the seats meant for the noblemen's sons who frequent there and also a gaming table with the jewel-set chess-board and we find in these quarters half read treatises on love and many a courtesan and old hanger-on who are masters in the art of 'Peace and War of Love' (*maaṇa-sandhi-viggaha-cadurā*) carrying in their hands love-paintings finished by means of various colours combined. The fourth court is a music-hall where one hears the sound of drums, cymbals, pipes and lutes produced in accompaniment of the dancing of the courtesan girls, singing and reciting speeches from dramatic compositions. In the fifth, however, one can witness a good many cooks cooking all sorts of rich dishes. Sweet-meats are being prepared there and cakes baked. Butcher-boys are washing chitterlings and bastard pages are working as assistants in the culinary department. The sixth court is partly a jewellery department where ornaments of gold and other precious metals set with all sorts of jewels are being made, the effulgence of lapis-lazuli, pearls, corals, topazes, sapphires, rubies, emeralds etc. making the whole place resplendent. It is partly a perfumery department where saffron is being dried, musk moistened, sandal-wood ground and many other sorts of essences compounded. It is partly again a drinking room where courtesans and their lovers are chewing betel with camphor, casting coquettish glances towards each other, resorting to laughter and drinking liquor from liquor-jars, shared often by those who are dismissed from the love of the harlots, but still, without leaving the place, are living there, forgetful of their own wives, children and properties. The seventh court is a veritable exhibition-ground for showing both caged birds like parrots, thrushes,

cuckoos, quails, partridges and pigeons, and tame birds like doves, peacocks, flamingoes and cranes. The eighth and the last court is the innermost one where lives the chief courtesan with her mother and brother.

In domestic affairs the relation between a creditor and a debtor was very peculiar in this society, for, the former had almost absolute power over the person of the latter, as he could even inflict bodily punishment with impunity on him and sell him for the recovery of his money. A householder of this period preserved with scrupulous care the deposit of articles made by others even in the absence of witness, and in case of its loss or destruction he did not hesitate to repay the value of the pledge even by begging. Utterance of falsehood was deemed as a thing leading to loss of character ("अन्हुतं तामिधास्यामि चारित्रभ'शकारणम्"—III, 26).

Indian ladies in this society regarded their husbands as their all-in-all and set more value on them than on their earthly riches. True wifehood requires that husband's honour must be preserved by the wife even if she is to make over to him, in times of distress, her own properties (*strīdhana*), however valuable they may be, acquired by her as marriage dowry (*mādughara-laddhā*) over which the husband has no control. But husbands possessing a lofty spirit must not easily allow themselves to be patronised by their wives in this way. We have such a picture in this drama when poor Cārudatta refused to accept his devoted wife's gift of her priceless necklace for the requital of the deposit of Vasantasenā's casket of ornaments, with the significant words—"कथं ब्राह्मणी मामनुकम्पसे। कष्टमिदानीमस्मि दरिद्रः।

आत्मभाग्यचलद्रव्यः स्त्रीद्रव्येणानुकम्पितः।
अर्थतः पुरुषो नारी या नारी सार्थतः पुमान्॥

"Alas, I am to-day truly a poor man, as my wife takes pity on me. Having lost through my own misfortune all properties, I am now to need assistance from my wife's wealth! (Our relation is reversed), for, through (the absence of) wealth man becomes a woman and she who is a woman becomes a man through its possession." But can, or should, a husband refuse such a gift from a *vibhavānugatā bhāryyā*, i.e., a wife who follows him ungrudgingly through all the vicissitudes of fortune? Cārudatta, therefore, could not but accept it. The ladies in this society used to observe religious *vrata* and *upavāsa* (fasting) rites on particular occasions. The innate wisdom of ladies

was recognised by men of this society, and in later Kālidāsan period.

There is a reference to bridegroom's wearing red garment and garland during marriage ceremonies, when music with beat of drums etc. was also played. It is interesting to note that newly married ladies used scent in their braided hair (*ṇavavadhu-keśa-hatthaṃ viya sugandhaṃ*). Staring at high-class ladies was thought out of etiquette even in those days: *"kulajana-darśana-kātaraṃ hi cakṣuḥ,"*—"my eyes are unwilling to look at ladies of high family" and *"na yuktaṃ para-kalatra-darśanaṃ"*—"no one should cast his glance at another's wife"—are expressions to the point. Children were sometimes robbed away from the lap of their nurses ("धावज्जत्सङ्गगतं हरामि न तथा बालं धनार्थी क्वचित्"—IV. 6) by thieves out of greed for money, proving that kidnapping was prevalent in old Indian societies. Although slaves and other lower orders of people were recognised as forming a part of the social structure, yet slavery or in other words trade in men was cetainly in vogue as a licensed institution sanctioned by the State. Men could be sold and purchased by ransom. In addressing low-class people with some censure, the abusive expressions "दासीए पुत्त" "दासीए धीए", and "गोसाविआ पुत्त" (children of concubines), "काणीलीमात:", and "छिणालिआ पुत्त" (born of mothers not by their own husbands, i.e., bastards) were copiously used. The cunning people were with reproach referred to as "काकपदशीशमस्तका" (lit. having heads like the foot of crows i.e. rogues). In quarrels even middle class men entered into abuses referring each other as belonging to the lineage or parentage of the barber and the shoe-maker classes.

Education, Language, Arts and Sciences

Great advance was made in the different branches of arts and sciences and of the various crafts. That high-class men of the society received proper education in the different branches of art and science admits of no doubt, for we have evidence in the drama of kings being versed in the Vedas, mathematical sciences, including astronomy, the fine arts and art of management of elephants, etc. There is an interesting passage on astronomical knowledge in the police officer's speech (in Act VI) where he boasts of his own power of detecting offenders who are sure to be arrested and severely dealt with by him, if, only accidentally, the sun, the moon, the Venus, the Mars, the Jupiter and the Saturn did respectively have their posi-

tions in the 8th, 4th, 6th, 5th, 6th and 9th zodiacal signs on their horoscopes. It can very well be ascertained from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira and other treatises on astronomy that these planetary conjunctions really forebode death and other dire calamities. Reference to ladies, even courtesans, as reading books, dramas specially, is not wanting in this drama. The use of Sanskrit of a most simple and easy-flowing nature and of the various Prākṛit dialects, *viz.*, the Śaurasenī and the Māgadhī, with their sub-classes, the Āvantikā, Prācyā, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī and Dhakkī serves as an example of how people cultivated the art of acquiring knowledge in different languages. We also find that Northerners, for the due discharge of their various official duties, had to be conversant with the vernacular tongues of the Southerners also, e.g., the language of Karṇāṭa, Drāviḍa and Cola and even of other non-Aryan races (*Milicchajādīṇam*) such as Khasa, Cīna, etc.

Fine Arts—Music, Dancing, Painting, etc.

The fine art of music (*gāndharva-vidyā*) was largely cultivated by men of refined taste (like Cārudatta) who could greatly appreciate it and were conversant with the musical theory of the Hindus. We have evidence in this play of the fact that generally musical concerts took place at night and such musical treats were enjoyed till late hours of midnight. Of all the four types of musical instruments, *viz.*, *tata* (stringed instrument), *ānaddha* (percussion), *śuṣira* (wind-instrument) and *ghana* (cymbal), etc. used by the Indians, we find mentioned here the names of a drum (*mṛdaṅga*), a tabor (*paṇava*), a lute (*vīṇā*) and pipes (*vaṃśa*). It was the lute which contained seven strings and much resembled our modern *setār* that was resorted to most by musicians and liked by the audience. Concert to the accompaniment of this instrument lends lustre to social gatherings and when played by lovers in separation it lulls their mental pain (cf. संस्थापना प्रियतमा विरहातुराणाम्"—II. 3). In all societies in the matter of singing, ladies are regarded as more sweet-tongued than men. But sometimes, in exceptional cases, males may surpass females by a fine execution of music. Cārudatta's criticism of musician Rebhila's music contains the remark that the excellent performance of this male musician makes him think that a female covertly stationed in his person must have uttered the dulcet sounds ("अन्तर्हिता यदि भवेद् वनितेति मन्ये"—II. 4). So charming was the concert that the musician's melo-

dious utterance mingled with the sweet notes of the lute—now gently undulating, now swelling high and now dying to a close echoed in the ears of the audience even long after its cessation (यत् सत्वं विरतेऽपि गीतसमये गच्छामि श्रुखन्निव—III, 5). The above lines clearly show the height of progress the art both of instrumental and vocal music reached under the patronage of the rich appreciators of the time. We have seen before that the fourth court in the palatial buildings of the heroine was a music-hall wherein the harmonious notes of all the four kinds of musical instruments could be heard playing in accompaniment of the songs sung by damsels, some of whom also practised the graceful art of dancing and reciting from dramas with erotic gesticulations (अदिमहुरं पगीदाओ गणिआदारिआओ गच्चिअन्ति णट्टअं पठीअन्ति ससिङ्गाराओ''—IV).

Reference to the most faithful representation of Cārudatta as portrayed on a painting-board by Vasantasenā may serve as an example of painting being cultivated even by ladies in Indian society. The advance in the art of sculpture may be inferred from reference to mountain caves being excavated by means of chisels (टङ्कैर्भग्नःशिलगृहैव विदार्यमाणा) and to temples being erected for the residence of different gods.

Commercial activity in merchants' quarters known as *śreṣṭhi-catvara*, corresponding probably to our modern *chowks* and in the different *karmāntas* (workshops) appears to have been great. Sea-going vessels (*yāna-pātrāṇi*) are also referred to in this drama. The wealth of trading classes could not, therefore, but be immense, as without the large sums accumulated by his merchant ancestors which Cārudatta inherited, he could not be expected to found suburbs, erect monasteries and temples, lay out gardens and parks, excavate tanks and wells and establish sacrificial posts.

Some Social Vices—Gambling

In Act II of this drama the poet has introduced a scene in which appear some gamblers (*dyūtakara*), the chief amongst whom was named Māthura, who was the *Sabhika* (i.e., the keeper of the gaming Hall) and the second gambler was the unlucky Saṃvāhaka who owed 10 gold *suvarṇas* (mohurs) to another, having lost that sum in a play. This scene reveals to us a very lively picture of the sort of people who engaged themselves as gamblers in ancient Indian society and of the manner of playing their game and also of the convention of rules and regulations

they were bound to follow in gambling. It appears that Saṃvāhaka was the son of a well-to-do householder of Pāṭaliputra conversant with the art (*kalā*) of shampooing and kneading the limbs of persons and was appreciated and appointed, on his arrival at Ujjayinī for sight-seeing, to serve Cārudatta whose poverty, however, was responsible for his dismissal from his services within a short time and so he turned out a gambler, but being a novice in the play lost 10 *suvarṇas* in a game. Being unable to pay the amount he was attempting to escape from the clutches of the keeper of the gaming table, the inexorable *Sabhika* and the winning gambler. He was, however, saved by the kindness of Vasantasenā who paid off his debt by awarding to the keeper and the other gambler a valuable bracelet of hers. But despondency, due certainly to the humiliation that a gambler is often put to, took possession of his heart and he became a Buddhist mendicant and renounced the world.

We know that a Vedic Indian was an inveterate gambler and used to incur debts for gambling. In an interesting hymn of the Ṛgveda (X. 54) we have an account of the fatal fascination of the dice-playing and of the consequent ruin and enslavement for the dicer's family. In ancient India gambling does not seem to have been prohibited by any legislation of the king; hence people could resort to it, as if with state permission. It was rather regarded as a respectable art by the gamblers of those days. For, the Śāstra says—आहूतो न निवर्त्तेत द्यूतादपि रणादपि, i.e., "when challenged no one should refuse to gamble or to give battle." A *Mṛcchakaṭika* gambler regards gambling as पुरुषस्यासिंहासनं राज्यं, a sovereignty without a throne, thereby proving that it was not considered a vice. Fascination of gambling was evident even in persons who were penniless, for the rattling of the gambling implements such as *kattā*, *śakti* and *gardabhī* was enough to capture the heart of such people who were easily drawn to it and the passion for it could hardly be curbed even by losing parties staking their all in it [cf. II. 5-6]. People addicted to this vice often find themselves in exciting condition when others indulge in play.

It is not clear what sort of game is alluded to in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. But there is no doubt that the throw is made by means of *cowries*. The technical terms of *tretā*, *pāvara*, *nardita* and *kaṭa* (mentioned in II, 9) which are even to-day called in the Punjab and East Bengal *tiyā*, *duā*, *nakkī* and *pūrā* appear to be names of particular throws. We also have here a peculiar cant of the gamblers in

the cry सम पाठे, सम पाठे, equal probably to "my turn, my turn (for the throw)." A few words are necessary for forming an idea of the duties of the *Sabhīka*, the keeper, whose powers were certainly defined, under government sanct ion, by certain laws and regulations of the *dyūtakara-maṇḍalī*, i.e., the gamblers' association. Although Manu directs the king to put a complete stop to gambling (*dyūta*) and betting on cockfights, ram-fight s, elephant fights *etc.* (*samāhvaya*) calling both these social evils as "open theft" (प्रकाश्यमेव तास्कर्य्यं यद्देवन-समाह्वयौ—IX) 222) and enjoins him even to order the slaughter of persons who themselves gamble or who, like Sabhika, arrange for others' gambling (यः कुर्य्यात् कारयेत वा। तान् सर्व्वान् घातयेद्राजा IX. 224), yet other lawgivers such as Nārada and Yājñavalkya are of opinion that the king should protect the game, if he is sure that the fixed portion of his revenue from this item of receipts has been realised from Sabhika. He is called Sabhika for keeping a *sabhā*, i.e., an assembly of gamblers. He is as if a licence-holder, permitted by Government to keep records of plays and players in the public gambling-hall and see that no fraud or deceit is committed there by dishonest players. He is the superviser of the games supplying the gamblers with all the essential requisites of play. He is entitled, under the rules, 5 p. c. of money won by the winning parties, if such money exceeds one hundred and only to 10 p. c. of money falling below that amount. In return for the protection given by the state the Sabhika was to pay a fixed proportion of his income to the royal treasury. He could not enforce the payment to the winners of the sums lost by a losing party without having himself duly paid the king's portion. The collection, from the losing parties, of money won by the winning parties formed a chief duty of the Sabhika and we have seen in our drama how Sabhika Māthura was exerting to collect the ten gold coins from Saṃvāhaka on behalf of the winning gambler. The lookers-on were to be treated as witnesses and if any foul play or false dice were detected against any gambler, he was to be branded and banished from the kingdom (cf. Yājñavalkya, II, 199-202). The gamblers regarded the Sabhika as a very powerful man in society and his words were, as it were, law to them. For we find one gambler expressing—(सहिअ वज्जिअ एक्क लुद्दो वि ण लक्खिदु तरइ।—II. 3) "save the keeper, not even god Rudra will be able to protect a man." Being unable to pay off their dues then and there, the gamblers could be permitted by the Sabhika to be let out on surety produced (*gaṇḍa-karaṇa*) by them. Maltreatment of losing gamblers by the

Sabhika to the extent of kicking and thumping by means of blows making the poor losers bleed through their nostrils was often resorted to and they were sometimes made to sell off their parents and their own persons for paying off their gambling debts. Thus we see that there are ample indications in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of the vices of civilised society.

Thieving—practised as an Art

Loss of character in all societies is the main cause for people turning thieves. We have an instance in point in Śarvilaka who avers that being himself the son of a Brāhmaṇa who is versed in all the four Vedas and who never accepts gifts from others he has taken to this foul art of theft for the sake of his lady-love whose freedom he was anxious to purchase by means of ransom. Hence was his propensity to commit theft. Devils always quote scriptures in defence of their evil deeds. Stealing which thrives most during sleep of others cannot be called in the opinion of the perpetrators a lowly business for (मार्गो ह्येष नरेन्द्रसौप्तिकवधे पूर्वं कृतो द्रौणिना—III. 11) "This path" (they may cite authority) "was followed by Aśvatthāman who overpowered in a night-onset his slumbering royal enemies." They can also support their profession with the recommendation that theft is a kind of independence and is certainly preferable to slavish homage (स्वाधीना वचनीयतापि हि वरं वह्नौ न सेवाञ्जलिः—III. 11). From the most enjoyable and interesting soliloquy of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* thief, we have a clear idea that there was a thief's manual in India—a work on the science of thieving—ascribed to various authors, headed by Skanda (Kumāra—Karttikeya, the originator), *viz.*, Kanakaśakti, Bhāskaranandin and Yogācārya, all of whose names are reverentially remembered by thieves at the time of their action. Thieves were also called Skandaputras, i.e., devotees of Skanda, who resembled in this respect the Grecian Mercury and St.Nicholas of England. This god was rather the patron-deity of thieves. He was worshipped also by people for the recovery of stolen property. It is not known from when this god lost his character as the patron of thieves. Yogācārya's treatise must have contained instruction on this art for thieves, e.g., on the four-fold method of making breaches (*sandhis*) in the walls and shaping them into various forms, such as a blooming lotus, the sun, the new moon, a lake, the magical diagram *Svastika* or a complete water-jar; also on the necessity of thieves'

carrying with them the magical unguent (*yogarocanā*) with its properties of making one, anointed with it, invisible and not liable to injury from strokes of weapons used against them by others, the measuring tape (*pramāṇa-sūtra*) so important for loosening ladies' ornaments from the different parts of their bodies, for opening a latch in a door, for measuring the depth and height of walls, and for using as a ligature in snake-bites at the time of boring the hole in the wall. A thief is also enjoined to take with him enchanted seeds which when scattered on the ground multiply where there is a treasure buried underneath and also a box containing fire-flapping flies for extinguishing lamps (प्रदीपनिर्वाणार्थं अग्नेयाः कीटाः). That such a standard work on house-breaking was in existence in ancient India is also known from the Sanskrit romance, the Daśakumāracarita, which attributes it to one teacher named Karṇīsuta and we also find mentioned there various other implements for use by a thief who must wear a black half-trouser (*ardhoruka*) and carry a short sword and be in possession of a scoop (*phaṇimukha*), scissors (*kākalī*, a whistle according to some), tongs (*saṃdaṃśaka*), a sham human head for insertion into the breach made in the wall probably to be sure that his own body will pass through it (*puruṣa-śīraṣka*), magic powder (*yogacūrṇa*), magic wick (*yogavarttikā*), measuring thread (*mānasūtra*), a wrench (a crab-shaped instrument) or a hook attached to a rope by which to climb up (*karkaṭakarajju*), a lamp case (*dīpabhājana*) and a casket containing bees for putting out light (*bhramara-karaṇḍaka*) etc. In short, if one would try to compete with others in this art (*śilpa*) and to elude an arrest by the royal sentinels at night, one must feel that he has attained the characteristics of the following animals, *viz.*, a cat in climbing, a deer in jumping, a hawk in darting upon the prey, a dog in judging the strength of a man asleep or awake, a snake in crawling, a mule in defile, a horse on land, an eagle in flying, a hare in kenning the ground for seeking a hiding place, a wolf in capturing and a lion in making a show of strength; and being steady like a mountain he must regard himself as "Illusion" personified in the matter of cleverly changing his features, postures and dresses to make his own identity unrecognised and he should be able to use the different tongues prevalent in different countries for his evil purpose.

Concubinage

As the central female figure, I mean, the heroine of the play,

was a high-class courtesan, we should not refrain from making a few observations on this profession, for the purpose of showing that good courtesans, highly accomplished and of noble disposition, can behave towards their lovers as satisfactorily as their own devoted wives, ministering to their happiness. But such courtesans should have the good fortune of securing paramours or lovers of noble and generous character of the type of Cārudatta to reciprocate their love, and should shun the company of men of undesirable character of the type of Śakāra. And, it is found generally that both these types of men sometimes stood as rivals in their profession of love towards a good harlot. Writers on Kāmaśāstra like Vātsyayana are of opinion that the determining factors in a harlot's preference for a particular man are three in number, *viz.*, gain, prevention of her troubles and loss and true love (अर्थोऽनर्थप्रतीघात: प्रीतिश्चेति वात्स्यायन:—VI. 1, 18). They have stated that generally prostitutes are very covetous of money and they have also treated in their books of the various means adopted by them for extracting money from their lovers. Though this general opinion is found prevailing for young men of licentious character in the society represented by the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, some of whom may declare with Śakāra's Viṭa (companion) that a harlot's residence is the free resort of youth (तरुणजनसहायस्थिन्यतां वेशवास:—I. 31) and that she possesses a person which is a saleable commodity that may be purchased by money and therefore she is found to offer equal reception both to the amiable or the disgusting (वहसि हि धनहार्यं परभूतं शरीरं समसुपचर भद्रे सुप्रियं चाप्रियं च—I. 31), yet there were in that society mistresses like Vasantasenā who were partial only to the merit of their lovers and not so much to their wealth and who could utter such expressions as गुणो क्खु अणुराअस्स कारणं ण उण बलक्कारो, i.e., it is merit alone and not brutal violence that inspires love. We have the authority of the Kāmasūtras also in support of such an idea. Cārudatta was once very rich, but he had spent his all in making large charities to the needy, but his virtues alone drew Vasantasenā's loving heart towards him and she knew that a harlot with her loving heart fixed on a poor person does not incur censure from worldly men (दलिद्दपुरिससंकप्पमणा क्खु गणिआ लोए अवअणीआ भोदि—II). The injunctions of the Kāmasūtra are also to the effect that a concubine should keep at a distance, now as well as in future, those who are the king's favourites, and those who are naturally of cruel disposition and have earned their money with much exertion (क्लेशाधिगतवित्तांश्च राजवल्लभनिष्ठुरान्।

आयत्याञ्च तदात्वे च दूरादेव विवर्जयेत्, वात्स्यायनकामसूत्रे—VI, 5); and that she should be kind enough never to accept any payment from a person, if she knows that her love-making with him will stand her in good stead and that prestige will increase thereby and that she will be able to get out of all troubles in life (आयत्यर्थिनी तु तमाश्रित्य चानर्थं प्रतिचिकीर्षन्ती नैव प्रतिगृह्णीयात्—वा, का, VI. 5).

In every society, the brother of a concubine—specially if the latter be in the king's keeping—wields undue influence even on high personages. As regards the excessive influence exercised by their mothers or foster-mothers of prostitutes on their daughters, the Kāmaśāstras enjoin that courtesans should be obedient to their mothers, very oppressive and greedy women, or in their absence, to their foster-mothers (मातरि च क्रूरशीलायामर्थपरायां चायत्ता स्यात्। तदभावे मातृकायाम्—वा, का V. 2). These mothers often dictate for the sake of money their earning daughters to attend to persons who are even disliked by the latter, but such undue dictation is sometimes found sternly resented to by their daughters. They also sometimes interefere with their true love with proper persons (तदभिगमने च जनन्या सह नित्यो विवादः।—वा का VI. 2). In such cases the daughters should threaten their mothers by saying that they would do violence to their life by means of poison, fasting, (sharp) weapons, or the rope (बलात्कारेण च यद्यत्र तया नीयते तदा विषमनशनं शस्त्रं रज्जुमिति कामयेत—वा का VI. 2). A prostitute is even asked not to undertake any work without the sanction of her mother (मातरं विना किञ्चिन्न चेष्टेत—वा का VI. 2), but we find, in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Vasantasenā refusing, to obey her mother when the latter urges her through her maid-servant to proceed to the house of Śakāra (the king's brother-in-law) for love-making, because the latter has sent a carriage for her conveyance to his garden along with very rich presents of ornaments. What was her bold reply to her mother for such a vile dictation of an unworthy request? She asked her attendant to carry the following words to her mother—"Say this 'if you would have me not dead (i.e. alive), you must send no more such messages'" (एव्वं विण्णविदव्वा—जइ मं जीअन्तीं इच्छसि ता एव्वं ण पुणो अहं अत्ताए आणाविदव्वा—IV).

In countries where, in modern days, prositution is not a legal crime lovers are seen frequenting the houses of their mistresses. But there is clear evidence in our drama to the effect that harlots also graced the houses of their lovers by their sudden or appointed appearance, even disregarding climatic or atmospheric disturbances. Indians were, however, very jealous of the sanctity of their inner apartments in their family

those places where their wives resided. Hence we find Vasantasenā uttering the words एदिणा अणुचिदभूमि आरोहणेण अवराज्झा अज्ज सीसेण पणमिअ पसादेमि i.e. "I have to conciliate your honoured self by bowing down to you with my head, since I am the offender by my intrusion into a place of which I am unworthy." Elsewhere she feels afraid lest her lover's servants should feel distressed by her entering into his inner quadrangle—but she was assured by them that by her virtues she had entered into their very heart. Here the question may arise as to what might have been the relation of a mistress with her lover's wife. We find that in ancient Indian society, these ladies did not personally meet with each other, but they could treat each other as loving sisters talking through the intermediation of maid-servants. Hence Vasantasenā was sending such a message to Dhutā, Cārudatta's wife, as this—अहं सिरिचारुदत्तस्स गुणणिज्जिदा दासी तदा तुह्माणं पि—"I am a slave of his honour Cārudatta bought by his merits and so am I also of you." The touching scene in which Vasantasenā is shown as filling up with her valuable ornaments the clay-cart of Rohasena, Cārudatta's little son during her short stay in her lover's house, contains evidence of a good concubine loving her lover's son just as if the latter were a son born to herself. But it must be admitted that no nobleman could boast publicly of his connection with a harlot even in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* society, though the profession of prostitution had a status recognised even by kings who had Gaṇikā-dhyakṣas, state officers to act as superintendents of prostitutes for determining their earnings, inheritance, income, expenditure and future propspects in their profession. Hence Cārudatta felt ashamed to confess his connection with Vasantasenā in the open court when the presiding judge asked him the question—आर्य, गणिका तव मित्रम् ?—"is it a fact that the harlot is your friend." Even Vasantasenā's old mother summoned there as a witness at first hesitated to divulge the name of her daughter's lover but as the Law-court put the question to them they had to confess the connection.

A most interesting affair could be observed in Vasantasenā being eventually allowed to be married with Cārudatta and decorated with the coveted title of a house-wife (वधूशब्देन). This may seem somewhat strange when we consider that wedlock was deemed a very sanctifying institution among the Hindus. Though marriage rules in the Dharma-Sūtras permit a woman of the Śudra class to be married to a member of the highest caste, of course, as the last of his four wives, yet, we never know of

to a brāhmaṇa, unless it was so permitted by a forced explanation of the famous line of Manu—स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि i.e. "an accomplished lady may be accepted for marriage even from a lowly family." The new king's sanction of Vasantasenā's marriage with Cārudatta appears to bar all examination of the social position of the bride. But it is clear that such marriage could not take place without the express decree of the king (परितुष्टो राजा भवतीं वधूशब्दे नानुमन्यते—Act X), or how else could people accept such a marriage as socially permissible and right? Kauṭilya has laid down that a prostitute could purchase her freedom by *niṣkraya* i.e. ransom to the extent of 24,000 *paṇas* and a prostitute's son could do so by 12,000 *paṇas* (निष्क्रयस्चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रः गणिकायाः। द्वादशसाहस्री गणिकापुत्रस्य इति कौटिल्यः II. 27). Can this be thus explained that by such payments they could attain equal social status with other people? We have read also of Madanikā, another prostitute, being made free by Śarvilaka by payment of ransom—but not to the king, but to the mother of Vasantasenā and she also obtained the title of a wife (*vadhū*) and was married to Śarvilaka, a brāhmaṇa's son who regarded himself now as having a wife (कलत्रवांश्चास्मि। cf. also यत्र ते दुर्लभं प्राप्तं वधूशब्दावगुण्ठणम्—IV. 24).

A king and his court

Though there is no direct introduction of any king as a character in this play, a few words about a king and his court so far as they can be gathered from a study of this drama will not be out of place here. Loyalty to the throne was considered a chief duty of the people. "A king should be honoured"—(गम्यो नृपः)—was, as it were, their motto. But they could well beware of an upstart, elevated to the dignified position of a king on account of fickle favours of fortune, assuming strange and manifold appearances (प्रथमश्रीरिव पुरुषः करोति रूपाण्यनेकानि—V. 26). A tyrant's conduct is very severely criticised in this drama. In every kingdom there live free-booters and desperadoes who incite discontented people and royal officers to rebellion against a wicked king and ask them to replace (*lāja palivatte*) him by a good one even by taking to regicide. The insurrection in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* was brought about exactly in accordance with such a principle.

Every king had his jails in which men of suspicious character and those against whom he bore personal grudge were kept confined. It was within the king's prerogative to order jail-deliveries and release of prisoners, even condemned to death, on occasion of the

birth of a son to him (कं वि लद्धो पुत्ते भोदि तेण वद्धावेण शव्ववज्झाणं मोक्खे होदि —X). We have a very interesting description of a victorious king entering, equipped with a store of arrows, into his defeated enemy's capital with thundering drums and blazing streamers and levying new tributes and taxes there from the people (cf. V. 17.). Currency of gold and silver coins such as *suvarṇas, nāṇakas* and *kārṣāpaṇas* was known to the Mṛcchakaṭika society. Police guards kept watch on cities specially at night (राजमार्गो हि शून्योऽयं रक्षिणः सञ्चरन्ति च—I. 58) and for their confidence people going out at night were required to carry lamps for safety on the royal roads (राजमार्गविश्वासयोग्याः प्रज्वाल्यन्तां प्रदीपकाः). Every city had its own Police force with a battalion of constables headed by chief officers some of whom were called बलपति (chief captain of the town force) and some सेनापति or नगररक्षाधिकृत or पधानदण्डधारक, probably equivalent to our present-day City-Magistrates or City-Superintendents. The Police officers were zealous in cherishing a very high sense of their duty with unflinching loyalty to their master, so much so that they were not prepared to spare their parents or relatives, if duty required their prosecution. They could, therefore, easily boast of their duty with such an experssion as—पत्ते अ राअकज्जे पिदरं पि अहं ण जाणामि—VI. 15. i.e. "in the discharge of our duty to the king our own father must be regarded as a stranger."

Administration of justice

A very clear insight into the manner of administration of justice in a royal court by the king's judges can be had from the famous trialscene in Act IX of this drama. We read in old treatises on Arthaśāstra and Nītiśāstra that every capital city and other important centres, e.g. the *saṅgrahaṇas, kārvaṭikas, droṇamukhas*, and *sthānīyas*, must have law-courts (*dharmādhikaraṇas*) presided over by judges known in Kauṭilya's book as *dharmasthas* and *pradeṣṭṛs* for settling civil disputes and trying all sorts of criminal offences. Our drama mentions *adhikaraṇa-maṇḍapa* or *vyavahāra-maṇḍapa*, i.e. the Hall of justice or the court-room and an attendant whose business was to clean the seats of judges and to keep the court-room in order. The judges were called *adhikaraṇabhojakas* i.e. persons in charge of the courts of justice, or simply *adhikaraṇikas*. There were other functionaries also in this connection, *viz.*, the *Śreṣṭhin*, the president of the merchants' guild (their Provost) and the *Kāyastha*, the court-scribe or the judge's amanuensis, whose chief

duty was to take down evidence and jot down notes for the judge at his dictation. The way in which they are seen to interfere in the trial makes one believe that these two functionaries used to sit as joint assessors or commissioners with the judge. Such was the Tribunal constituted. The appointment of the judges lay with the king and they could act as such only during the latter's pleasure. This is clear from the intimidation made by Śakāra, the kings' brother-in-law who on being refused to be heard in respect of his *ejāhār* or complaint, flew into rage and cried out saying

"आः किं ण दीअदि मम ववहारो। जइ ण दीअदि तदो आउत्तं लाअआणं पालअं बहिणीवदिं विण्णविअ वहिणिं अत्तिअं च विण्णविअ एदं अधिअलणिअं दूलं फेलिअ एत्थ अणं अधिअलणिअं ठावइस्सं"—

"How, my cause cannot be tried! If it is not tried, then I shall apply to king Pālaka, my sister's husband and inform both my sister and mother of this and have the judge removed and another appointed in his place." This threat to the judge and the consequent admission of the plaint shows that dismissal of such high judicial officers could sometimes take place under such circumstances on account of back-door influence on bad kings. It was the court practice that the judge was to send the attendant out of his court-room for ascertaining if any litigant was waiting outside for demanding justice in any suit. (cf. बहिर्निष्क्रम्य ज्ञायतां कः कः कार्यार्थी—IX). The *arthin* or complainant has got to appear in person before the judge and make statements on his plaint before him and the *pratyarthin* or defendant is then summoned by the judge to appear in court for defending himself against the charge. In law, complaints are mentioned as of two kinds, one depending on oral statements (*vākyānusāreṇa*) and the other on actual facts (*arthānusāreṇa*). The first was to be settled by the plaintiff and defendant arguing against each other, and the second to be decided by the judge sifting the truth out of the facts and deciding the case with the help of his legal acumen. The judge's task of finding out what lies in others' mind is described as a very difficult one, for a judicial trial depends on many extraneous matters, *viz.*, the statements of parties and evidence got by questions and cross-examination (cf. व्यावहार-पराधीनतया दुष्करं खलु परचित्तग्रहणमधिकरणिकैः). Hence generally the judge's lot is to suffer from blame and not to get the approbation of the public (संक्षेपादपवाद एव सुलभो दृष्टुर्गुणो दूरतः—IX, vv. 3-4). In the words of the poet[1] a model judge should be "learned in law, expert

1 शास्त्रज्ञः कपटानुसारकुशलो वक्ता न च क्रोधनस्तुल्यो मित्रपरस्वकेषु चरितं दृष्ट्वेव दक्षोगरः।
क्लीबान् पालयिता शठान् व्यथयिता धर्म्यो न लोभान्वितो द्वार्भावे परतस्त्रबद्धहृदयो राज्ञस्य कोपापदः॥ IX, 5

in tracing frauds, eloquent, not ireful, impartial towards friends, strangers and relatives, delivering his judgment after carefully consulting the prevailing traditions or customs, a protector to the weak, a terror to the rogues, righteous, not greedy even when bribes are offered to him, always intent on finding out the sought—for truth, and able to pacify the king's wrath (probably, if he be displeased by the judge sometimes deciding against his wish)." Impartial dispensation of justice was the chief aim of kings and their judges in ancient India. For, have we not read of king Asoka being always anxious to declare in his edicts the desirability of uniformity in judicial procedure and uniformity in penalties (इछितविये हि एसा, किंति, विवोहालसमता च सिया दंडसमता चा—Pillar Edict IV) ? Kauṭilya also declares in no uncertain terms of *vṛttisāmya* i.e. "impartial treatment" by kings in the matter of attending to the final decision of public cases. Although the judge with the help of his assessors recorded very carefully the facts of the case as got from the evidence of the witnesses and weighed their value with the greatest possible precaution and lastly arrived at a decision about the guilt or innocence of the accused, he was not, however, the final authority in the award of punishment or discharge, which entirely lay in the hands of the king. Hence when Cārudatta's alleged guilt of murder of Vasantasenā was established by an unfortunate set of circumstantial evidences, the judge had to declare in the court-room thus—

आर्य चारुदत्त, निर्णये वयं प्रमाणं शेषे तु राजा

"The business of proof it was ours to effect, the rest (i.e. the sentence) rests with the king." So we find here that the judges were only a recommending body, a clear mention of which fact can also be had in the legal treatise, *vyavahāra-mayūkha*, where runs the line—वधाध्यक्षौ नृपः शास्ता सभ्याः कार्यपरीक्षकाः i. e. the king is the authority to deliver the judgment of capital punishment as the highest judicial authority and the other judges are only the investigators of the case. It may interest the audience to know that brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment according to Manu and other law-makers. Manu says—न ब्राह्मणवधाद् भूयानधर्म्मो विद्यते भुवि। तस्मादस्य वधं राजा मनसापि न चिन्तयेत् ॥ (VIII. 381)—"There can be no greater wrong than killing a brāhmaṇa, hence, the king should not consider even mentally the question of his death." The heaviest punishment that can be meted out to him when he commits a very atrocious crime is banishment from the kingdom without, however, the forfeiture of all his properties and without personal torture (cf. न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सर्व्वपापेष्वपि स्थितम। राष्ट्रादेनं बहिः

कुर्यात् सर्वधनमक्षतम् ॥ Manu VIII. 380). The Mṛcchakaṭika judge also recommended only banishment and not capital punishment for Cārudatta by refering to Manu's ordinance in the verbal statement he desired the court-attendant to convey to the king in his name, *viz.*,

अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत्।
राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥

"This convicted culprit being a brāhmaṇa should not be killed—as Manu lays down; but he may be banished from the kingdom with all his properties untouched." So the judge, although otherwise impartial, could not be an advocate of *vyavahāra-samatā* (uniformity of justice), because he wanted the king to follow the injunctions of Manu and not sentence the accused with capital punishment. But the king being a tyrant and oppressor of his people, as if in a spirit of showing uniformity of punishment, disregarded the recommendations of the presiding judge and passed the sentence of death on Cārudatta. That there takes place sometimes a miscarriage of justice is another point which can be discussed here with reference to the trial of Cārudatta whom we all know to be innocent. But invention of lies and falsehoods against an accused often goes undetected and it unjustly implicates innocent people, and so if the judge cannot sometimes penetrate beyond the appearances of so-called facts, the inevitable result, *viz.* maladministration of justice takes place. Cārudatta has expressed clearly that it is sometimes useless to tell the truth, for he says दुर्ब्बलं नृपतेश्चक्षुर्नैतत् तत्त्वं निरीक्षते—"the royal eye (i.e. the judge) is feeble and cannot discern the truth." Such judges who can even persuade themselves to falsely believe that a crow (which is black in colour) is white, often bring disgrace upon the king's judiciary and impel kings into the scorching flames of iniquity and cause entire ruin to thousands of victims (cf. दृष्टैः श्वेतबकोपमैः राज्ञः शासन-दूषकैः। अपापानां सहस्राणि हन्यन्ते च हतानि च ॥ IX. 41).

One could insist on proving his innocence in trial by submitting himself to the different ordeals prevalent at the time, four of which *viz.* poison, water, scale and fire are found mentioned in this drama ("विषसलिलतुलाग्निप्राधिते मे विचारे"—IX, 43). Yājñavalkya (II, 95) however, has a fifth *viz. kośa-divya* i.e. the practice of causing the accused to drink three handfuls of water by which terrible gods have been bathed in worship. But these ordeals were resorted to only when the complainant himself was ready to accept punishment, if he fails to prove his charge against the accused.

Religious faiths and practices

It has been truly remarked by a great historian that "the relative prevalence of each of the three religions (Brāhmanical Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism) varied immensely from time to time and province to province." The Indians in the Mṛcchakaṭika period appear to have followed religious faith according to their own predilection and family tradition, and kings must have been tolerant of the freedom of worship by their subjects. Vedic lore was respected and Vedic sacrifices were performed with recitation of Vedic hymns in sanctuaries (X. 12). The mention in different contexts of various Vedic and Paurāṇic gods and goddesses, e.g. Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Mahādeva (under various other names also, such as, Śiva, Hara, Nīlakaṇṭha, Vṛṣabhaketu) as the destroyer of Dakṣa's sacrifice (दक्षयज्ञस्य हन्ता), his consort Gaurī referred to as Devī killing the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, and Kārttikeya (Ṣaṇmukha), the slayer of Krauñca, and also the copious references to the various characters in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata such as, Rāma, Sītā, Rāvaṇa, Bālin, Jaṭāyu, Kālanemi, Hanūmat, Jamadagni, as well as the five Pāṇḍava brothers with Draupadī, Kuntī, Subhadrā, Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana, Keśava with his yellow garment and Balarāma with his blue points to a period when a revival of Brāhmanism had already commenced to work out in the society the members of which including those who were lowly stationed in life were conversant with the various epic and Paurānic incidents and stories. The sun and the moon were invoked for granting safety to the people. There were certainly votaries belonging to the Brāhmanical sects such as Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivaism. Slaughter of goats in sacrifices was in vogue in the society (cf. पसुवन्सोवणीदस्स विअ छाअलस्स—I and गमिदमालब्भुमिवाभ्वरेऽजः—X. 21). But a clear hint of the prohibition of slaughter of animals in a city inhabited by righteous people can be had in verse (VIII. 44) in which such action is described as violent नगलीए विअड्डाए पअ्घादं व दालुणं. It is doubtful if such a practice was due to any Buddhistic influence diffused over the country at the time. People had a deep belief in the Yoga practices of *samādhi* (contemplation) by which the individual soul could be absorbed into the Universal One. To offer oblations to their household deities and to the Mātṛkās was amongst the daliy duties of the people. It is difficult to ascertain, however, if men in this period had any belief in the various incarnations of Viṣṇu. Only a covert allusion to the dwarf incarnation with his three strides

may be found in one context (V. 6). People of high rank, including kings, could never discard oracular statements as untrue and had faith in omens and auguries.

Belief in heaven and hell was predominant in the religious conduct of the Hindus. Not to speak of men in high position in society, even lower-class people of the day, nay, people like bullock-cart-drivers, though suffering from worldly miseries, cherished in their bosom a deep-seated belief in "the next world" which they defined as a condition of life due to the just consequences of one's good or bad acts (cf. के श्री पललोए—भट्टके सुकिद-दुक्किदस्स पलिणामं। Act VIII). The cause of the good or bad condition of their existence in this life was attributed to their performance of good or bad deeds in their previous existences. The best example that can be culled from this drama of such a belief is in the speech of Sthāvaraka, Śakāra's cart-driver, who openly refused in plain and strong terms to kill Vasantasenā, although repeatedly tempted to do so with offer of large and substantial bribes by his master, saying—

जेणह्मि गब्भदासी विणिम्मिदे भाअधेअदोसेहिं।
अहिअं ण कीणिस्सं तेण अकज्जं पलिहलामि॥—VIII. 25

"Through misdeeds of a former life, I have been a born-slave; I shall not buy any more (store of ill-luck), hence I must avoid a sinful deed."

That the people of the period were very much God-fearing can be best illustrated from a verse in Act VIII (verse 24) in which the idea runs that, whether men will it or not, all their holy and unholy acts are witnessed by the several agents of the Almighty (सुकृतदुष्कृत-साक्षिभूता: VIII. 24), *viz.*, the ten quarters, the sylvan deities, the sun, the moon, Dharma itself, the wind, the sky and the Eternal Soul. The same idea is expressed by Manu in a verse (VIII. 86):

द्यौर्भूमिरापो हृदयं चन्द्रार्काग्नियमानिला:।
रात्रि: सन्ध्ये च धर्म्मश्च वृत्तज्ञा: सर्व्वदेहिनाम्॥

Hindus of those days always attached great importance to the duty of affording protection or shelter to those who solicited it in times of need and distress.

But as in modern societies, so also in all past ones, the existence of irreligious and bad men was not wanting. For we find in the Mṛcchakaṭika many advocates of Puruṣakāra (power of men) condemning *kṛtānta* or *daiva* (destiny) and boldly declaring that fate sometimes searches weak points in men's life and metes out unjust consequences in the dispensation of fruits of actions. We hear also of people living at that time who did not condescend to bow down

before gods. Another type of men of ignominious character also prevailed, as they always do prevail in every society, who took to religious life even to the extent of full renunciation, but only in order to cover their own vile actions and not being able to follow the strict rules of the life of a renunciant generally brought it to disrepute (संन्यासः कुलदूषणैरिव—V. 14).

We have shown above that all the aspects of the Brāhmanic religion appeared to have been in their supremacy and ascendancy during the period. There is clear indication, however, that the Hindus assumed a hostile attitude towards Buddhism, the followers of which were looked down upon by them. The sight of a Buddhist mendicant was regarded as an evil omen leading to some calamity (cf. अनाभ्यदायिकं श्रमणदर्शनम्), and residence in a place where Buddhist *bhikkhus* lived is described as being forbidden even for men of bad character. The natural inference is that Buddhism was in a decadent condition, although we read in the drama of the existence of *vihāras* (monasteries or convents) where not only monks but nuns also could reside and which were supervised by *kulapatis* (patriarchs). Even to this day such Buddhist institutions for nuns exist in Nepal and Tibet. The Buddhist *bhikṣus* are described as wearing yellow robes in a peculiar manner across the shounlders. Even when tortured by others they utter in reverence the name of the Buddha whom they pray for *śaraṇa* or shelter. A Buddhist ascetic considered female contact as sinful, hence the monk, Saṃvāhaka, is seen in this drama as not lending the support even of his hand to Vasanatasenā when the latter was exerting with great difficulty to get up and stand on the ground in Śakāra's garden where she had lain unconscious after having been strangled by that villain. For, his ideal was that the next world was for the men whose hands, mouth, and the other senses could all be restrained. Requital of obligations was deemed as the foremost duty by the Buddhists, more valued than their aspiration for the attainment of heavenly bliss. Some of the precepts preached by the *śramaṇa* (as described in Act VIII) are very interesting for a study of the history of the religious tenets of the period. He advises all people to restrain the cravings of the stomach, to be meditative, to consider all things as transitory and thus to attain the *summum bonum* or permanent happiness of heaven by fighting with Nescience and Egotism. He was of opinion that outward shaving of the head and mowing of the chin was nothing but a mockery, unless one purifies his own heart.

This lesson on *citta-śuddhi* or purification of the heart was common to both the heterodox and the orthodox systems of Indian religion. Hence, I think, we shall not be far from truth if we infer that eclectism in religion was entertained by men of light and leading of the days. We find, however, no trace of Jainism during the period in this drama.

This is all that I have been able to say on the society as pictured in the Mṛcchakaṭika.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

The Caṇḍīdās-Problem

Much has already been written on the problems connected with the life and writings of Caṇḍīdās, one of the earliest and important Bengali poets; but the modest object of the present essay is not to enter into any controversy but to state the general problem in a concise form after sifting facts from fiction, and to suggest, if possible, some lines of enquiry which may lead to an ultimate solution.

With regard to Caṇḍīdās's life and personality we have scanty facts. We would, therefore, be on much safer ground if we look to his writings themselves (at least to those which we can with some reason consider to be genuine) and take them as our starting point, instead of trusting to vague traditions and unauthenticated legends.

There can hardly be any doubt that a great poet bearing the name of Caṇḍīdās flourished before the advent of Caitanya, the great apostle of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The references in the Madhya-līlā section of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* that Caitanya loved to listen to the songs of Caṇḍīdās are confirmed by the statement of Narahari Dās, who was a contemporary of Caitanya and who also records the same fact, as well as by later traditions recorded in other Vaiṣṇava works. As Caitanya was born in *śaka* 1407 (= 1485 A.C.) we can safely presume that a well-known song-writer of Vaiṣṇavite tendencies, held in high esteem by Caitanya himself and bearing the name of Caṇḍīdās, flourished some time before the latter part of the century. As Vaiṣṇava literature and tradition, which are rather scrupulous in record-

ing the names of the followers of the faith and its great literary exponents, do not know of any other Caṇḍīdās (except one Dīna Caṇḍīdās of whom we shall speak later), we can presume that this Caṇḍīdās is no other than the poet to whom the Padāvalīs are generally attributed, and that he preceded Caitanya and was well enough established in fame to be regarded with esteem in Caitanya's time.

To this Caṇḍīdās is attributed a collection of *padas* or songs relating to the eternally popular theme of the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The number of these songs varies, and opinions differ as to the authenticity of most of them ; but the largest collection of these songs is that made by Nilratan Mukhopadhyay and published by the Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, which contains 830 *padas* or songs. (In this article this collection is throughout referred to as the Padāvalī). In 1916 Basanta Ranjan Ray published from a unique manuscript, which he had discovered five years before that date in the district of Bankura, a work bearing the *bhaṇitā* of Vaḍu Caṇḍīdās, and containing 415 *padas* arranged in an order somewhat different from that usually followed in Padāvalī collections and divided into certain well-marked sections. The manuscript was unfortunately incomplete and contained many lacunœ, but the editor gave to it the title of *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrttan* in deference to the tradition that the great Caṇḍīdās wrote a work of that name. Now as there are considerable divergences, real or apparent, in matters of style, language and ideas, between the Padāvalī and the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrttan* (*ŚKK*), the question arises as to (i) whether the latter is a genuine work and (ii) whether the author of *ŚKK* is the same as the author of the Padāvalī. Incidentally it is possible to discuss the question of there having been more than one Caṇḍīdās, as well as the bearing of some of the traditions (e.g., the Rāmī-legend), which are usually associated with the name of Caṇḍīdās, on the general question. These are some of the principal points round which the Caṇḍīdās-problem moves.

There cannot be much doubt, in spite of controversy, with regard to the antiquity and genuineness of the *ŚKK*. Judging from the language, competent scholars would place the work towards the end of the 14th century, a date which does not conflict with the probable date of Caṇḍīdās indicated above. The work is preserved in a unique manuscript which has been placed on independent palæographical grounds at the same date. It bears throughout the *bhaṇitā* of Vaḍu Caṇḍīdās, who is said to be composing the work at the instance of the goddess Vāśulī. We have also the external testi-

mony of Sanātan Gosvāmin, who in his commentary on the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* speaks of the Dāna-khaṇḍa and Naukā-khaṇḍa (which appear as sections of *ŚKK*) composed by Caṇḍīdās, along with Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, as examples of good poems (*Gīta-govindādi-prasiddhās tathā Śrī-caṇḍīdāsādi-darśita-Dānakhaṇḍa-Naukākhaṇḍādi-prakārāś ca jñeyāḥ*). All this makes it highly probable that in the *ŚKK* we have not only a genuine work of Caṇḍīdās who flourished before Caitanya, but also one which has been preserved in Caṇḍīdās's own unmodified language in an almost contemporary document.

If the genuineness of the *ŚKK* is thus accepted, we can look to it for any light it might throw on the life and personality of Caṇḍīdās. From this work we learn that the author's name was Ananta (also occurring as Ānanta) Vaḍu Caṇḍīdās, and that he wrote at the direction of his *iṣṭa-devatā* Vāśulī. This is in conformity with the usual tradition about Caṇḍīdās. The theory, chiefly inferred without much reason from the Padāvalī, that Caṇḍīdās was an artless and untutored poet, is now disproved by the considerable knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature, Purāṇa, prosody and rhetoric he displays in the *ŚKK*. The Sanskrit verses in this work, which number about 125 and which act as running links in connecting the *padas*, are certainly written by the poet himself; one at least of these verses (p.380) is composed in a difficult Sanskrit metre; the metaphors, similes and other figures of speech, which are freely used throughout the work, indicate the poet's acquaintance with works on rhetoric; and finally five songs of Jayadeva are here translated almost *verbatim* in five *padas*, while in one *pada* the substance of Jayadeva's famous Daśāvatāra-stotra is reproduced with a slight modification to suit the context. This last point makes it clear that Caṇḍīdās was greatly influenced by Jayadeva, and that his *ŚKK* represents one phase of the development of pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, of which other phases are seen in Jayadeva and Vidyāpati. It is also clear from *ŚKK* that Caṇḍīdās was a proficient musician like Jayadeva, and all his songs bear the name of the *rāgas* in which they are to be sung. From his relation to Jayadeva as well as to Caitanya as indicated above, we can infer finally that the author of the *ŚKK* was later than Jayadeva but earlier than Caitanya, and this inference supports the date, *viz.*, the latter part of the 14th century, which is usually assigned to him.

The question now arises as to whether the author of the *ŚKK* is the same as the author of the Padāvalīs which are usually ascribed

to Caṇḍīdās. The apparent divergence of language need not be taken as an insuperable difficulty; for the *ŚKK* has been fortunately preserved in an old manuscript of the 14th century, which gives us the unmodified antique language of the time in a fairly faithful form, while the language of the Padāvalī must have in course of time been modernised in the mouth of the Kīrttanīyas and adapted to the exigencies of Kīrttan-songs. If the Padāvalī were preserved in as old a manuscript we would probably have found the language in the same antique form as we find it in *ŚKK*.

Of 830 songs attributed in the Padāvalī to Caṇḍīdās a very large number must be spurious; but as they have not yet been critically sifted it is difficult to take them as the basis of any inference. There cannot be any doubt, however, in the mind of any one who has studied these *padas* with some care that every *pada* which bears the *bhaṇitā* of Caṇḍīdās need not be genuine, and many of them have been actually ascribed in other collections or in Vaiṣṇava anthologies to other poets with other *bhaṇitās*. In *ŚKK* the *bhaṇitās* give us the name of the poet as Vaḍu Caṇḍīdās, Ananta (or Ānanta) Vaḍu Caṇḍīdās, or simply Caṇḍīdās; in the Padāvalī we have no mention of Ananta, but in addition to the other forms we have Dvija Caṇḍīdās. It is not clear if the word Vaḍu, as sometimes suggested, is synonymous with Dvija, meaning a Brahmin, although an attempt has been made to derive the former word from Sanskrit *vaṭu*. Basanta Ranjan Ray, relying on the indication *vaḍḍo mahān* of the *Deśī-nāma-mālā* and on a passage of the *Prākṛta-piṅgala* to the same effect, says that the word is a family surname indicating good descent; but he also points out that the surname is actually borne to-day by people of even lower caste in Western Bengal and is, in his opinion, comparable to Assamese Baruā or Baḍuā which is borne by non-Brahmins. If the word Vaḍu cannot be equated with certainty with the word Dvija, the later *bhaṇitā* would look extremely suspicious and should be accepted with due caution. At the same time, every song in the Padāvalī which bears the *bhaṇitā* of Vaḍu and mentions Vāśulī need not in itself be taken as genuine, for cases of wrong ascription or later interpolation are unfortunately too frequent. In some songs there is also the *bhaṇitā* of Dīna Caṇḍīdās. Hare Kṛṣṇa Mukherji in his *Bīrbhūm Vivaraṇ* (Pt. iii) has already shown that these padas were probably composed by a larer industrious versifier of that name, who was a pupil of Narottam Dās Ṭhākur.

There are also some songs which are collected together by Nil-

ratan Mukhopadhyay as *Rāgātmika Pada.* These *padas* make the story of Vāśulī and Caṇḍīdās's connexion with a certain washerwoman Rāmī their theme. Considerable currency has been given to these legends by Nagendra Nath Vasu and Dinesh Candra Sen in their writings; but these *padas* are undoubtedly later additions by a Sahajiyā poet who wanted to write a sort of Vāśulī-māhātmya and connect Caṇḍīdās and Rāmī with the cult by means of an elaborate romantic story. We are not directly concerned here with the question whether Caṇḍīdās's Vāśulī was originally Vajreśvarī (as suggested by Basanta Ranjan Ray) or Vāgīśvarī, the Śakti of Mañjuśrī (as suggested by Hare Kṛṣṇa Mukherji); all that we know from the *ŚKK* is that Caṇḍīdās was certainly a worshipper of that deity and puts her name very often in his *bhaṇitā.* Throughout the *ŚKK*, however, there is no mention of Sahaja cult or of Rāmī, nor is it found in the corpus of the Padāvalī, except in the above-mentioned *Rāgātmika pada* collection, and in four independent *padas* given in N. Mukhopadhyay's edition at pp. 71, 293, 310 and 343. Leaving aside the *Rāgātmika Padas*, the genuineness of which is extremely doubtful, any one who has any acquaintance with Caṇḍīdās's writings can never accept these four *padas* as genuine. They do not directly mention Rāmī but allude to the poet's connexion with a washerwoman, and one at least of these *padas* is obviously a weak imitation of certain Khaṇḍas of *ŚKK*, for it sets forth Kṛṣṇa as a shopkeeper who exacts from the Gopīs his fancied price for his wares. There is also a *pada* collected by Sibratan Mitra of Birbhum and given by N. Mukhopadhyay in the appendix to his edition. This verse *vasiñā avanti-pure* (বসিঞা অবন্তিপুরে), which again makes no direct mention of Rāmī, speaks of a young girl, a *rajaka-ramaṇī*, with whom Caṇḍīdās fell in love when he was still a student at Avantipur, and who returned his ardent affection and lived with him. It is notable that in this verse the veneer of spiritual love which marks the *Rāgātmika Padas* is absent, and it gives a frank enough description of youthful passion. This particular *pada* may or may not be genuine; but this was probably how the legend originated, later on turning the young *rajaka-ramaṇī* into Rāmī, a *deāsinī* of Vāśulī and a helper of Caṇḍīdās in his *sahaja-sādhanā.* It is not disputed that the legend might not have a basis in fact, for the tradition in Birbhum on this point is strong, and a poet of Caṇḍīdās's erotic-religious temperament (as displayed in the *ŚKK*) could possibly have some such romantic history of youthful passion as recorded in this verse and as amplified

by this legend; but there is no satisfactory evidence to shew that the *padas*, which make this legend their theme or allude to it in connexion with Caṇḍīdās's religious realisation, were really composed by the poet himself. It is not unlikely that some such legend existed (as it still exists) from the poet's own time about his romantic partiality for a certain washerwoman, and that some later poet of pronounced Sahajiyā predilections found in it an opportunity of weaving out an extremely fanciful and mystic story with the purpose of connecting Caṇḍīdās with the Sahajiyā cult, just in the same way as Vidyāpati's name is sometimes connected with that of Lachimā Devī. In its tendency towards supernaturalism, which characteristic this story shares with the Maṅgala-poems, as well as in language, imagery and ideas it certainly bears the impress of later composition. It may also be conceded that Caṇḍīdās probably belonged to some such cult, but it is impossible to believe that these *padas* which pretend to give his spiritual history were actually composed by him. The pre-Caitanya Sahajiyā cult was probably different from what we find it in post-Caitanya era under the inspiration chiefly of Mukunda Deva"; what the *Rāgātmika Padas* embody is unmistakably a phase of the post-Caitanya cult. In one of these *padas* there is a distinct reference to Rūpa (রূপ করুণাতে পারিবে জানিতে), which must allude to one of the six Gosvāmins of later Sahajiyā cult and confirm the suspicion that these *padas* are later pious additions.

If we leave aside these suspiciously spurious or wrongly ascribed *padas* from the collection and sift it severely and critically, we shall still have left a nucleus of very fine songs of deep poetical inspiration, which bear on them the stamp of a great genius. Now the question arises as to whether these can be the production of the same great poet as wrote the *ŚKK*. In the absence of sufficient data it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion on this point, and we are forced to base our inference chiefly on the consideration of the style and spirit of the two groups of poems, *viz.*, those in the *ŚKK* and in the Padāvalī collection. Such considerations are at best unsafe guides; for apart from the uncertainty of the necessarily subjective valuation that has to be made by the critic himself, a poet may at one period of his life write an intensely erotic poem with a religious tendency as the *ŚKK*, but at another period compose songs of the Padāvalī type breathing in general an atmosphere of spiritual elevation. Such was the case with Rāmprasād who was the author of a *Vidyāsundar* as well as of devotional songs of great spirituality. Or, it may be

possible that these songs of the Padāvalī once formed a part of the *ŚKK* itself (we have got the work in an incomplete form), or of some other systematic work by Caṇḍīdās which is now lost. At least, one such song দেখিলোঁ প্রথম নিশি of the *ŚKK* occurs in a modernised form as প্রথম প্রহর নিশি in the Padāvalī collection; and stray lines and verses from the *ŚKK* can be traced also in the latter.

We have seen that the apparent discrepancy of the language employed in the *ŚKK* and in the Padāvalī respectively is not difficult to explain. There is also another apparent discrepancy. In the *ŚKK*, as we have already pointed out, Caṇḍīdās was greately influenced by Jayadeva, whom he even verbally translates. In this work Caṇḍīdās, like most pre-Caitanya poets writing on Vaiṣṇava topic, emphasises more upon the *Aaiśvarya*- aspect of the theme than upon its *Mādhurya*, which became predominant in later poets through the teachings of Caitanya. This emphasis of the more or less magnificent aspect is probably a survival of the older Vāsudeva worship, before Kṛṣṇa-worship with all its possibilities the softer *mādhurya* came into prominence. In the Padāvalī, the dominant note is *mādhurya*; in the *ŚKK* it is *aiśvarya*. The Rādhā of the *ŚKK*, imperious, defiant and even militant, is not the Rādhā of the Padāvalī, whose attitude is marked by a note of complete self-surrender and infinite pathos. While admitting the force of these arguments, we may point out that a careful consideration of the whole question will shew that these remarks with regard to the *ŚKK* are certainly true of the earlier parts of the poem, which include Dāna-khaṇḍa, Tambūla-khaṇḍa or Naukākhaṇḍa, but they do not apply at all to the later Vṛndāvanakhaṇḍa and more particularly to Rādhā-viraha, in which the *mādhurya* aspect undoubtedly comes into prominence. The Rādhā of this part of the work marks an advance on the Rādhā of the earlier part and anticipates the Rādhā of the Padāvalī. Some *padas* of Rādhā-viraha, if translated into the comparatively modern Bengali of the Padāvalī, would read as if they are taken bodily out of the Padāvalī collection. They have the same note of tenderness, spirituality and pathos, the same poetic and romantic fervour as form the dominant note of the Padāvalī.

In the *ŚKK* the *padas* are arranged in sections which relate to particular episodes in the erotic career of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and they have thus titles like Naukākhaṇḍa and so forth; in the Padāvalī the classification is different, although here we have pseudo-Naukākhaṇḍas as well. This discrepancy, however, is not material. The classification of the *ŚKK* follows in the main the earlier tradition, of which we

find another example in Jayadeva's arrangement, and not the later rhetorical or emotional classification suggested by works like Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*. When the Padāvalī became the property of the Vaiṣṇava Kīrttanīyas, they could not but be arranged on the basis of the psychological or doctrinaire classification of later Vaiṣṇava rhetoricians, in the same way as the *padas* of other Vaiṣṇava poets came to be arranged. It is possible to classify and arrange the *padas* of the *ŚKK* in the same way, according to the dominant *rasa* or *bhāva* in the theme, but fortunately we have here the original arrangement of the poet preserved intact in an old manuscript.

This is in the main the Caṇḍīdās-problem. There are other points which are not very relevant or important to the discussion. The question whether the *ŚKK* had its origin in *jhumur*-songs, for which some antiquity is claimed, is interesting, but sufficient data are not available to come to a definite conclusion, although the *ŚKK* bears superficially great resemblance to *modern jhumur*-songs as they prevail in Birbhum. The tradition is also strong that Caṇḍīdās was a native of Nānur in Birbhum, and the contention of Jogesh Chandra Ray that Caṇḍīdās belonged to Chātnā in Bankura district cannot be taken as proved. The same remarks apply to the divergent stories about the death of the poet, for they are nothing but later legends whose authenticity is doubtful. With regard to Caṇḍīdās's parentage and family nothing definite or authentic is known. As a matter of fact, we know practically nothing about him and his life except what can be gleaned from his writings; and we can only say of him as Rabindranāth said of Kālidāsa:

আজ তুমি কবি শুধু, নহ আর কেহ!

Thou art only a poet to-day—and nothing else!

MRINAL DASGUPTA

MISCELLANY

Notes on Dravidian

III

VII Brahui oblique first personal pronoun base **kan** *and common Dravidian* **an.**

We have seen above that the initial k of a number of Brahui words like kā (die) represents an ancient stage, which afterwards developed into s or h in other dialects. There are a few Brahui forms with initial k[1] which, unlike that of the above group, is probably a secondary development :

Brahui	cf. *non-Brahui* Dravidian forms.
karghing (to shear)	aṛak
kuring (to roll)	uruḷ
kiṣking (to pull)	iḷu
koṭing (to break)	oḍei
kurring (to conceal)	oḷi
kuning (to eat)	uṇ

The non-Brahui forms are generally found to agree, with characteristic modifications, in the various dialects of Central and Southern Dravidian. These, therefore, are presumably the originals. The change, then, from initial vowels to k will be somewhat like the following :

arak > (ç) yarak or (x)wark > çarak or xarak > kark > kargh (Brahui).

The prothetic on-glide, whether palatal or guttural, always involves a fricative element which easily changes into the plosive. cf. the

1 It may be asked whether k-in the Brahui forms may not be representative of an original stage while central and southern Dravidian may have dropped the initial k-. This is unlikely in view of (i) the fact that most of the dialects other than Brahui have initially vowels only, and (ii) the intimate connection which the forms with initial vowels show to the common roots from which numerous *other* forms have also been produced.

development of the initial aspirate both in Brahui and in Kui (See above).

The development of the oblique first personal pronominal form kan probably resulted through such a process from an, the Dravidian first personal base :

Either Kan ≺ xwan ≺ van ≺ van ≺ an
or kan ≺ ç̣yan ≺ yan ≺ yan ≺ an

It is interesting to observe that in Southern Dravidian itself, there are numerous related forms, one set with initial k-, by the side of another without k-.

Forms with k- :	*Forms with initial vowels* :
Keḷappu (rouse)	eḷuppu
kulai (shake)	ulai
kēṟu (rise)	ēṟu
korai (speak etc.)	urai
kaṟugu (a variety of grass)	aṟugu
kīḻ	īḻ
kaḷi (passage)	aḷi
karai (shore, end)	arai (nearness)
etc.	etc.

Sufficient evidence, however, is lacking for us to be positive about the origin of the initial k- of all these forms, though it may be noted that the forms without the k- are certainly the originals.

A possibility, worth considering, but difficult to pursue in the present state of our knowledge, is whether the practice of introducing the prefix k- was, at a very ancient time, borrowed by Dravidian from Austric which employs prefixes and infixes for word-formation. Apart from the difficulty of definitely arriving at an estimate as to whether grammatical divices of this kind could have been copied by one language from another, our knowledge of the relationship of Austric and Dravidian is much too imperfect to enable us to pursue this topic. One thing, however, is clear. The researches of M. Przyluski of Paris into the influence of Austric vocabulary on Sanskrit (See his papers in MSL and BSL), and the presumable contact between the Austric peoples and the Dravidians at a pre-historic age (See his *Un ancien Peuple du Penjaub* and *Vegetalisme et Totemisme dans l'Inde*) would lead us to expect that in a pre-historic past there should have existed a great deal of mutual influence between Austric and Dravidian ; but in the absence of any definite knowledge about the

character and extent of this mutual influence, no postulate could be made of the Austric origin of Dravidian initial k-in the above words.

Mr. Tuttle attempts to explain initial k- of Brahui kān- (A. J. Ph. 1928) as being "apparently equivalent to a blending of the Tamil accusative *ennai* and the Tamil dative *enakku*" ; but this process would not explain the other Dravidian forms with initial k-.

The only view therefore possible is the one stated *supra* ; the tendency to develop an aspirate initially before vowels in close connection with the glides is so strong in this northern Dravidian dialect that a process of change like (ç)y or (x)v > ç or x > k may be tentatively postulated.

VIII The voiced cerebral continuative ḻ of Tamil

This is a very common sound in Tamil and Malayāḷam and may be described as being the sound produced when the fore-blade of the tongue is raised towards the apex of the mouth in a slightly grooved way, so as to create a small crescent-like passage, through which the vibration of the vocal chords makes itself felt in a continuous manner. None of the Dravidian dialects, except Tamil, Malayāḷam and old Kannaḍa, possesses this sound. Amongst non-Dravidian languages, this sound is not met with as a separate phoneme in any known civilised language ; my observation tells me that certain Englishmen using the dialects of the extreme south of England bring out something like the Tamil sound, for the r in words like "short," "word", "board" etc.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, an old Kannaḍa grammar by Kēśirāja, describes its occurrence and origin in old Kannaḍa as follows :

"In the apabhraṃśa or tadbhava state the letters ṭ, ṭh, t, r and the kṣala of a number of words become ḻ".

The account of the origin given here is hardly complete. Its occurrence in a very large number of native Kannaḍa words is not explained ; but the fact that the sound is a derived one and a unique development of the Tamil-Malayāḷam group and old Kannaḍa had struck the author of this old Kannaḍa grammar. Notwithstanding the suggestion contained in Kēśirāja's explanation of its origin, scholars have been holding the opinion that the sound is not a derivative one, that it had probably existed in primitive Dravidian and that Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kannaḍa (the old and the middle dialects) alone retained it while the others dropped it in the

course of their historical development. Some colour has been said to be lent to this view by the fact that modern Kannaḍa has substituted other sounds in its stead and that some ancient Telegu inscriptions possess a symbol which probably represented this sound. The argument about modern Kannaḍa having replaced the old sound by other sounds sheds no light at all on the question whether the sound was a primitive Dravidian one or not. As for the symbol in the Telegu inscriptions, competent Telegu scholars[1] are of opinion that the symbol, for incontestable reasons, could not have stood for any other sound than ḍ. The only possible solution for the origin of the sound should be sought in the internal evidence furnished by the phonetic and semantic analysis of the roots in Tamil and Kannaḍa, and in the analysis of their relationship to other roots, both of Tamil-Kannaḍa and of the other dialects.

If such an analysis could reveal to us that the roots containing the sound ḷ as a radical component are intimatly related to roots containing other sounds in the place of this sound, and, further, that these roots with sounds other than ḷ are sufficiently in agreement with roots of other Dravidian dialects to warrant the inference of their primitive character, I think we shall be justified in taking the roots with ḷ to be derivative and the others to be original representatives of a previous stage in the development of the language.

I shall just indicate below the possibilities without dogmatising either way. A few instances alone are discussed, though I may say that the possibilities suggested in these cases would be found to apply to all cases of ḷ.

The examples given below are taken from Tamil-Malayāḷam. It may be remarked that the native Kannaḍa roots given in the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa and Śabdānuśāsana are all allied to corresponding Tamil roots.

kīḷ meaning "below" appears as kinde in Telegu, kile in Kannaḍa, in Tuḷu, kīya in Kurukh. The root is cognate with kiḍ (to lie down) which is a common Dravidian root probably derived from primitive iḍ or il. iḷ, ɪḷ etc. influenced kiḍ and produced kīḷ.

kiḷ (old, decrepit, weak) is obviously related to the common root kiḍ (to lie down); cf. Brahui keragh (below) and Kurukh kīra (old).

1 See the article on ḷ in the Telugu journal 'Bhārati' (1927).

toḷ (to worship by joining hands) has a specialised meaning in Tamil and Malayāḷam. The idea of touching or joining (hands) clearly links it with the common Dravidian toḍu which appears as such in Tamil and in the instrumental inflexional termination in Telegu and in the conjunctive termination of Brahui -to. cf. also Brahui toning or toring (to hold), and Kuvi toh (to touch).

tōḷan (companion) evidently comes from the root toḍ (to touch, join, unite—*vide* above). cf. Kuvi tōnu (friend)

kaḷai (passage) is allied to kaḍ (to cross) which appears with slightly different meanings in various Dravidian dialects. cf. Kurukh khadd (river).

kaḷi (to finish) Telegu gaḍutsu and Kannaḍa kaḷe should be related to the primary idea contained in kaḍ above. cf. Kuvi lik, to exhaust, with the apocope of initial ka and compensatory vowel lengthening. cf. also Kurukh khach, to *complete etc.*

iḷai (to be moving on the ground) cf Kannaḍa ili (state of being humbled)—probably related to the ancient Dravidian roots ir (to sit) and iṛ (to go down). (cf. Brahui kiṣking)

ēḷu (to rise). This is an old Kannaḍa and modern Tamil form. It appears as ēlu in Kui with the derived meaning "wisdom." The radical portion of the word is disinctly related to ēṛu (to ascend) which is a common Dravidian base occurring in many dialects. Cf. the Brahui form hefing ≺ (h) erfing ≺ erving, the vi representing the causal affix.

oḷu (to flow) occurs in old Kannaḍa and modern Tamil and Malayāḷam. Telegu has ulika—related to the root ol (to flow).

chāḷi (a leaping insect). The ḷ here evidently stands for ḍ, as the meaning shows ; chāḍ or śāḍ means to "leap"

aḷu (to weep)—cf. Telegu eḍutsu, Tulu are, Telegu alugu (to be depressed) The Tamil root al meaning primarily *to melt*, has the derivative meaning of *sorrow* in allal etc. Forms in other Dravidian dialects are ri in Kui (with apocope of initial a and change of l into r), li in Kuvi, olkh in Kurukh and hoghing in Brahui. The original source may therefore be al. Is the root ār (to cry out) found in Kui, Kurukh and Tamil (ārpu=shout) cognate, as the semantic relationship shows ? cf. also Tamil aḷal (sorrow) with Tel. aḍal.

pāḷu (useless, ruined). This form is cognate with the root paḍ (to lie, to fall, to be ruined) which occurs in Telegu, Kannaḍa, Tuḷu and Kui. Cf. also Brahui pāṭ (wood).

paḷ (old, ripe) occurring in paḷaya (old) is also probably related to paḍ (above). Cf. Kurukh pacca (old); Kui—Kuvi pat (fruit); Brahui bēr (plum) where r probably stands for old ḍ.

poḷi (to fall off in pieces) is clearly related to poḍ (to fall off in pieces) a base common to many Dravidian dialects.

kuḷ in kuḷandei (infant) should be related to kuḍ or kuṭ which signifies *smallness*; cf. Kui kōg (small) and Malyāḷam kuṭṭi.

kuḷ in kuḷi (pit) is from kut (to dig); Brahui khuṭṭ, Kurukh khoss (to dig).

viḷi (to open eyes) may be related to the root viḍ (to separate, to let loose) cf. Brahui malang (to open) where m ≺ v; see *poste*; cf. also Kui-Kuvi meh-(to open eyes); and Gōṇḍi midst.

chuḷ (to whirl) occurring in words like chuḷalu, chuḷi etc. is related to the root chur with the same meaning, found not only in Tamil but Telegu, Kui and Kurukh; Brahui has kuring (to roll up)

koḷal, koḷavi (tube and pestle) respectively have to be related to the primitive root koḷ (to take on, to fit etc.) cf. Brahui koṇding (to bore out); koḷ in Tamil koḷumei (abundance) is also from koḷ and is related to Brahui koṛ (abundant).

paḷī (punishment, blame) is allied to paḍu (to suffer)

vīḷu (to fall). Is this another form of viḍu with the idea of descent emphasised by the sound ḷ which, quite significantly enough, connotes the idea of descent everywhere?

moḷ (to jut out) is related to moḷ (to sprout) and moḍ (to project).

The above instances point to the fact that the ḷ may have been developed from other sounds of Dravidian. It is very interesting to note that in dialectal Tamil and dialectal Malayāḷam, even to-day the tendency to convert retroflex ḷ into ḷ is met with in examples like k ē ḷ, k ē ḷ, etc. The tendency seems to have been very prominent in old Kannaḍa, as noted by Keśirāja in his grammar, quoted by Kittel: "ḷ is an ādēśa or substitute of ḍ in words like noḷpa (from noḍ), maḷpa (from māḍ), sūḷpa (from sūḍ) etc.

Carnoy in his recent work *La Science du Mot* observes (p. 25)

that particular sounds used freely in different words may reflect a special common connotation. I am inclined to think that ḷ in Tamil introduces, wherever it occurs, a series of connected connotations: *descent, mingling, reduction to a state of lowness or of close attachment etc.* The question as to how it arose in the Tamil-Kannaḍa group, whether as a borrowing from some pre-Dravidic aboriginal dialect, or as a native development, cannot, however, be solved.

IX Kūi-Kuvi man (to be or exist) Kurukh men (to be), Goṇḍi man and Brāhūi manning (to become).

Friend-Pereira in his grammar of Kui suggests that the Kui root *man* seems to be radically the same as the classical Tamil "man" which signifies as a verb "to remain or to abide." There is a Tamil verb root *man* meaning "to remain" (*nileiperutal*, as it is explained in Tamil dictionaries) and the Tamil form mane (house) and the form maṇ meaning "that which is spread out" and so "earth" are derived from this verb root. Kannaḍa and Telugu have *mannu* (to remain) while all Southern dialects possess maṇṇu (earth, soil).

Kurukh also has this form: men.

Brahui manning is certainly related to this root.

Now, very interesting light is shed upon the earlier history of this root man, by (i) a number of verb-forms in Brahui with initial m

manning (to obey)	allied to	vaṇaṅgu or aṇaṅgu (Tamil)
miring (to drive out)	do.	viraṭṭu do.
mukking (to stammer)	do.	vikku or ikku as in ikku (pichu) do.
murifing (to stretch out)	do.	uri or viri do.
mushking (to rub)	do.	urai (to rub) do.

(ii) m- as found in Kurukh mūr (country) from common Dravidian ūr; mala (not) from alla; mulkhna (pour) from oli; menna (to hear) from older vin (cf. Tel.-Tamil kann vinu, *to hear*). Gōṇḍi has māia (to be) from āia; marust (*to fry* cf. Southern vaṛa); midst (to open cf. viḷi); vaṭ (to move; cf. Southern āṭṭu) etc.

(iii) (*a*) a large number of forms in Gōṇḍi which have initial v developed from an original glide:

Gōṇḍi		*cf. Southern forms*
vīsi (fly)	...	ī, īga, īcha
vankāna (to speak)	...	in, an etc.
vaḍḍa (neighbourhood)		aṭṭam (nearness)
baḍ (what), bōr (who) etc.		ad, ār etc.

bōṭana (to touch) ... oṭṭu
bēla (trouble) ... alaṭṭu

(b) a few similar forms in Telugu with initial v- :—

vaṇḍu (to cook) ... cf. Tam. aḍ (to cook)
vari (paddy) ... cf. Tam. ari

(c) a large number of forms in Tamil itself, with and without initial v- :—

vigattal, igattal (separation)
viḍaṅgar, iḍaṅgar (small road)
viyai (to praise) and iśai
vaḷivu and aḷivu (destruction)
valayal and alayal (sorrow etc.)
vari and ari (rice, paddy)
vayavu and ayaṇam (road)
vilagu and ilagu (to go aside)
vēr and ēr (to cut)

(iv) the frequent change of v to m as shown by the following instances :

Tamil vaṇṇān, maṇṇān (washerman) ; vānam, mānam (sky) etc. Kui mēr, Gōṇḍi vēl and Southern veḷicham (light). Kurukh menna (to hear) and Southern vinu. Gōṇḍi mēla (time) and vēla etc. etc.

The common production of initial v as the development of the dorsal on-glide and the equally common change of v to m as shown above, make it clear that the m of the above set of Brahui works might be traced back to the dorsal glide itself.

An examination of these Brahui words and the corresponding Tamil forms indicates the probable origin of Brahui initial m in the above words. The change takes the following course : m ≺ v ≺ dorsal glide v̈ before a vowel.

A remarkable correspondence is thus brought to light, and this would also explain the origin of man of Brahui and the corresponding roots in Tamil, Gōṇḍi, Kui-Kuvi and Kurukh.

man ≺ men ≺ van ≺ uḷ (to exist) ; the change of ḷ to ṇ is common in Dravidian : maṇal and maḷal ; Tamil kēḷ and Tuḷu kēṇ Tamil pēṇ (to speak) and Kannḍa pēḷ ; Tamil peṇ and Kurukh peḷ (girl) ; Tamil koḷ and Tel. konu etc.

uḷ is undoubtedly one of the most elementary Dravidian roots and the relationship between it and the derived root *man* shows how very conservative the Southern dialects are.

uḷ is one of the most ancient extant roots of the South. It is used as

an aoristic auxiliary in many Southern dialects and in a few tense-forms of Brahui, Kurukh, Kūi and Goṇḍi, show forms derived from uḷ, but use *man, men, mand* as the auxiliary verb instead of uḷ. Thus while the Southern dialects and Brahui retained the use of uḷ as an auxiliary verb, the central Dravidian dialects used the developed forms *man, men* etc. instead of the older uḷ as auxiliaries.

The explanation for this is not far to seek. Some of the Indian Austric dialects (Santāli, Muṇḍāri etc.) possess an auxiliary verb *mēn* (to be), besides the more frequently used *kan, tāhen*, etc. As the nasal prefix m- plays an important role in Austric word-formation, it is possible that *mēn* is native Austric. If so, it may have helped forward the development of south Dravidian *mannu* (to remain) and the northern *man, men* etc. from older uḷ, and further induced the central Dravidian dialects to use the newly formed Dravidian word *man* etc. as an auxiliary. That Dravidian could not have bodily borrowed its forms from Austric would be clear from the fact that the change of v to m is attested by the numerous parallel instances from Dravidian, given above. The influence of the Austric word should have been in the direction of accelerating the change of uḷ to man etc. and inducing the central Dravidian dialects to use the developed forms as auxiliary verbs.

The Telegu forms with un- and Kannaḍa and Tamil forms with uṇ (ṭu) are all developments from uḷ. The proximity of the Austric dialects seems to have made *man* an auxiliary verb in Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh, Brāhūi and Goṇḍi.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Mr. C. U. Wills on the Sambalpur Aṭhārāgarh

The Sambalpur Aṭhārāgarh was an organisation with a history of its own. Major H. B. Impey the then D. C. of Sambalpur describes the Sambalpur Raj as *a cluster of 18 Garhs* (vide his Report entitled Notes on the Gurhjat States of Patna, prepared in 1863). He gives the following list of these garhs :—

1 Patna, 2 Sambalpur, 3 Sonepur, 4 Bamra, 5 Rerakhole, 6 Gangpur, 7 Bod, 8 Aṭhmallick, 9 Phuljhar, 10 Bonai, 11 Raigarh, 12 Bargarh, 13 Sakti, 14 Chanderpur, 15 Sarangarh, 16 Bindranawagarh, 17 Khariyar, 18 Borasamer.

Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., in his paper on "The Rajput kingdoms of Mediaeval Chhattisgarh" (JAS. of Bengal, V, 1919) has tried to prove that the application of the term Aṭhārāgarh in the sense of the local traditions and authentic Govt. Reports is not historically correct. Mr. Wills is of opinion that the 18 garhs did not form a number of extensive states outside and around the state of Sambalpur proper, but they were the sub-divisions of a single state named Sambalpur. Thus according to him the Feudatory state of Patna, Sonepur, Bod or Baud, Sarangarh, Raigarh, Bamra etc. were excluded from the 18 Garhs of Sambalpur Rāj. In support of his point Mr. Wills produces two witnesses:

1. Mr. Motte who visited Sambalpur in 1766 A.D.

2. Prahlad Dube of Sarangarh C. P., author of a Hindi Poem entitled *Jaya-Candrikā*. Mr. Wills writes:

"Nor is Mr. Motte my only witness. It would be easy to disparage his testimony by saying that he was a mere European adventurer, probably ill-acquainted with the language of the country, who from the fact he never specified what was meant by the *Aṭhārāgarh* stands convicted of having made but superficial enquiries. But I have, by the courtesy of Rai Bahadur Hīrālāl, been given the translation of a poem composed by a certain Prahlād Dube of Sarangarh written in 1783 A.C. to commemorate the installation of one of the Rajas on the Sambalpur Gaddi. And this poem completely refutes those who regard the *Aṭhārāgarh* as a confederacy of states, and makes it clear that they were internal subdivisions held by local chiefs or lords as Motte would call them. This testimony is unimpeachable. It was prepared by a local poet for a public occasion and must be conclusive evidence on the point at issue" (page 224, para 48). Unfortunately Prahlād Dube's work in the original does not contain anything which might go to prove that the 18 Garhs of Sambalpur were only the internal subdivisions of a single state and not separate subordinate states with their own chiefs. The extracts from the Hindi poem "*Jaya Candrikā*." of Prahlād Dube, as quoted by Mr. Wills, has not been properly understood and correctly interpreted. The lines quoted by Mr. Wills must be interpreted with reference to the context and it is then only that right conculsion can be drawn. Thus Mr. Wills' translates the passage "दुर्ग अठारह अमित छवि सम्बलपुर परसिद्ध" by "Sambalpur of unmeasured beauty was famous as 18 forts." Balbhadra Sai, one of its earlier kings, attacked the neighbouring state of *Bod* which both Kittoe and Impey count among the Aṭhārāgarh. But Balbha-

dra Sai makes his attack along with all his 17 forts, i.e., the chiefs thereof. So *Bod* could not have been one of them. He lays siege to the *Bod* king's capital for 11 long years without avail. At last the chief of Sarangarh is sent for and with his aid the *Bod* fort is captured. *Sarangarh* is thus excluded by the poet from the *Aṭhārā-garh*, though Kittoe and Impey include it in their lists. Later, coming down to his own times, the poet tells us how the Dewan Akbar (mentioned by Motte, para 46) usurped the Raja's power and the Raja Jait Singh fled to Sarangarh and sought the help from Chhattisgarh and Patnā for:—

गढ़ सव[1]ढ़के कोउ न अये। नमक छाँड़ि अकवर के भये॥

Not one of the 17 forts came to help him. Untrue to their salt they took the side of Akbar.

In the ensuing battle Sonepur comes to Jait Singh's help. This clearly excludes *Patnā* and *Sonepur* from the list of 18 forts. Also Bimbaji writes on Jait Singh's behalf to all the *Garhs* and all the 13 Dandpats, to Bengal, to Chandra, to Mandalla, to Patna and to Bamra. Thus we have a clear statement showing that neither Bod, Sarangarh, Sonepur, Patnā or Bamra were members of the local Aṭhārāgarh. This is sufficient to confute the lists of later writers. But the exclusion of Patnā puts the matter beyond all question. Patna was always not merely a member of the confederacy but with Sambalpur the head of it. If Aṭhārāgarh indicated any such confederacy it would be impossible to exclude the leading member. The conclusion of Mr. Wills is this:—

"A confederacy of states under Sambalpur and Patna did no doubt exist at one time or another, but it was never known as the *Aṭhārā-garh*. This term referred in Sambalpur as in Raipur, Ratnapur, Kālāhandi and Baster, to the internal organisation of the kingdom. But in the 19th century its real significance was forgotten while the memory of the confederacy of states survived, with the result that the term *Aṭhārāgarh* was misapplied. The title being an old one and its origin obscured by the gradual obliteration of the local system, it was easy enough to extend its significance so as to convey the idea that

1 If according to Mr. Wills, the Sambalpur Raj included within itself 18 sub-divisions called garhs, why did not the poet Prahlād put it as अठारा गढ़ instead of गढ़ सवढ़। The fact is that Prahlād by गढ़सवढ़ means the "subordinate 17 adjoining *garhs* (states)." Sarangarh itself, where Jait Singh was ruling, was the 18th.

Sambalpur, for many ages, stood at the head of a large confederacy of adjoining states."

I am not going here to discuss Mr. Wills' investigation into the correct meaning of the term Aṭhārāgarh. What I wish to say is that the poet Prahlād Dube never meant by the term Aṭhārāgarh the 18 forts (or sub-divisions) within Sambalpur itself but by it he did mean the 17 adjoining states outside Sambalpur proper. The following quotations from the poem of Prahlād Dube will speak for themselves:

(1) सवइ गढ़देसी उमराव। तालगही मन दुंदज दाव॥
जब्बर बने अकब्बर राय। ताते यह बहुदूर तकाय॥

The local lords of the 17 forts adopted a dual policy. Akbar had grown very powerful and so all these people doubted the success of Jait Singh in regaining the throne.

(2) गढ़ सवहीं उमराव ये। गहि रह्यो दून्दज दाव ये॥

If Sambalpur proper had 18 local and internal forts, why did the poet not mention it as such? By the use of the term गढ़ सवहीं he did mean the adjoining states like Raigarh, Bargarh, Sakti, Sonepur, Phuljhar, etc. which were known by the general name Aṭhārāgarh although their number was not always 18 as in the reign of Balaram Deva, the 1st Mahārājā of Sambalpur.

(3) मँगी सूखपाल सोउकी पठाये। तऊना दिरिबसिंह राजा सिधाये॥
पुनर भूप होना अविश्वास लागे। दवे सवहीं दुर्ग देवान आगे॥

Again: the lord or Rāja of Raigarh, Drib Singh, wanted to have a palanqnin for his conveyance. It was duly sent,yet he did not come to Sarangarh. He was not sanguine of the success of Jait Singh and was afraid of Akbar Rai. All the 17 forts (leaving aside Sarangarh which was the 18th) were subdued before or were afraid of the Dewan Akbar Rai.

(4) अभयसिंह सुरपुर गए भै भय नर-पुर माह।
कोस विलासै डगमगी बिन बैठे नरनाह॥
बिनबैठे नरनाह तखत शोभा नहिँ पावै।
अष्टादश गढ़ दण्डपाट पन्द्रह अकुलावै॥

Abhaya Singh went to heaven (died). The people and city were under fear. The country of 120 kos (the Sambalpur Raj) began to tremble. In the absence of a king the throne was empty and was devoid of its beauty. All the 18 forts and 15 Dandpats felt uneasy.

(5) अकबर गर्व दुइ रखी "गढ़ सतर" मम हाथ।
का मो पै अब करि सकै एक साह विसनाथ॥

Akbar Dewan took pride in the fact "the 17 forts are under my thumb. What care I for one man (lord of a single fort, Sarangarh), Sai Vishwanath; He can do me nothing."

Only this single '*dōhā*' is enough to prove the hollowness of Mr. Wills' theory.

Prahlād Dube composed his poem "Jaya Candrikā" so late as 1783 A.C. It is quite possible that he would have based his poem upon earlier works both Vernacular and Sanskrit and other authentic records then available in the court of the Cauhān Rajas. We hear of a Sanskrit work named *Kośalānanda Kāvya,* composed by one Pandit Gangādhar Misra. A reference to this work is made in the "Gazetteer of the Orissa Feudatory States." It says (Page 285):—

"It appears from the Kośalānand, a local work on the history of the Patna Raj-family, that Baijal Deo, the 3rd chief from Ramai Deo was the most powerful chief, and extended his dominions far and wide. He fought with Ram Candra and Mahaliṅg Gajpatis of Orissa for six years. Bamra was reduced to an annual tribute of 16 elephants, Gangpur, Bonai and other neighbouring states submitted without a fight, and Baud and Sirguza also submitted. It is said seventy-two chiefs were made tributary to Patna by Baijal Deo I. Dhenkanal was also subdued and the temple of the golden Mahadeo at Sonepur was built by him."

Unfortunately this local work "*Kośalānanda*" is now untraceable. If this work still exists and could be brought to light, the authenticity of the above statement could be tested.[1]

In 1924 I happened to come across a compilation in Oriya called चिकित्सामंजरी. It is a treatise on medicine. The author is one Pt. Gopinath Sadangi, the court physician of Raja Chhatra Sai, who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century A.C. This work also mentions "*Aṭhārāgarh,* 13 *Dandpat.*" In course of describing the state of Sambalpur the author speaks about the forts, population of the town etc. etc.

1 Since writing this, I saw a palm leaf manuscript of "Kōśalānand" in Oriya characters with one Pandit Gopinath Panigrahi of Sonepur Raj. It was partly damaged.

The original lines in Oriya run as follows:

उत्कलदेशे महानदीतीरे सम्बलपुर अभिधा नगरे ॥ १ ॥
जहिँ अछानी देवी समलाई सकल अर्थ सेवा कले देइ ॥ २ ॥
श्रीछत्रसाहि जहिँ रे राजन क्षत्रियकुल कमल तपन ॥ ३ ॥
अठारागढ़ तेर दण्डपाट बत्तिस सहस्र बल सुराट ॥ ४ ॥
सीमा अटइ विशाशए कोश उपमा नाहिँ जहि अन्य देश ॥ ५ ॥
नगरर नाम सम्बलपुर कोड़िए सहस्र बत्तीस घर ॥ ६ ॥

In the *Utkal* country on the bank of the Mahānadī there is a city named Sambalpur. Goddess *Samlāi* graces the town. She bestows everything upon those who worship and adore her. Like the sun to the lotuses of Kṣatriya family, there lives king Chhatra Sai. There are 18 forts and 13 Dandpats with an army numbering 32000. The boundary is 120 kos. No kingdom can be compared to Sambalpur Raj. In the city of Sambalpur. there are 20032 houses (the population of the city was then about $20032 \times 5 = 100160$).

I strongly believe that Prahlād Dube derived the materials for his poem not only from traditions but also from works like "Kośalānanda" and "Cikitsāmañjarī" referred to above.

I close the paper with a few official remark upon the "Aṭhārāgarh, of Sambalpur.

"The origin of the tenures held by the Sambalpur Garhjat chiefs is not clearly known. The earliest authentic information we have of them is that they were first independent. Then they were held in subordination to the most powerful of their number, the Maharaja of Patnā. In later times the Maharaja of Patnā was forced to share his supremacy among the chiefs with his relative the Maharaja of Sambalpur. And this was the situation when they all fell under the Dominion of the Maharattas in A.C. 1755 as tributaries." (Reprint of Report on the Zamindars and other petty chieftains in C. P. by Richard Temple, p. 8.)

Two of the Garhjats which originally belonged to the Sambalpur and Patnā group, *viz.*, Baud and Authmallick, had previously in 1837 been transferred from the Superintendence of the Ranchi Agents to that of the Cuttack Tributary Mahals, with whom they still remain. Again at the transfer in 1861, two others, Gangpur and Bonai, remained with Chota Nagpur. Thus of the Atharāgarh 14 are within the jurisdiction of the C. P. and of these two, Sambalpur and Chanderpur are no longer managed by chiefs. There remain 12, But one, *viz.*,

Bargarh, has been given to the chief of another, *viz.*, Raigarh. Therefore only 11 distinct chieftainship of the Sambalpur and Patnā group remain now attached as chieftainship to C. P. administration. They are:—

1 Patnā, 2 Bindrā Nāwāgarh, 3 Khariyār, 4 Bōrāsamber, 5 Phuljhar, 6 Sarangarh, 7 Sakti, 8 Raigarh cum Bargarh, 9 Bamrā, 10 Rerakhol, 11 Sonepur.

(Report on the Zamindars and other petty chieftains in C. P. by Richard Temple).

From local enquiries I gather that up till quite recent times several chiefs continued the practice of acknowledging the suzerainty of the Cauhān family of Patna or Samabalpur as their overlord by sending their representatives to *tie Rākhī* (Rakṣā-sūtra) to the Cauhān chiefs and of receiving due presents of cloth and pān (lāṭ-Bīrā) in return. This also shows that the states around and outside Sambalpur proper were once members of the "*Sambalpur Aṭhārāgarh.*"

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

A Mythical Commentary on Śāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa

When I was engaged in editing the Bhāvaprakāśana for publication in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, I had occasion to look into Dr. S. K. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*. I thought it was a great discovery when on page 242 of Vol. I of the above work, I found a reference to a commentary on the work on Dramaturgy I was editing. My curiosity knew no bounds when I learnt further that an incomplete Ms. of this commentary actually exists in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Accordingly, I at once approached the authorities of the Oriental Institute at Baroda to arrange for a loan of the Ms. But I was surprised to find not even a single familiar word of Bhāvaprakāśa, nor a single explanation of passages in the Ms. itself, and ultimately I found out that Dr. De's testimony in this respect is not to be relied upon and lest people may fall into the same error I send this note to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for publication.

It may be remembered that in the whole range of Sanskrit literature

there are three well-known works with the same title Bhāvaprakāśa. They relate to three different subjects: medicine, grammar and dramaturgy. The first two have already appeared in print several times, and the third is in the course of publication in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, as it has been already pointed out in the beginning.

Now the Ms. of the Bhāvaprakāśikāvyākhyā was first noticed by Peterson and he classed the Ms. under Vyākaraṇa or Grammar (IV, App, p. 18, no. 514), and Aufrecht followed him. Dr. De for the first time startled the scholars by declaring it to be a work on Dramaturgy. The mistake could be detected only when a loan of the Ms. was arranged. It contains two fragments of a grammatical work entitled Bhāvaprakāśikā which is a commentary by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe on the Śabdaratna of Haridīkṣita. This Śabdaratna, it may be remembered, is in itself a commentary on the Prauḍhamanoramā of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, the famous grammarian. Luckily this Bhāvaprakāśikā is printed and it is easy now to compare the Ms. with the printed edition. Below are given the beginnings and ends of the two fragments contained in the Poona Ms. together with page references to the printed edition for comparison :—

Frag. I. 20 pp., 13 lines in each page.

Begins—यः ध्वनितत्वं तचाद्यपचे ध्वनयितुमन्त्यपचेऽर्थमाह—तर्वे ति । अन्त्यपचे इत्यर्थः ।

Compare p. 329, line 16 of the printed edition.[1]

Ends—ननु खरितत्वादनुदात्तेः शब्दाधिकारात्सञ्ज्ञिपरत्वस्य च ।

Compare p. 355, line 20 of the printed edition.

Frag. II, 31 pp. (3-33), 11 lines in each page.

Begins—सोऽपि बोध्यः । ज्ञापकस्य विशेषापेचत्वाद्विशेषग्रहणाद्भावप्रवृत्तिरिति प्रकाशरत्नाकरादिग्रन्थासङ्गतिं सूचयन्नाह । सामान्ये ति ।

Compare p. 223, line 20 of the printed edition.

Ends—नन्वपरविधावित्यत्र स्थान्यादेशान्यतरापेचयाऽपरत्वे गच्छमाणे कथं वेभिदित्यादिसङ्गतिः । उच्यते । यस्य स्थानिवत्त्वं तन्नि·····।

Compare p. 278, line 20 of the printed edition.

From the above we should learn the lesson that it is not always safe to differ from previous authors on superficial grounds and especially without examining the original manuscripts, because the Sanskrit titles are often delusive.

K. S. RAMASWAMI

1 Published by the Rajarajesvari Press, Benares, Samvat 1956.

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary

In this paper I propose to give a brief account of the work that has already been done in connection with the Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language now being prepared under the auspices of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In undertaking this task the Society is endeavouring, for the second time, to supply a long-felt want. It was so long ago as 1881 that the late Sir Charles Bruce referred to it as "the greatest need felt in Ceylon." But the lack of a good Sinhalese Dictionary, compiled scientifically, had been felt even by scholars outside Ceylon. In 1884 Dr. Reinhold Rost strongly urged upon the Society to undertake the preparation of such a Dictionary. Writing to the late Sir John F. Dickson, the President, Dr. Rost said :—"Is there no chance of a new Sinhalese Dictionary being taken in hand which shall pay due attention to etymological definitions as as well as proverbs etc? Such a work would mark an epoch in Oriental Philology, which would be worth all the combined effort of your Asiatic Society." Dr. Rost's letter was read at a general meeting of the Society held on 4th October, 1884, at which the Governor of Ceylon occupied the chair. A full discussion followed at the end of which a Committee was appointed to take necessary steps for the compilation of a Dictionary, as suggested by Dr. Rost. The Presidential address, delivered in December that year, gives interesting particulars as regards the aim and scope of the proposed work and the methods that were to be followed in its preparation:

"Another joint work which our Society has commenced is a Sinhalese Dictionary, which shall deal with the language in historical sequence from earliest inscriptions downwards. This work has been undertaken on the suggestion of Dr. Rost, the eminent Oriental scholar and Librarian of the India Office. As a preliminary specimen, glossaries are in preparation by members of the Dictionary Committee, of which the Bishop of Colombo is the Chairman; the Sinhalese members are Subhuti Terunnanse, Gunasekara Mudaliyar, and Mr. Ranasinha. When these glossaries have been prepared, a type of glossary will be adopted, and as many Members of our Society as can be enlisted in the work will be requested to select books to glossarize. When a sufficient number of books have been thus dealt with, the compilation of the Dictionary from the glossaries will

be commenced, and it will require several men to digest, arrange, and shape the articles one by one. In the meantime, the plan of the Dictionary must be considered. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary (Mangalore, 1872) is a good pattern of a scientific Dictionary, only it is too compact for our language. Sinhalese, with its rich literature, which has come down to us in unbroken succession from ancient times, will require much room for the quotations, which are of great importance, as no other living language of Asia (Chinese and Japanese alone excepted) has such a chain of documents of its existence to show as the Sinhalese, and the scope is contracted by the language never having been split up into dialects."

From these proceedings one would naturally expect the work of collecting materials for the new Dictionary to be pushed on with vigour and persistence. But the Committee does not seem to have taken up its work with much enthusiasm. In fact, the Annual Report of the Society for the next year admits that little progress has been made. It says:

"This Committee has met once or twice, but has as yet not advanced beyond preliminaries. A small 'Specimen Vocabulary' in the shape the work might ultimately best assume has been prepared and is shortly to be circulated among the select committee, the members of which will be invited to select each one Sinhalese work, prose or poetical, with the object of making during 1887 as complete a glossary as possible on the lines of the 'Specimen Vocabulary.' There are small beginnings and years must elapse before any real results ensue; but, if steadily pursued, they cannot but aid the future Dictionary maker, a Sinhalese 'Murray,' perhaps yet unborn."

The next reference to the Dictionary occurs in the Annual Report for 1888, which records the suspension of the labours of the Committee.

That was the end of the first attempt to supply the keenly felt want of a Sinhalese Dictionary. The reason for this failure is not far to seek. The circumstances were then hardly favourable for such an undertaking. It was in fact somewhat premature. Fifty years ago Oriental learning in Ceylon was just emerging from the state of utter neglect into which it had fallen during the preceding half century. The latter was a period of decadence in the course of which the best results of the great religious and literary revival of the eighteenth century were nearly extinguished. In the fifties of the last century, however, the tide began to turn in favour of indigenous

learning. The movement to resuscitate the study of Oriental subjects grew stronger with years until in the seventies the two colleges, the Vidyodaya College of Colombo and the Vidyālaṅkāra College of Peliyagoda, Kelaniya, were founded. These two institutions have been the most potent means of reviving and spreading Oriental studies in the Island. But in 1884 the influence of that revival had not extended far enough to secure sufficient support for an undertaking like the proposed Dictionary. There were of course living at the time distinguished scholars whose co-operation in the task would have been most valuable, but their number was very limited indeed. Another fact too has to be noted in this connection. The amount of material available, fifty years ago, for a Dictionary, such as was planned, would have been comparatively speaking, meagre. The critical study of the inscriptions and the old classical texts had not made sufficient progress to make Sinhalese Dictionary, compiled half a century ago, either comprehensive or, in philological matters, authoritative.

So much for the past history. This question of a new Sinhalese Dictionary was brought up again in 1925 by the well-known Sinhalese scholar, Mudaliyar A.M.Gunasekara, who wrote strongly on the subject to the Director of Education. The latter referred that letter to the Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.) which appointed a Committee of its own to consider and report upon the whole question. The Committee submitted its report in May, 1925. In the following year the Society finally decided to undertake the preparation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language, mainly on the lines recommended by the committee. The Society appointed a Board of Editors consisting of Mudaliyar Gunasekara, mentioned above, Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, another Sinhalese scholar of distinction, and myself as chief Editor, and a Managing Committee with Mr. L. J. B. Turner of the Ceylon Civil Service as Chairman. In the meanwhile an appeal had been made to the Government of Ceylon for financial help. The response to this appeal must be considered very satisfactory, as the Government has agreed to make an annual grant to our Society for the purpose of the Dictionary so long as the work is carried on systematically and efficiently. At present the grant amounts to 35,000 rupees a year. Thanks of all interested in the advancement of oriental studies are due to the Government of Ceylon for the liberal measure of support it has extended to this undertaking.

It was not till April, 1927, that the Editors were in a position to start

work. Even then the first few months had for the most part to be devoted to completing the office arrangements and organising the necessary machinery for collecting materials for the Dictionary. For this purpose it was decided to use printed forms of two kinds, one for collecting words from books and the other for words used in common speech or in connection with arts, crafts, games, etc., which have not yet found their way into books. Two sets of rules and instructions for the guidance of collectors were also prepared. At the same time a fairly complete list was made of books including those which are still in manuscript. All books have been arranged chronologically in groups, each group bearing a letter of the alphabet indicating the century or period to which it belongs. An endeavour was also made by personal visits and by correspondence to enlist the active sympathy of competent oriental scholars in all parts of the Island. This effort has been, I am glad to say, successful. More than fifty well-known scholars, including the Principals and tutors of almost all the leading Pirivenas (Oriental Colleges) are co-operating with us as volunteer workers, and the indexing of over sixty important books has been entrusted to them. The remaining books are being indexed by the Editors and the office staff. Already a few hundred have been completely indexed. These vary in size and importance. It must be noted here that in order to make the Dictionary as comprehensive as possible, it is sought to include in this preliminary survey every available book, however unimportant it may be from a literary point of view. I may also add that books on such subjects as medicine, astrology, demonology, etc., are carefully indexed. Special attention is also paid to the collecting of words that have come to the language from Christian sources. A number of important Christian books, including the writings of Fr. Jacome Gonsalvesz, who lived in the seventeenth century, are being indexed by a competent Christian scholar.

A great obstacle to the progress of this part of our work has been the lack of standard critical editions of some of the most important classical works. I have been obliged therefore to undertake the revision of two books of first rate importanee. One of these, the *Dampiyā Aṭuyā Geṭapadaya*, composed in the tenth century, is the oldest Sinhalese prose book now extant. The other is the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*, an extensive work belonging to the thirteenth century. It is a veritable mine of words relating to almost all aspects of life and of idiomatic phrases and proverbial sayings that cannot be found

in any other Sinhalese book, ancient or modern. The first part of this book, consisting of 160 pages, i.e., about one-fifth of the whole work, was issued early this month, while the other, the *Dampiyā Aṭuvā Geṭapadaya* is going rapidly through the press. I hope to be able to complete the publication of both these texts in the course of next year. It is my intention, if circumstances permit, to bring out uniform editions of similar important classical works.

In the remoter parts of Ceylon there are still to be found, hidden in temple libraries or in the possession of private persons, old documents, such as *sannasas, ṭuḍapats, sīṭṭus*, etc., relating mostly to grants or transfers of lands, mortgages, decisions of cases and other matters pertaining to the time of the Sinhalese kings. These manuscripts often contain terms of a technical character, which, though not in use now, are of great historical and philological value. We have tried so far, not with much success, I regret to say, to obtain such documents for the purpose of the Dictionary. The search is being continued still. With the permission of the Government I am personally indexing these valuable records. I may incidentally mention that they contain much useful information regarding the social and economic conditions prevailing in that period.

The other part of our task, namely, the collection of words in common use in different parts of the Island has presented greater difficulties. Still our activities to this direction too have been fairly successful, and much valuable help has been rendered to us by voluntary workers, while a word collecting competition was organized last year with gratifying results. 14,000 forms were issued during the year. Of these, more than 10,000 have been returned duly filled up. This vast collection of words has already been alphabetically arranged and repetitions sifted out. The residue contains more than 4,000 words not found in existing Dictionaries. We have by no means exhausted this source, and I have no doubt that we shall be able to add several more thousand words of this type to the collection we have already made.

It will be seen that as regards the preliminary task of collecting materials for the Dictionary we have made satisfactory progress. It is our hope that within the first half of the next year the larger part of this spade work will be completed. The arrangement of the accumulating material for editorial treatment has already been planned. The words that have been collected on forms will be transferred to cards —one card being used for a word. In the case of words gathered from

books the card will bear not only the name of the book, but also the letter of the alphabet indicating the century or period to which the text belongs.

As regards the plan of the Dictionary, our aim is to give as far as possible "an adequate account of the meaning, origin and history of Sinhalese words, old and new, found either in inscriptions or in books or in common speech." It is also proposed to give whereever possible words occuring in the kindred languages of India. It is hardly necessary to say that this is an ambitious programme. We fully realise the formidable nature of the task we have undertaken. We also recognise the fact that without the co-operation of scholars in the West and in India who have made a special study of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian philology, the successful accomplishment of that part of our work which will make it generally useful to students of languages, becomes well nigh impossible. It is mainly for the purpose of enlisting the active sympathy of Orientalists interested in the subject that I have ventured to write these few lines. I sincerely hope that the advice, guidance and assistance which we need for the satisfactory completion of our undertaking will be extended to us in a liberal measure by those scholars who are competent to do so.

D. B. JAYATILAKA

Some notes on the Tattvasamgraha

Due praise has been paid to the remarkable edition of the Tattvasaṃgraha by Embar Krishnamacharya, accompanied by an excellent Introduction, and to the Foreward where the General Editor of the Gaekwad's Series has given much useful information. My only aim is to give some references :

1. The kārikās 222, 223, 285, 311, 328-9, 336 are quoted by Prajñākaramati in his commentary to Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix. 58.

2. The stanza (cited on p. 129)

dṛṣṭidaṃṣṭrāvabhedaṃ ca bhramśaṃ cāvekṣya karmaṇām /
daśayanti jinā dharmaṃ vyāghrīpotāpahāravat //

is quoted from Abhidharmakośa, chap. ix, translation, p. 265. The author is Kumāralābha (or Kumāralāta). The whole chapter on the Vātsīputrīyas is closely related to the Kośa ; for instance, the argument *asti sattva upapāduḳaḥ* (p. 129) is discussed on p. 256 and *bhārahāra* is discussed on p. 256.

3. The beautiful analysis of the nature of Bodhisattva, p. 872, owes also much to Vasubandhu's Kośa. The sentence *yathā kecid upalabhyante 'titarām abhyastanairghṛṇyā*.....is textually to be found in chap. iii, translation, p. 191, l. 18 (compare vii, p. 84).

4. The kārikās 3241-3242, *tasmin dhyānasamāpanne*···are quoted in the commentary to Bodicaryāvatāra, ix, 36 (with the addition *uktaṃ ca*). [The quotation which follows is from Nāgārjuna's Catustava]. This theory that the Buddha himself did not preach is an old one: the Vibhāṣā explains at length that men will not believe what men say, because men are liars. But they will have confidence in the word of trees, because trees, not being "living beings" (*sattva*), do not lie.

5. The Īśvaraparīkṣā is to be compared with Kośa, chap. ii, p. 311 and Bodhicaryāvatāra, ix, 119-126.

6. The text p. 126, l, 6, is Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 22: ekapuggalo bhikkhave loke uppajjamo uppajjati bahujanahitāya.....katamo ekapuggalo ? tathāgato.....Quoted in kośa, ix, transl. p. 259. The Sāṃmitīyanikāyaśāstra, Nanjio 1272, Takakusu, vol. 32, refers to that Āgama.

7. As noted in the Foreword, p. lvi, the words and doctrines of the Traikālyaparīkṣā, p. 505, can be traced in the Vibhāṣā, in the Kośa, v, 25 and in Saṃghabhadra's commentary to the Kośa. The Tattvasaṃgraha gives us some technical terms which had not been correctly read through the Tibeto-Chinese translations, for instance *anyathānyathika*.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

Rāvana's Lankā Located in Central India

In the December number of the Indian Historical Quarterly of 1928, Mr. M. V. Kibe has by tracing the itinerary of Rāma during his exile, tried to locate Laṅkā on the peak of Amarakaṇṭaka in Central India. We give some additional proof which goes strongly to support his conclusion. This is a coin of a Gond king named Saṅgrāma Sāhi Deva, who ruled in Central Provinces for about fifty years from 1493 to 1543 A. C. He styled himself as of 'Paulastya-Vaṃśa'. Mr. Nevill, who has supplied the particulars of these coins, remarks :—"Now Paulastya Vaṃśa is equivalent to Rāvaṇa Vaṃśa, and the Gonds of

Amarakaṇṭaka claimed and still claim descent from Rāvaṇa. Apparently Saṅgrāma Sāhi considered himself of the same descent, but the Brāhmaṇas substituted on the coin a more respectable equivalent which made out the royal descent from a Ṛṣi.

Now at that distant time the Gonds believed that they were the descendants of the race which opposed the invasion of the Aryans from Ayodyā, there is, thanks to the coin, a stronger reason than before for adopting the theory that Laṅkā was in reality Amarakaṇṭaka.[1]

The Gonds claim to have descended from the Rākṣasas. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Lapchās of Darjeeling claim to have descended from a monkey.[2] They celebrate the worship of the spirit of Kangchen-Dzod-Nga, shortly called Dzod-Nga, meaning five treasures. He is believed to be god Kuvera.[3]

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Was Nahapāna a Jaina ?

The available meagre history of Nahapāna, the Kṣatrapa, probably does not give any idea about the religion which he professed. But in the Jaina literature, we have a tradition that a king named Nahavāṇa or Naravāhana became a Jaina *muni* in his after-life and was known as *muni Bhūtabali*. He studied the Jaina Siddhānta from one Dharasenācārya and composed a new work on the Jaina philosophy—otherwise than the Aṇgas, which were extinct at the time. In Vibudha Śrīdhara's "*Śrutāvatāra-Kathā*" we have it narrated thus :—

अत भरतक्षेत्रे वांमिदेशे वसुधाह्वा नाम नगरी भविष्यति । तत्र नरवाहनो राजा, तस्य सुरूपा राज्ञी तस्यां पुत्रमलभमानो राजा हृदि खेदं करिष्यति । अत प्रस्तावे सुबुद्धिनामा श्रेष्ठी तस्य नृपस्योपदेशं दास्यति । यदि देव ! पद्मावतीपादारविंदपूजां करिष्यति ततः पुत्रो भविष्यति । तस्य पुत्रस्य पद्म इति नाम विधास्यति । राजा ततश्चैत्यालयं करिष्यति सहस्रकूटं दशसहस्रसंभोज्यं चतुःशाल', वर्षे वर्षे यात्रां करिष्यति । वसंतमासे श्रेष्ठापि राजप्रसादात्पद्मे पद्मे जिनमंदिरैर्मंडितां मही करिष्यति । अत्रांतरे मधौ ग्राम समस्तोऽपि

1 Numismatic supplement No. XXXIX, No. 262, appended to J A S B, N. S., XXI, 1925.

2 J A S B, N. S., XXI, 1925, p. 357. 3 Ibid., foot-note.

संघसत्वागमिष्यति। राजा श्रेष्ठिना सह जिनस्तवनं विधाय पूजां च नगरीमध्ये महामहोत्सवेन रथं भ्रामयित्वा ततो जिनप्रांगणे स्थापयिष्यति। निजमिव समधस्वामिनं मुनीन्द्रं दृष्ट्वा वैराग्यभावनाभावितो नखाहतोऽपि श्रेष्ठिना सुबुद्धिनाम्ना सह जैनीं दीक्षां करिष्यति।.....गिरिनगरसमीपे गुहावासी धरसेनमुनीश्वरोऽग्रायणी पूर्व्वस्थ यः पंचमवस्तुकस्तस्य तुर्य्यप्राभृतस्य शास्त्रस्य व्याख्यानप्रारंभं करिष्यति।..... भूतबलिप्रभावाद्भूतबलिनामा नरवाहनो मुनिर्भविष्यति समदंतचतुष्टयप्रभावात् सदृबुद्धिः पुष्पदन्तनामा मुनिर्भविष्यति। आत्मनो निकटमरणं ज्ञात्वा धरसेन एतयोर्मा क्लेशो भवतु इति मत्वा तन्मुनिविसर्ज्जनं करिष्यति। तन्मुनिद्वयं अंकलेसुरपुरे गत्वा मत्वा षड्गरचनां कृत्वा शास्त्रेषु लिखाप्य लेखकान् संतोष्य प्रचुरदानेन ज्येष्ठस्य शुक्लपंचम्यां तानि शास्त्राणि संघसहितानि नरवाहनः पूजयिष्यति षड्गनामानं दत्त्वा। इत्यादि।"

Naravāhana of this *Kathā* is named as Nahavāṇa in an ancient Jaina Paṭṭāvali[1] and his name bears resemblance to Nahapāna. So we may take it as a corrupt form of the word 'Nahapāna' and Naravāhana, on the other hand, may be taken as a Sanskritised form of the same. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. has also taken the Jain Naavāna to be the Kṣatrapa King Nahapāna.[2] The periods of these two namesakes also coincide with each other.[3] Hence we may give credit to the Jaina tradition and can say that Nahapāna did profess Jainism in his after life.

Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṃha, an inscription of whom is found at Junāgaḍh, also appears to have had faith in Jainism. He did something for the Jains as is obvious from the above mentioned inscription.[4] No doubt the Bāvā Pyāra's Maṭha at Junāgaḍh and the caves of Apper Kot there belonged to the Jainas.[5] It seems these were the very caves where Dharasenācārya resided; for Girinagara is the ancient name of Junāgaḍh.[6] From this evidence, it is certain that Jainism was patronised by the Kṣatrapas and this also indirectly supports the theory that Nahapāna was a Jaina in his after life.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

1 See The Jaina Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka, vol. I, pt. iv, p. 211.

2 The Pāṭaliputra quoted in The Jaina Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka, vol. I, pt. iv, p. 211.

3 Pt. Jugalkishore's "Samantabhadra," p. 249.

4 Ind. Antiquary, vol. xx, p. 363.

5 Arch. Survey Report of Western India, vol. II. p. 140 and Ind. Ant., xx, p. 363.

6 The Ancient Geography of India, (new ed.) p. 697, 698.

Meyer on Manu VIII, 235-236.*

J. J. Meyer has concluded (Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften etc., p. 116) that both the Nāradasmṛti and the Manusmṛti are derived from the hypothetical Mānavadharmasūtra and that of these two the Nār. is the older and a systematic work while M. is only a later compilation of indifferent merit. So far as I can see, for the latter assumption Meyer depends solely upon a comparison between Nār. VI, 12-16 and M. VIII, 230 ff.—his other arguments carrying not a scintilla of proof. Here the arrangement in Nār. is much more logical than in M. Meyer says: "The śl. 231 breaks through the development of thought like a wedge. Śl. 234 too is not in proper place. Śl. 236 completely betrays by its *tāsām* and the following adjective in fem. gender that it has been torn away from a place where it was used in a statement about cows. Perhaps M. XI, 113f. gives the necessary light.....Moreover it appears that originally there was *vyālo* in this passage instead of *vṛko*. The wolf may have been imported into this passage from the preceding śloka, just as the *yam* of 235 has been changed into *yām* in favour of the fem. in 236, so that the atrocious nature of the whole strophe may be concealed—the well-known quite insufficient plaster of an interpolator, which however in this case certainly emanates from Bhṛgu." It is difficult to see how Meyer can be so sure about Bhṛgu, but even apart from that there is much in these sentences of Meyer which requires criticism. Nārada's presentation of the case may be better than that of Manu, but how can it prove Nārada's anteriority to Manu? Rather this fact may be better explained on just the opposite hypothesis: Nārada is indebted to Manu and has improved upon him. The whole problem hinges on the words *ajāvike*, *yām* and *tāsām* in śl. 235-6. If these three words and their interrelation may be satisfactorily explained, we would not have to fall back on the desperate conclusion reached by Meyer.

The word *ajāvike* is in neut. loc. sing. and is formed by samāhāra dvandva (gavāśvaprabhṛtīni ca=Pāṇ. II. 4, 11; see also gaṇapāṭha on same). Now, as this word is neut., *yām* at the beginning of the second line of the same verse should also have

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* ajāvike tu saṃruddhe vṛkaiḥ pāle tv anāyati /
yāṃ prasahya vṛko hanyāt pāle tat kilbiṣaṃ bhavet //235//
tāsāṃ ced aviruddhānāṃ carantīnāṃ mitho vane /
yām utpatya vṛko hanyān na pālas tatra kilbiṣī //236//

been in neut., for apparently this pronoun refers to *ajāvike*; the correct form would therefore have been *yat* and not *yam* as Meyer wrongly suggests. But we have *yām*, the feminine form. How to explain this anomaly? Here we must remember another rule of Pāṇini "*grāmyapaśusaṅgheṣvataruṇeṣu strī*" (1, 2, 73), which is further modified by the *vārttika* "*anekaśapheṣviti vācyam.*" The purport of this sūtra in the light of the vārttika is that for flocks of grown up household animals with cloven hoofs only the feminine form should be used. Thus *gāvaḥ* (*imāḥ*) would mean a herd of bulls and cows; in the same way a flock of sheep and ewes would be called *avikāḥ* (*imāḥ*), and a flock of he-goats and she-goats would be called *ajāḥ* (*imāḥ*). Now in the verse in question too we have to do with flock of household animals, viz., sheep and goats. Would it then be too hazardous to suggest that the author, compiler, interpolator or who ever he might have been, was influenced by this sūtra of Pāṇini when he wrote down this verse, though however strictly speaking, this sūtra cannot be applied here—it being meant for ekaśeṣa dvandvas only and not for samāhāra dvandvas? Anyway, this seems to be better than Meyer's suggestion.

Now for the third crucial word *tāsām* in śl. 236: This word refers to *ajāvike* in the preceding verse as Medh. admits and yet it is in fem. gender and plural number. As regards the gender we have nothing to add after what has been said on the word *yām*; the real problem here is its plural number. Medh. is at pains to explain this anomaly but his argument is not at all convincing. We too cannot give adequate explanation as to how this plural came to be used here, but we can show that similar ungrammatical usage is found in the most ancient extant Dharmasūtra. Like Medh. Haradatta too has been often placed in a difficult situation by Āpastamba. Thus when the latter calmly says "*yasya* pitā pitāmaha ity anupatau syātāṃ *te brahmasaṃstutāḥ*" (1, 1, 28) and again "*yasya* prapitāmahādi nānusmaryata upanayanaṃ *te śmaśānasaṃstutāḥ*" (1, 2, 5), Haradatta hardly knows how to support him. In both these cases we see that the antecedent is singular but the pronoun following it is in the plural, just as in the passage of M. under consideration *tāsām* in the plural has for its antecedent *yām* in the singular. We thus see that the third crucial word too comes off unscathed through the ordeal, stoutly supported by the peculiar usage in ancient Smṛti literature. Besides, Manu teems with grammatical anomalies—hardly less than Āp.—and one would soon

be nowhere if one begins to jump at a new conclusion from every one of these anomalous forms.

Thus the whole foundation on which Meyer's theory is based has been demolished, and consequently his theory too need not now be taken seriously. We have therefore no reason to believe that the text of M. is a jumble of passages taken haphazard by an artless interpolator from Nār. and other ancient Smṛtis, and if there are actually ungrammatical forms in M., they should he ascribed rather to the hoary age of M. than to the "insufficient plaster of an interpolator."

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE, by A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D. LITT. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1928. pp. xxxvi +575.

This able and interesting work, which gives a fairly comprehensive account of what is loosely called Classical Sanskrit Literature, is written on the same lines as the author's *Sanskrit Drama*, to which it forms a fitting supplement. The name of Prof. Keith itself is a sufficient guarantee of the thoroughness and reliability of the work, which would be useful not only to the busy scholar but also to the general reader for its connected and extremely readable account of a great literature as well as for its up-to-date references and well-digested information.

Although early European scholars of Sanskrit, like Sir William Jones or Colebrooke, took the so-called Classical Sanskrit Literature as their starting point, it is somewhat surprising to find that in the subsequent history of European scholarship, which has now travelled far and wide, this great literature has been more or less neglected. The attitude of Weber and Macdonell, who in their short summaries of Indian literature devoted to this literature a few perfunctory pages at the end, is typical. The view seems to have prevailed that the classical literature is artificial and uninspiring ; and scholars were attracted more powerfully, for linguistic and other reasons, to the more ancient aspects of Indian literature. In recent years the interest has travelled from India proper to Greater and Wider India outside, and a glance at oriental journals published in Europe will show what attention purely Indian subjects claim today. Perhaps the more modern date and the finished and stereotyped form and content of classical literature do not appeal to the scholar whose philological and antiquarian zeal finds a better satisfaction in things more antique. Whatever may be the reason, it is indeed remarkable that while Vedic and Buddhistic literatures have been assiduously cultivated, classical literature has been less fortunate. Very few critical editions of classical texts have been published by European scholars, and no critical or connected account has been published

of a literature, which covers a period of nearly twenty centuries of Indian culture and whose importance and interest cannot be seriously doubted, until Prof. Winternitz with laudable German patience and industry collected together in a well-documented form all the scattered information on this subject in the third volume of his *Geschichte*. This work is undoubtedly a marvel of methodical modern scholarship, and as a book of accurate and fairly exhaustive reference its documentary value cannot be disputed ; but it is hardly satisfactory as a *history* of a remarkable literature. Oldenberg's *Literatur des alten Indien*, written much earlier, is, however, an exception ; it is perhaps the first attempt to present, within a limited compass, view of Indian literature not merely as an object of antiquarian interest. But stimulating and suggestive as the work is, it is meant to be nothing more than a brief and appreciative outline of a vast and difficult subject. It is a welcome sign therefore, that in more recent years some able European scholars have turned their attention to classical Sanskrit literature, for which indigenous Indian scholarship at no period lost its partiality and preference.

Works like that of Winternitz naturally pave the way to such books as Prof. Keith has written with his characteristic thoroughness and brilliance. The classical literature, however, is second to none in its wide range of interesting topics ; and it is a difficult task to compress all that can be said on the subject within the limits of a little over five hundred pages. Prof. Keith has accomplished this well-nigh impossible task fairly successfully, and has given us, for the first time in English, a systematic and comprehensive survey, which concerns not only literature proper, but also, in a cursory way, the different *śāstras* in which the achievement of this literature is no less remarkable. The subjects touched upon in this summary form are Lexicography, Metrics, Grammar, Law, Politics, Erotics, Philosophy and Religion, Medicine, Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics. The interest of the work under review, however, lies not in its somewhat scanty treatment of these technical sciences and arts, though it does occupy nearly one-fourth of its bulk, but in its account of the literature itself, its poetry, romances, tales and fables as well as its theories of verse and literary criticism. The technical subjects naturally receive inadequate attention, but they should have been reserved for a separate study. From this point of view the preliminary but indispensable chapter on the Language can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, and more discussion is perhaps necessary in dealing

with the problems, raised but not treated with definiteness and adequacy in this part of the work.

As we have pointed out above, antiquarian research of a somewhat technical nature has, even in this comparatively neglected field, made great strides within the last fifty or sixty years. Prof. Keith's book, which ably summarises and gathers together into a focus the results of previous research on the subject, is itself a testimony of the amount of work already done in the line. Even the long and valuable preface, which owing to delay of publication was necessary to bring the work up to date by referring to new discoveries of the last two years, is an indication not only of the renewed interest in the subject but also of the patient intensive research which is steadily being carried on into its obscure and difficult problems. But in spite of all this research of a more or less scholarly nature, no systematic attempt has been made, if we leave aside Oldenberg's brief survey, to present a really *literary* account of the subject, or even to write a real history and not merely a chronological or statistical essay. Literary criticism or historical appreciation has, no doubt, its obvious limitations ; but a mere collection of facts and figures is hardly satisfying. Literary productions of a nation, extending over several centuries, may possess significance of various kinds, historical, ethical or literary. We can emphasise one or more of these kinds of significance ; but it is remarkable that the literary significance of Sanskrit literature has not yet been made the object of a special study by a scholar. Prof. Keith aims at making a beginning in this direction, but it is only a beginning. The works and authors have been appraised with sympathy and insight, in spite of the difficulty of fully understanding and appreciating an alien form of art. But attention has been confined chiefly to a methodical description and comment on individual works and authors, and stress has been laid more on literary form and style from the point of view of outward technique. Extracts have been given in the original and translation, as affording specimens of the literature, but they are in the nature of select "beauties" and do not adequately serve the purpose for which they are cited. The point of view thus appears to be not literary criticism, which is merely tacked on to a strictly documentary chronological account. There is a more or less complete utilisation of materials made available by the scholarship of more than a century, but the question arises as to whether even an interesting summary of such data really presents the literature *as* literature. One feels after reading the book that one has learnt

all that has been said or known *about* the literature ; but has one really learnt anything of the literature itself, except in what he gets in brief extracts and methodical comments ? It is impossible to escape the feeling that the learned author appears to be more widely and deeply read in the literature concerning the literature than in the actual literary productions themselves. It is not suggested that the author has not gone to original sources, or that he has not realised their significance, but the original sources are viewed from a definite specialist point of view, which gives the appearance of accuracy and precision in one aspect, but of superficiality in another.

In an ambitious and comprehensive work like this, difference of opinion on many points is inevitable ; but in a short review like this it is not possible nor is it desirable to enter into a detailed discussion of them. There is much in these questions that is contentious or doubtful, and much that the available data would fail to solve finally ; in such cases it behoves the scientific historian to assume a rôle of modesty, and not claim infallibility or finality even with regard to his own convictions. One is often surprised to find in this book the views of some scholars as curtly and summarily dismissed as those of others accepted without comment or question, in both cases without sufficient notice of the grounds of such apparently whimsical preferences. It is not infrequent that one comes across phrases like "implausible," "clearly unsuccessful" or "quite unwarranted" with reference to other people's views and theories, on the one hand, and phrases like "certainly" "without doubt" or "obviously" with reference to the author's own convictions, on the other ; and surely there is in most problems connected with linguistic and literary history so much room for uncertainty that it is not always safe nor desirable at present to put forward a dogmatic opinion. It is not implied that one should not attempt a solution of the problem in his own light or have the courage of his own convictions ; but perhaps a more careful probing of the problem and weighing of evidence are necessary before one can commit oneself to a clear cut conclusion. Predilections and partialities are indeed hard to avoid, and the tendency to lay down the law is natural ; but openness to fresh facts and patient balancing of probabilities are also requisites which cannot be dispensed with. Prof. Keith's unflinching attitude towards the Bhāsa-problem is well-known but questions like the identity of authorship of the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Daśakumāra-carita*, of the date of Kālidāsa and his relationship to Aśvaghoṣa, or of the priority of Subandhu to Bāṇa are questions

which perhaps require careful discussion and a more cautious expression of opinion. Kumāradāsa's knowledge of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* is by no means "beyond question", nor is Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha.

On the other hand, side by side with such brilliant and complacent *ipse dixit*, the reader is often faced with a non-committal attitude of his guide on certain other questions. Dogmatic opinion is different from a definite conclusion from available data; but it is tantalising to find oneself at the end in the same hopeless position as that from which the start was made. The author sometimes brings forward all the resources of his mature scholarship and brilliant advocacy for a destructive criticism of previous theories; but in the end he makes a rather lame finis by expressing no definite opinion at all and leaves the problem in the air. Dogmatism is nearly as bad and barren as scepticism in literary matters.

But these blemishes need not blind us to the great merit of the work, and the learning, skill and industry displayed in the treatment of an extensive and difficult subject. Of little slips inevitable in a bulky work like this there are happily not many instances. One such slip we have noticed at p. 95, lines 24 and 28, where 'Dilīpa' should surely be 'Daśaratha'. Should not 'Udayana' in the last line of p. 355 be 'Pradyota'? The word 'side' on p. 133, line 15, is hardly happy; while 'but it in' on p. 89, footnote 2, is not intelligible. It is not clear what the phrase 'with acceptance' really means at p. 53, line 27. The name of Māgha's poem is not mentioned throughout the nine pages devoted to a description of the author and his work. Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is not written in the form of Sūtra but in that of Kārikā. The bibliographical references are generally well chosen; but one would expect a reference to Benary's edition of *Nalodaya* rather than to that of Yates. But in reviewing a work of this magnitude and value it is not necessary to draw up a list of these minor defects, nor indulge in futile minor criticisms.

S. K. DE

RĀMA-KATHĀ OF VĀSUDEVA, edited by C. Śaṅkararāma Śāstrī; Śrī Bālamanoramā Series, no. 11, Madras, 1929.

This little prose work was ascribed by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī to the Kerala poet Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, whose *Nārāyaṇīya* was edited in the Trivandrum Series. But it appears now that the work was probably composed by one Vāsudeva, son of Nārāyaṇa and Umā, who

on Mr. Śaṅkararāma Śāstrī's showing belonged to the latter half of the 17th century. In the preface to this edition, Vāsudeva of *Rāmakathā* is distinguished from Vāsudeva, the author of the Yamakakāvyas, *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya*, *Tripura-dahana* and possibly *Nalodaya* (see *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 265f.). The work has been well printed and is on the whole free from blemishes. In spite of its late date, as this is one of the very few prose works available in Sanskrit, it will commend itself to scholars interested in the subject.

S. K. DE

KALPADRUKOŚA OF KEŚAVA, edited with a critical Introduction by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, M.A., Sāhityācāryya, vol. I (1928); Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol xlii.

Within the last twenty years the literature of Sanskrit lexicography has been enriched by the publication of a number of works of sterling merit. It was in 1911 that Viśvaprakāśa of Maheśvara appeared in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. This was followed two years afterwards by the publication of the important Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa of Keśavasvāmin, "the biggest homonymous lexicon in Sanskrit" so far known, under the distinguished editorship of the late lamented Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Between 1914 and 1917 the same veteran scholar brought out in three volumes his edition of Amarakoṣa with the valuable commentary of Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda of Bengal. Meanwhile a Bombay scholar, the late K. G. Oka, had rendered a service to the students of Sanskrit literature by producing an up-to-date edition of the Anekārthasamuccaya of Śāśvata which had been published as far back as 1882 by Theodor Zachariæ. The latest addition to this list has now been made in the shape of the Kalpadrukośa by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā of the Patna College (now alas! prematurely cut off), who had already shown his mastery of the literature of Sanskrit lexicography by his contributions to the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society and other periodicals. The present work begins with an Introduction (pp. vii-liii) containing the editor's "brief survey of the history and development of Indian lexicography." It is based, as the editor informs us, upon the monograph on Indian lexicons by the late Prof. Zachariæ in the *Grundriss* series and the section on lexicography in Prof. M. Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur* (vol. III). But the editor has added numerous notices of his own

which have increased the value of his survey ; one, however, misses a reference to the so-called Weber manuscript brought out long ago from Central Asia which has been described to be the oldest extant fragment of a Sanskrit Kośa. The text of the Kalpadrukośa (pp. 1-485) is based practically upon two Mss. available to the editor. It is a pity that he failed to utilise for reasons mentioned by him in his preface any of the South Indian Mss. He has, however, done his work carefully noticing all the variant readings in the foot-notes. Of the importance of the Kośa there can be no question, for it is the largest synonymous lexicon in Sanskrit known so far, reaching a length of nearly 4,000 verses. The date of its compilation has been found by the editor to be "4761 Kali era corresponding to Saṃvat 1716 and A.C. 1660" (Introd., p. xliv). It consists of three *Skandhas* (bhūmi,° bhuvaḥ° and svarga°) subdivided into a number of *prakāṇḍas*, these corresponding to similar divisions in other synonymous lexicons in Sanskrit. It is to be hoped that the publication of the second volume, presumably containing the Notes and the Index, will not be long delayed by the lamented death of the learned editor of the present work.

U. N. G.

GESETZBUCH UND PURĀṆA, EIN BEITRAG ZUR FRAGE VON DER ENTSTEHUNGSART DER ALTINDISCHEN RECHTSSCHRIFTEN UND DER PURĀṆA, by J. J. Meyer, Breslau, Verlag von M. and H. Marcus, 1929 ; Indische Forschungen, Heft, 7 ; pp. XIII + 112.

It speaks a great deal about the tireless activity of Mr. Johann Jakob Meyer that scarcely has the scholarly world time enough to study his last two stupendous works, viz., the translation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and "Altindischen Rechtsschriften, etc." than has he brought out another work, though this time a small one. We hope this work too will be equally appreciated. The title of this book is rather misleading : it is not a detailed discussion about the inter-relation between the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas but a detailed criticism of Losch's work on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, and as Losch's work deals with Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas, the author too has mainly dealt with those two Purāṇas only with his own characteristic thoroughness. As a criticism the book has eminently served its purpose. Even

the style of Mr. Meyer is a protest against that of Losch who writes in a singularly stiff and rigid fashion while the work under review marks the opposite extreme : it has many things in it that might have been easily omitted without any prejudice to the work.

Losch wanted to prove that the summary version of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti contained in the Garuḍa Purāṇa is the original form of that Smṛti and the text now going under the name of Yājñavalkyasmṛti is merely an enlarged version of the Purāṇa text. The Garuḍa Purāṇa has no trace of Yājñ.'s Vyavahārādhyāya, and Losch therefore concluded that the original Yājñ. contained no chapter on Vyavahāra. This Vyavahārādhyāya, however, is found in the Agnipurāṇa and Losch says that it was borrowed by the compiler of Yājñavalkyasmṛti to complete his work. These theories started by Losch have been controverted by Meyer in this work and it must be admitted that he has demolished them completely and finally. Even a superfluous comparison of Yājñ. with the Garuḍa Purāṇa gives the impression from the very beginning that the Purāṇa version is nothing but a summary of the Smṛti. If there is still any doubt left on this score it is sure to be set at rest when the summary of the Parāśarasmṛti in the Garuḍa Purāṇa is examined—it will at least show us clearly the line of work followed by the Purāṇa authors. Here we find a masterly summary of the Parāśarasmṛti in 39 verses and none but the most prejudiced mind will think otherwise. The summary of the Yājñ. is not so short, but still the indebtedness of the Purāṇa author is betrayed on every side. Thus Losch is certainly wrong in his assumption that the Garuḍa Purāṇa contains the original version of Yājñ., and what is true of this Purāṇa may also be taken to be true of the Agnipurāṇa.

And yet in my translation of Jolly's Recht und Sitte (Hindu Law and Custom, p. 44, fn.) I did not hesitate to accept Losch's theory that the Vyavahāra section of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti is a later addition to that work : it is true that the author of the Garuḍa Purāṇa and not that of the Yājñ. is the borrower, but the Purāṇa author may have borrowed when the chapter on vyavahāra was not yet a part of the Yājñ. Let us consider here what the Purāṇas are and how vyavahāra gradually came to be a factor in the later Smṛtis.

What are the Purāṇas ? In its earliest references the Purāṇa is always connected with *itihāsa*, which shows that the original Purāṇas were nothing but chronicles of some sort. But what do we see to-day ? We see now that the Purāṇas are veritable encyclopædias : every art

and science under the sun,—history, geography, mathematics and grammar, philosophy and architecture—has been dealt with in the Purāṇas. Now how did this momentous change come about? It is never safe to speculate on grounds which are not absolutely firm but the course of transformation was very probably as follows: As the chronicles of ancient royal dynasties, fabulous and historical, became more and more popular, the people who were in charge of these Purāṇas tried to give them a comprehensive character, to make them veritably the source of all knowledge. The obvious and the easiest way of doing it was of course to incorporate into the Purāṇas summaries of the standard works on the various branches of study then known in India. This process of incorporation could not have been accomplished in a single day, particularly as all the standard works representing the sciences and thus popularising them, which had to be exploited for this purpose, were certainly not yet in existence when this process of incorporation had begun. The earliest notice of this process is perhaps to be found in Āpastamba Dharmasūtra (I, 6, 19, 13-14; 10, 29, 7) where, it is well-known, Purāṇas have been quoted in connection with some rules of ācāra, and Bühler (IA, XXV) has shown that there is literal agreement between this quotation from the Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa in Āp., II, 9, 24, 6 and the present day text of that Purāṇa. We may assume therefore that already about 500 B.C. the Purāṇas had ceased to be mere chronicles, or in other words, the process of incorporation had already begun about 500 B.C., but as all the standard works that have been utilised in the Purāṇas were not in existence at that date, the process of incorporation could not be accomplished in a short time. This leads us obviously to the much more important conclusion that if some portions of a Purāṇa prove to be of very late origin, we need not assume on that account that the whole of it is spurious. Thus Finot (quoted by Meyer in this work, p. 107) has tried to show that certain portions of the Garuḍa Purāṇa are spurious; but unfortunately he has attacked the question from the wrong side. If he had taken up a certain passage of the present-day text of the Purāṇa and shown that it was not to be found in the body of the Purāṇa a few centuries ago—then his conclusion would have been valuable, though even that could not have proved that the whole Purāṇa is spurious. As it is, however, he has only tried to trace some of the quotations in Hemādri's Caturvargacintamaṇi back into this Purāṇa, and he has failed in his

attempt ; but he did not think that Hemādri himself may have been responsible for his disappointment, for is it not possible that Hemādri actually quoted some other Purāṇa but ascribed the passage wrongly to the Garuḍa Purāṇa ? In the wilderness of Purāṇas that we find quoted by Hemādri such a confusion is quite possible if not inevitable.

We have therefore no reason to believe that the sketch of Yājñ. in the Garuḍa Purāṇa was done in very recent times as Meyer avers ; it might have been done at a time when the Yājñ. was still without its Vyavahārādhyāya, for otherwise it is indeed difficult to explain its absence in the Garuḍa Purāṇa. There is nothing strange in the idea that Yājñ. might once have been a work dealing only with ācāra and prāyaścitta, but before we come to discuss that question, let us affirm once more that wherever there is any common feature between a Purāṇa and other work, it is very probably the Purāṇa which is the borrower, if not directly from the corresponding independent work, then at least from some older work—now lost perhaps—on which both are based. It is simply absurd that independent treatises on the most varied subjects were written merely to form adjuncts to ancient popular legends and chronicles. Nobody will perhaps fall into the error that the meagre chapters on Grammar in the Purāṇas are independent treatises, and still less think that Pāṇini's treatise is derived from these chapters. Finot showed long ago that Buddhabhaṭa's work on Ratnaparīkṣā has been incorporated into the corresponding chapters ; Meyer has devoted a large portion of the book under review to prove decisively that Agnipurāṇa (chs. 238 ff.) has taken long extracts from Kāmandakīya Nītisāra (though, curiously enough, he says nothing about the Nītisāra chapters in Garuḍa Purāṇa, chs. 108 ff.) ; the chapter 65 of the Garuḍa Purāṇa is nothing but chs. 68 and 70 of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā in a slightly altered form and we may add, the chapters on Kumārotpatti in Śivapurāṇa are very probably borrowed from Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava. Now when we see that the Smṛti chapters in Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas are either identical with, or abridged forms of, the corresponding chapters of the Yājñ. and when in these chapters of the Purāṇas, Yājñ. himself is mentioned by name, what can be more mistaken than to suppose that it is not the Purāṇa author but Yājñ. who is the borrower ?

We shall now try to show that very probably there was a time when the Yājñavalkyasmṛti was without any chapter on law proper. It is a peculiar feature of the Yājñ. shared by few other Smṛtis, that it is definitely connected with a particular branch of the Vedic literature.

Caland showed long ago (Altind. Ahnencult, pp. 127-130, 245-252) that the mantras prescribed by Yājñ. to be recited at the Śrāddha are mostly taken from the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā and Jolly too has suggested (Hindu Law and Custom, p. 43) that Yājñ. is probably based on a sūtra work of the White Yajurvada. Recently Wilhelm Gampert has pointed out (Indologica Pragensia, 1, p. 97) a peculiar coincidence between Śat. Br. XIV, 9, 4, 5-6 and Yājñ. III, 278-279 which cannot be fortuitous. It will have to be admitted therefore that Yājñ. is a work of the white Yajurveda, which is to say, this Smṛti, in its most ancient form at least, served as the hand-book of ācāra for the members of the 'caraṇa' in which the White Yajurveda was studied. Now it is difficult to imagine that a work meant for "weltfremd" Brahmans who devoted all their time to an intensive study of a particular branch of the Vedic literature should have anything to do with forensic law. We may therefore assume that Yājñ. in its oldest form was without any Vyavahārādhyāya, but the question is how did it come in ? Meyer expressed his views on this point in his earlier work Altindischen Rechtsschriften etc. (pp. 82-3) saying that the Smṛtis took these portions from independent systematic works on law proper. Also in the work under review Meyer adheres to this view and he has even expressed joy at the discovery that Willy Foy too held similar views before him. We have shown elsewhere (IHQ, 1928, p. 387) how Meyer has entangled himself in contradictory statements in one and the same sentence because of this untenable theory, but the gravest charge against it is that we do not know of any such systematic work on law proper spoken of by Meyer—it is hardly possible that a single work of this kind would not have come to light if there was really a regular literature on law proper as Meyer asserts. However unpleasant the fact may be, we have to admit that Hindu law was never duly systematised and the administration of justice therefore always depended to some extent on the whims and caprices of the particular individual who was entrusted with this sacred task. It has been repeatedly pointed out by eminent authorities that only under British rule Mitākṣarā and Dāyabhāga have been strictly followed (cf., e. g., Babu Govinda Das's Jntroduction to Bālambhaṭṭī). We have therefere no reason to accept Meyer's theory that there were systematic treatises on forensic law in ancient India and that these were made use of by the Smṛti authors for the Vyavahāra portions of their works. Hence we shall have to account for the Vyavahārādhyāyas of the Smṛtis in some other way.

Perhaps a clue to this problem is furnished by Kumārila who says that Smṛtis were indeed evolved and continued within particular Vedic schools, but at his time they were also generally recognised (see Hindu Law and Custom, p. 29). We have seen that in earlier times when the Smṛtis were confined to the Vedic Caraṇas alone, there could have been nothing in them which might smack of secular law ; but later, as Kumārila says, when the ancient Sūtracaraṇas gradually disappeared and the Smṛtis exerted their influence more and more on the general public, there naturally arose the necessity of adapting the Smṛtis to changed circumstances by adding to them some new chapters, so that they might serve the practical ends of the common people. The custodians of the Smṛtis, like those of the Purāṇas, whose procedure has been discussed above, were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity to extend the sphere of their influence and they promptly added to the Smṛtis new chapters on Vyavahāra which was certainly most important for the people. Naturally enough these works would be empirical even at the best and this is exactly what we find in the case of the Smṛtis and this hypothesis would also explain to us why there are so many pious wishes intermingled with rules of law in the Smṛtis. The Vyavahāra sections of the Smṛtis therefore are not the result of intentional and objective incorporation of systematic works, in which case there would have been some measure of consistency which we vainly look for in the Smṛtis, but rather the reflex of the traditional uncodified system of law current in the country, coming through the prism of unpractical and ignorant Brahmanical mind. Thus in every case ample opportunity was given to individual authors to impress their personal bias on their work and thus to create a chaos of conflicting opinions round every topic of law, though however a greater amount of uniformity is observed among the Smṛtis in the field of ācāra and prāyaścitta. We may be sure that the Vyavahāra element of the smṛtis is on the whole of a later date. It is well-known that already Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya quotes a number of Smṛti-rules such as *pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyāḥ* etc., and coming to the third century A. C. we have the indisputable proof of the universal recognition of the ācāra rules of the Smṛtis from Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, who advises the audacious lover to marry his beloved *yathāsmṛti* in secret (p. 219). Even Rāmāyaṇa (iv, 24, 27 ; iv, 55, 7) refers to Smṛti with regard to ācāra and Rām. (iv, 18, 30-32) actually quotes Manu viii, 316 and 318. But we vainly look for an instance in the ancient literature which would

show that a law-suit is being settled according to the Smṛtis. Even the well-known court scene in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* contains no reference to the Smṛtis, though the description agrees with the Smṛti rules almost in every detail. Of course Pāṇini v, 1, 47 and IV, 4, 21 betrays his knowledge of the law of debts as found in the later smṛtis, and the later Nibandhakāras too have utilised these sūtras of Pāṇini, but there is nothing to show that Pāṇini came to know of this rule not from the customary law but from the Smṛtis. The same may be said of the meagre rules of law found in Yāska's Nirukta. All this external evidence goes to corroborate the conclusion drawn from internal evidence that the chapters on law proper are later accretions to the Smṛtis.

Now these accretions were certainly very different from the older elements in the Smṛtis and therefore they could not be interspersed here and there in different parts of these works but had to be subjoined to them in a compact body: that is to say, these new chapters on vyavahāra were practically separate empirical works on law. No doubt sometimes these chapter treatises issued out of the original works for which they were meant. Perhaps in this way is to be explained the existence of exclusively juridical Smṛtis like Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana (found only in fragments) and Nārada, and very probably, this was the case also with the Vyavahārādhyāya of Yājñ., for how can we otherwise satisfactorily account for the appearance of Yājñ.'s second chapter separately in the Agnipurāṇa?

Thus we see that although the Garuḍa and the Agni Purāṇas have taken extracts from the Yājñ., as has been amply proved by Meyer in this book under review, yet all the evidences tend to make it probable that these extracts were taken at a time when the Yājñ. was without its Vyavahārādhyāya or was very loosely connected with it. Both the facts, that the Agnipurāṇa contains only this chapter and the Garuḍapurāṇa only the other two, point to this conclusion.

A few words regarding minor details need be said here.

As in his previous work, in this volume too the results arrived at by Meyer are principally based on the comparison of texts, but here too the author has often gone too far on the path of speculation: the reader cannot always feel so sure as the author himself when he calmly goes on saying that this text is derived from that particular passage of an older work and so on. Let us take the typical case which has been repeated by Meyer in his foreword. Agnipurāṇa 227,

38: *brāhmaṇāḥ śākadhānyādi hy alpaṃ gṛhṇan na doṣabhāk, godevārthaṃ haraṃścāpi, hanyād duṣṭaṃ vadhodyatam* is in Meyer's opinion derived from Matsyapurāṇa 227, 110-114, where the same thing has been related in a very lengthy and clumsy fashion. One of the arguments of Meyer is that in both the two works the 227th chapter contains these rules. But one can find no reason to justify such a conclusion. The Agnipurāṇa passage is quite clear. We have here two well-known Smṛti rules: (1) a Brāhmaṇ can with impunity take a small amount of vegetables or paddy either (for himself) or for a cow or a god, (2) one may kill a ruffian who is about to commit murder. There is no reason whatever to connect this śloka with the long passage in the Matsyapurāṇa, and Meyer is certainly wrong in holding that "brāhmaṇāḥ" also governs the latter sentence, for we find nosuch restriction to this rule in the Smṛtis.

It is very much to be regretted that in this book too Meyer adheres to some of the untenable theories started by him in his earlier work, such as that any work which has any verse in common with Yājñ. must be later than it. Nor can he imagine that anybody may have any doubt as to Yājñ.'s absolute dependence on Kauṭilya. This shows that Meyer has not taken note of Keith's latest publication.

Meyer has often justly criticised the corrupt readings in the Purāṇas, but in some cases the readings declared corrupt by him are not corrupt at all,—at least it may be shown that they are grammatically correct and convey good sense. Take for instance Garuḍapurāṇa 166, 31, which has been declared hopelessly corrupt by Meyer, p. 24: *bubhukṣitas tryahaṃ sthitvā dṛṣṭvā vṛttivivarjitam / rājā dharmān prakurvīta vṛttiṃ viprādikasya ca //* Thus isolated the passage really looks absurd as it appeared to Meyer; but we can get a consistent meaning out of it if we only read it along with the second line of the preceding verse: *kuryāt kṛṣyādikaṃ tadvad avikreyā hayās tathā.* Leaving out of consideration the second line of verse 31 which gives an independent meaning, the *anvaya* of the whole passage would be: *tryahaṃ bubhukṣitaḥ sthitvā*, (*ātmānaṃ*) *vṛttivivarjitaṃ dṛṣṭvā* (*dvijaḥ*) *tadvat kṛṣyādikaṃ kuryāt*; *hayās* (*tv*) *avikreyāḥ*. There is nothing obscure in this; the whole passage becomes perfectly intelligible if only we supply the word *ātmānaṃ* and the "Sprachgebrauch" of the Sanskrit language certainly permits us to do so.

Another flaw in Meyer's method of work is that he often indulges in needless speculations as to the cause of the differences in readings. A typical example may be found in Manu 6, 43b which is quoted in

Agnipurāṇa 161, 4a only with this difference that the Purāṇa has *asañcayiko* for Manu's *asaṃkasuko* (it may be mentioned in passing that Meyer has wrongly read these two words as *sañcayiko* and *saṅkasuko* respectively). Meyer (p. 3) here remarks that the Purāṇa author certainly did not understand the word *saṅkasuko* and therefore he replaced this uncanny term by the homely word *sañcayiko*. Such a process would indeed be dangerous, but Kullūka comes to the rescue. In his commentary he gives the word *sañcayiko* as a different reading, and evidently this variant was not originated in the days of Kullūka but was handed down through long ages. We should therefore safely assume that the Purāṇa author knew the verse of Manu in this variant form and cease to speculate on the depth of his knowledge of Sanskrit.

It is to be regretted that in general get up the book is inferior to its predecessors in the series. There are some typographical mistakes, but they are few and far between.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI by R. Gopalan, M.A., University Research Student (1920-24); edited with Introduction and notes by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M. A., PH. D. (Hony.), Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras; and published by the University of Madras. Demy 8vo pp. xxxiii+245 with appendix and index, one map and two photo plates.

The author, editor and publisher of this little book should be congratulated on the production of such an admirable monograph embodying the results of the up-to-date studies and researches on the history and culture of a dynasty that for centuries played an important rôle in South Indian History and left its abiding impressions on the general culture of the country.

Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in a long note introduces the book as well as its author. He has drawn attention to the salient features of Mr. Gopalan's work, indicated points where further researches are yet necessary and supplied a few gaps required to provide a continuous narrative for the whole history of the Pallavas. In so doing he has reiterated his well-known theory about the vexed problem of the origin of the Pallavas and the supposed Cola interregnum. He has also discussed the relation of the Pallavas with the

Cālukyas and other contemporary powers and finally the trend of the dismemberment of the Pallava kingdom.

In the introductory chapter of the book Mr. Gopalan gives a summary account of the previous researches in Pallava history and sources of history for the Pallavas. His enumeration of important authorities from Sir Walter Scott to Prof. S. K. Aiyangar is complete and the sources which he discusses critically are systematically arranged. Chapter II discusses the various theories about the origin of the Pallavas and pre-Pallava history of Kāñchīpura. The different theories are clearly set forth and our author takes an absolutely dispassionate attitude in criticising them. About the origin of the Pallavas he seems to lean towards Prof. Aiyangar's theory, but throughout he keeps an open mind. The Pallavas of Prakrit records and the early Pallavas of Sanskrit records are dealt with in Chapters III and IX. Of Viṣṇugopa it is interesting that our author does not agree with Mon. Dubreuil in thinking that Samudragupta did not advance as far south as Kāñcī to defeat the Pallava king. In connection with the early Pallavas of the Sanskrit records, Mr. Gopalan does not fail to discuss the problem of the supposed Cola interregnum in detail. Chapter V gives us a succinct review of Pallava relations with other contemporary powers, viz., the Kadambas, Sālankāyanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The period of Pallava ascendency begins with the accession of Siṃhaviṣṇu in 575 A. C. The exploits of Siṃhaviṣṇu and his son Mahendravarman I are detailed in Chapter VI. The next chapter introduces us to the most remarkable king of the dynasty, namely, Narasiṃhavarman I (630-660 A. C.) and to his successors. The great Pallava Cālukya contest has been detailed in this connection but it seems that Mr. Gopalan has failed to bring out the true historical significance of this contest. Was it only the conquest of Vengi by Pulakesin II that was the immediate cause of the struggle? What was it for which kings after kings of both the dynasties fought one another in a contest that was destined to last for one century and a half? Was it for the supremacy in the Deccan? Was it due to the difference in culture between the two families—the Pallavas representing the Southern and the Cālukyas the Northern culture—that they considered each other as '*Prakṛtyāmitras*' or natural enemies? What again was the net result of this age-long feud? The account of the struggle could have been more interesting if our author would have attempted to elucidate these points. Chapter VIII gives an account of the dynastic revolution that took place after Parames-

varavarman II and placed Nandivarman Pallavamalla on the throne. The author, in our opinion, takes the right view when he says that he was 'raised to the throne by the general approval of the citizens and thoroughly falsified the usurpation theory.' Chapter IX speaks of the successors of Pallavamalla during whose reign the kingdom clearly showed signs af dismemberment. The story of the disruption is indicated by the existence of several Pallava princes figuring not as members of separate dynasties but marking only a stage in the break-up. Chapter X summarsies certain general considerations of Pallava rule in South India, viz., Pallava administration, nature of village government, revenue and taxation, the different popular assemblies, literature during the Pallava age and does not exclude a consideration in his Chapter as well as in others even of Pallava art and architecture as evinced in their monuments. In this connection Mr. Gopalan would have done well at least to refer to the contributions of French and Dutch schools like Parmentier and Bosch and others on the influence of Pallava art and architecture on the general history of art and architecture in the Indian colonies of the 'Extreme-Orient'. This would have also invariably turned the attention of our author to the most interesting and engrossing problem of the day, viz., the part played by the Pallavas in the history of Hindu Colonisation—a subject on which no definite light has yet been thrown and researches into which are, therefore, the more inviting. We would like to request our author to direct his studies towards throwing some light on this and publish his results in the 2nd edition of the book.

The book is supplemented by three valuable appendices containing, first, an exhaustive list of Pallava inscriptions with short notes as to their finds, publications and contents, secondly, an extract from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and thirdly, a reprint of the first chapter of the *Avantisundarakathā*.

Mr. Gopalan has taken pains in writing the book and his pains have been crowned with success. He is up-to-date in point of collection of facts and criticisms; and he has discussed almost all points connected with his subject. He does not bring out any new data but his presentation of already known facts, his criticism of different theories and elucidation of knotty problems and, above all, his attempt at a continuous narrative are certainly admirable. We entirely agree with Prof. Aiyangar when he says in his Introduction that the book "does not pretend to have solved all questions connected

with the history of the Pallavas finally, but it may be stated that Mr. Gopalan's work carries us as near to an up-to-date history of the Pallavas as, in the circumstances, is possible." As such the author deserves our unstinted praise. We commend his book to all those interested in South Indian History.

The printing of the book is good and misprints are rare. The get-up leaves nothing to be desired ; but the two plates ought to have been better.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

LE CANON BOUDDHIQUE EN CHINE, Tome I, by P. C. Bagchi, Paris, published by Geuthner, 1927, pp. IV, LII, 436.

India is realizing the great importance of Buddhist literature. In fact, the contributions to Buddhism that we owe to Indian scholars are increasing day by day. Unfortunately this Buddhist literature, specially that of Mahāyāna, is chiefly extant now in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The originals are lost in India and our only hope is that the Jaina Bhandars or the Tibetan and Chinese Monasteries may perhaps one day or other bring to light again some of those texts that cannot be traced now. This literature is, as it is known, of the greatest importance for many reasons, not only for understanding the various aspects of Buddhism which are still a mystery to us, but because they contain some of our best sources for tracing out the connection between the different currents of thought that interfered one with another in this country.

The Tibetan bsTan agyur was catalogued by the late Cordier in his wonderful Catalogue des collections Tibetaines ; of the bka 'agyur we have the catalogues of Csoma-Feer and that of Beck. The enormous mass of the Chinese Buddhist Canon was catalogued by the late Japanese Buddhist Bunyiu Nanjio in his famous Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka which has become for so many years *le livre de chevet* of all Buddhist scholars and specially of those interested in Mahāyāna. This pioneer work, in spite of all its unparalleled merits, has some weak points. First of all, it is based on the Chinese Imperial edition published under the Ming dynasty and is not complete. There are in fact in the so-called Korean redaction many texts that cannot be traced out in that edition. The other edition published in Tokyo between 1882 and 1885 contained more texts than those

known to the catalogue of Nanjio and new additions were also included in the more recent edition of Kyoto. Moreover, we must not forget that these collections give us a part only of the literature that was translated into Chinese from Indian or Central Asian texts. If we look at the Catalogues compiled from time to time by the Chinese we easily realise that many works seem to be lost even in China. So the Chinese Canon, as it is now, is very far from giving an exact idea of all the Buddhist literature with which the Chinese became acquainted from the very first time of the introduction of the doctrine of Śākyamuni until the time in which the Canon was practically closed. In our times when the attention of scholars and of Indians has been drawn to that wonderful blossoming of culture that took place in India when Buddhism held its sway all over Asia, it was considered as very urgent to know with a greater detail the amount of this literature and the names of the works and the activities of the great masters of Buddhism. This work has been undertaken by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi. He has realized that the study of Chinese for a student of Indian History is almost as necessary as Sanskrit itself, and after having studied Chinese in Paris with such authority as S. Lévi and P. Pelliot he has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus*, which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. This catalogue is, in fact, not only a catalogue but a kind of schematical history of the spread of Buddhism and with it therefore of Indian culture into China. First of all, the works of which a mention can be found in the Chinese catalogues are registered in this book. Moreover, the treatment of the subject is quite different from that followed by Nanjio. The author has here followed the historical and the geographical arrangement, so that we are enabled to visualize in this first volume the progressive fortune of Buddhism in China and to individuate the greatest masters of the doctrine for about 500 years, that is, from the first introduction of Buddhism into China under the later Han (68-220 A.C.) up to the Liang and Chen Dynasties (557-589 A.C.). But within this historical frame the texts are classified according to the various schools and the most important centres in which during that time the most active work of propaganda took place. We find here therefore the distinction between the two churches, that of Lo yang and that of Chan ngam in the north and that of Nan king in the South.

The author has given side by side with the Chinese title the Sanskrit

title also as proposed by Nanjio. The restorations of the Japanese scholar have proved to be not always exact. Therefore I hope that Dr. Bagchi will at the end of the work rectify all these restorations such as *vijñānamātra* or *vidyāmātra* for *Vijñaptimātratā, Vivādaśamana* for *Vigrahavyāvartanī, Upāyakauśalya hṛdaya* for *Upāya hṛdaya*, etc.

We must welcome in this work which is certainly one of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship the first contribution of Young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism, in which no progress is possible without a knowledge of Chinese and Tibetan. I am sure that all Buddhist scholars are anxiously waiting for the completion of this work which is destined to remain a fundamental treatise in Buddhist science.

G. TUCCI

TREATMENT OF LOVE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE by Sushil Kumar De, M. A. (Calcutta), D. Litt. (London), Reader and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Dacca University, pp. 87 ; Calcutta, 1929.

We find here the proper subject handled by the right author. The delicate subject dealt with by Dr. De in this little volume requires not only an accurate acquaintance with the great Sanskrit literature but also a familiarity with the world literature. But the critic may ask, how is it possible to deal with this vast subject within the small extent of this little volume? Here we should remember the words of the French wit who said, the description of the colossus need not be colossal. Indeed, Dr. De does not claim comprehensiveness for his work and neither is it meant for the specialist, as he says in his foreward, but still, this little volume is sure to be useful to all as a reliable guide into the vast labyrinth of Sanskrit literature. The bewildering emotions of love appealed also to the minds of the Vedic Aryans, but they were still fresh, vigorous and naïve ; and too unsophisticated to feel the need of giving artistic form to expressions of lower instincts of man, they expressed these emotions in terms which are too direct. No doubt it is because of this that Dr. De has only hinted at, but never fully described, the love scenes in Vedic literature. Then, in the classical period, hundreds of poets have sung of the never-old theme in thousands of artistic ways, but, as Dr. De has pointed out, art soon degenerated into sensual literature ;

only geniuses like Śūdraka and Bhavabhūti kept intact the purity and glory of true art, but to most the appeal to the senses was more acceptable than appeal to the intellect.

We hope that this little book will be welcome to all lovers of Sanskrit literature and we also expect soon to get a comprehensive survey of the subject from the pen of Dr. De himself.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

MĀNAVAGṚHYASŪTRA OF THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYA ŚĀKHĀ, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF AṢṬĀVAKRA, edited with an Introduction, Index, etc. by Ramakrishna Harshaji Sastri, with a preface by B. C. Lele, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Baroda College; 1926; Central Library, Baroda; pp. 9+31+258+6; Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXV.

Gaekwad's Oriental Series has brought out some of the most important books of the inexhaustive Sanskrit literature in excellent editions. The first publication of this series appeared in 1916 and already at this time there are nearly fifty works to its credit covering an amazingly wide field of research, including even Prākṛt, and Persian and Tibetan. We have therefore every reason to be thankful to the patron and the editors of this series.

The volume under review is by no means unworthy of its predecessors and its value has been enhanced by two illuminating introductions from the pens of Mr. Lele and Mr. Sastri respectively, the former in English and the latter in Sanskrit. Unfortunately, Mr. Lele has repeated some mistakes of Dr. Knauer, who for the first time published the Mānavagṛhyasūtra in 1897 with extracts from the commentary and whom Mr. Lele persistently calls Knaner. Few people will be convinced that "Puruṣa" is identical with Mānava. This and other needless speculations might well have been dispensed with. The Sanskrit introduction is very instructive, in which the editor has dealt at length with the various Śākhās of the Vedic literature, but, unfortunately again, it has very little to do with the present text.

The language of the Mānavagṛhya is very archaic—the author of the text had indeed but scant regard for the grammatical conventions. Above all, this peculiarity of the language shows that the Mānavagṛhya is one of the oldest works of the Sūtra literature and as such it offers us invaluable data as to the social life in the India of the

hoary past. Perhaps this work is the oldest extant Gṛhyasūtra. In spite of the frequent grammatical juggleries which the commentator is compelled to have recourse to, he is often unable to account for the anomalous forms. Thus on p. 12 he makes the rather flat remark—*chandovat sūtrāṇīti prathamāyāḥ sthāne ṣaṣṭhī kim iti chandasi suptiṅvyatyayaṃ nāmedaṃ, yataḥ saṃbandhamātrapradarśanārthā vibhaktiḥ.* The most remarkable point in this statement is that the *sūtra* is to be regarded as *chandas*, at least so far as the language is concerned.

The work of editing such a text is naturally a very difficult one, but it was rendered rather easy for our editor, inasmuch as he had the excellent edition of Knauer before him. We may therefore fairly indulge in a criticism if there are flaws in the work of our learned editor. It is very much to be regretted that we have hardly ever any different readings in this edition, which are so necessary for such an obscure text as this; nor does the editor refer to the readings preferred by Knauer, which are sometimes decidedly better. Our editor reads *na vihārārtho jalpet* (I, 1, 9), whereas Knauer read *vihārārthau* which of course gives a better sense if Aṣṭāvakra's explanation is to be followed. But, what is most curious, both of these two readings seem to be guaranteed by the same commentator according to our editors! According to Knauer Aṣṭāvakra too prefers the reading *vihārārthau*, and according to our present editor, his own reading of the text is supported by Aṣṭāvakra. This is a curious case indeed, and we are tempted to suggest that one or the other of these two editors was led so far astray as to read his own reading of the text in the commentary, no doubt as the result of a too sympathetic consideration of that reading.

The commentary on the sūtra referred to above is remarkable for more reasons than one: it gives us a typical example of wrong punctuation in the volume under review and we learn from it also the general characteristics of the commentary. The commentary as given by our editor is: विहारः क्रीड़ तदेतत् काम्यादि गृहविहार उच्यते। उपवनादि अर्थो हिरण्यादिः॥ Well, it conveys hardly any sense at all. We are on firmer ground with Knauer's reading of the same passage: विहारः क्रीड़नं; तदेतत् काम्यादि गृहविहार उच्यते; उपवनादि च। अर्थो हिरण्यादिः॥ The true meaning of the sūtra, however, was not grasped by the commentator. Assuming that after all the present editor is right and not Knauer, the word *vihārārthaḥ* certainly signifies *vihārārthin*, just as *vidyārthaḥ* in Āp. Dh. S., 1, 2, 17 signifies *vidyārthin*.

We must remember that the above sūtra lays down a rule of

conduct for the Brahmacārin ; it is therefore astonishing to read what the commentator says in further elucidation of the passage : भार्य्याद्यार्थितं हिरण्यादिविषयं जल्पवादं न कुर्य्यात्। This for a Brahmacārin who has nothing to do with wife or money. Indeed, Aṣṭāvakra is one of those commentators whose best efforts are directed not to elucidate the text but to show off their own wisdom. Whenever possible, Aṣṭāvakra has brought his knowledge of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy into play and therefore large portions of his commentary are unintelligible to the general reader. It is this consideration, no doubt, which prompted Knauer to leave out these portions when he gave extracts from the commentary in his edition and it is all the more creditable for our editor that he has undertaken to publish the full text of the commentary for the first time. But unfortunately he had insufficient manuscript materials at his disposal, a fact which necessitated the frequent insertion of the query mark in the body of the text of the commentary.

Mr. Lele says in his introduction that nothing is known about Aṣṭāvakra ; but the commentator has given us a clue to his date in the second verse on p.105, where he says : अष्टावक्रेण तु दैवेन तां तुष्टा तु सरस्वतीम्। शते पूर्णे तु वर्षाणामस्तौ शिशिरसंज्ञिते ॥ Thus we know that Aṣṭāvakra wrote when a century was completed, but of which era ? There we are left only to guess. Another curious statement in the commentary, may be found on p. 81. There we read : भट्टाष्टावक्र एवमुक्तवान्। इदानीं भट्टश्रीकुमारोक्तं प्रकृतं लिख्यते। This shows that the commentary in its entirety does not come from the pen of Aṣṭāvakra, but Kumāra too had something to do with it, and, as Knauer suggests (Einleitung, p. XXIII), the word प्रकृतम् indicates that the commentary was originally composed by Kumāra, and Aṣṭāvakra only supplemented it at a later date.

The list of errata appended to the volume under review is extensive enough, but by no means exhaustive. Sometimes three or four typographical mistakes may be easily pointed out in one page. Even such childish mistakes as तद्ज्ञापयति for तज्ज्ञापयति are not rare. If the editor was a little more careful these mistakes might have been easily eliminated. But still, we must admit, the edition of the obscure text of the commentary from insufficient manuscript materials is a magnificent achievement.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. vii, pt. iv, 1929

W. CALAND.—*A Vaidik Wedding Song.*
PH. S. VAN RONKEL.—*The Rāmāyaṇa in Malay.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution

vol. v, pt. ii

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Poison-detecting Birds.* Passages referring to a common belief in the existence of some poison-detecting birds and similar animals have been quoted from the ancient literature of both the East and the West.

KASTEN RÖNNOW.—*Some Remarks on Śvetadvīpa.* The author suggests the identity of the Śvetadvīpa mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* with the Buddhist heavens by pointing out some coincidences between them.

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*Les influences populaires dans la Chāndogya-upaniṣad.* The author takes the word *bhallākṣa* in the Chāndogya-upaniṣad, iv, 1, 2 to be equivalent to *bhadrākṣa*, he whose eye brings happiness. He concludes from this that there is a considerable element of popular superstition embodied in the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* and further says that the authors of the same were perhaps outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Sanskrit and Prakrit in the Ārya Eḻuttu.* Some symbols found in the Mss. of the Sanskrit dramas written in the Ārya Eḻuttu, the present Malayalam script, have been given a new explanation in this note.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1929

R. D. BANERJI.—*The Empire of Orissa.* The present instalment of this continued article dealing with the history of the Empire of Orissa treats of the concluding stages of Puruṣottama's reign in the last decade of the 15th century A.C. and also the whole of the reign of his son Pratāparudra up to the middle of the next century.

Ibid., May, 1929

RICHARD C. TEMPLE.—*Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the Kathā-saritsāgara.*

Indologica Pragnesia, vol. i, no. i, 1929

M. WINTERNITZ.—*Ānvīkṣikī and Ātmavidyā.* A detailed discussion of the word Ānvīkṣikī in the *Kauṭilīya.*

O. STEIN.—*Ein Yoga-Prahasana.* A learned discussion on the Prahasana, *Bhagavadajjukīya* of Bodhāyana Kavi, the second edition of which has been brought out in 1925.

O. STEIN.—*Indien in den griechischen Papyri.* The author has collected valuable data about India in the earliest Greek papyri.

M. WINTERNITZ.—*The critical edition of the Mahābhārata.* Some critical remarks on Dr. Sukthankar's edition of the Ādiparvan.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1929

J. R. WARE.—*Studies in the Divyāvadāna*, II.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. xv, pts. i and ii

CHARU CHANDRA SINHA.—*The Hindu Conception of moral Judgment.*

JAYACHANDRA VIDYALANKAR.—*The date of Kaniṣka.* The author has supported the theory of Konow and van Wijk that Kaniṣka ascended the throne about 198 A.C. He has also proved that Kaniṣka and Rudradāman might well have been contemporaries.

R. D. BANERJI.—*Antiquities of the Baudh State.* Various matters relating to temples and other buildings of the Baudh state have been discussed in this paper, which also contains a short note on the early Bhañja kingdom.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Jayapura Copper-Plate of Devānandadeva.*

RAMAVATARA SARMA.—*A Note on Sanskritic and Sanskrit Anthologies.*

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO.—*The Identification of Kaliṅganagara.* After an elaborate discussion, the author concludes that the site of the two villages, Nagarakaṭakam and Mukhaliṅgam, represents the ancient Kaliṅganagara.

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*The Paris Manuscript of the Garga-Saṃhitā.* The writer has pointed out some important readings contained

in this manuscript which go to support his former readings and conclusions (JBORS, 1928, pp. 397-421).

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Further Discussion about Rāmagupta.* The writer here has attempted to defend his theory that Rāmagupta intervened between Samudragupta and Candragupta II and was king perhaps for a very short time.

K. K. Basu.—*Account of Mubarak Shah, the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi.*

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI.—*On the Śiva and Vāyu Purāṇas.* The writer has here discussed the old problem whether the Vāyu or the Śiva Purāṇa is to be regarded as the genuine ancient Purāṇa, and he has decided in favour of the Vāyu Purāṇa.

LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGDEV.—*Rock Inscription near Atagada Fort.*

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.—*Later Guptas of Magadha.* The author here tries to defend his position regarding the later Guptas as stated in his *Harṣa* and severely criticised by R. D. Banerji (JBORS, June, 1928).

NIRMAL KUMAR BASU.—*Some Ancient Remains from Bhuvanesvar.*

A BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Keur—A probable Site of Vikramaśila.*

P. Acharya.—*A Note on the Bhuvaneśvara Inscription of Candra Devī.*

(B. K. G.)

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, March, 1929

A. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR.—*The Flood Legends of the East.* After a comparative study of three Flood Legends of the East, the Chaldean, the Jewish and the Indian, the writer comes to the conclusion that the Indian account of the Flood found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the parent Flood Legend.

N. N. LALLA.—*Lord Dalhousie and the Faithful Allies of the British.*

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The History of Early Buddhism in India.*

B. A. SALETORE.—*Three Madras Museum Copper-plate Grants of Śaka* 1544, 1565 and 1566. This deals with the Keḷaḍi and Bañgar Copper-plate Grants.

K. H. KAMADAR.—*The Year of Shivaji's Birth,* 1627 or 1630?

H. HERAS.—*A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. iii, pt. i

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.—*Rāvaṇa-bhāṣya.* References found in Sanskrit literature to an ancient *Vaiśeṣikasūtra-bhāṣya* by Rāvaṇa which has been mentioned in the *Anargharāghava* as Kaṭandī have been collected here.

D. S. SARMA.—*One of the Sources of the Bhagavadgītā.* The writer points out, by quotations and comparisons, the resemblances both in words and thoughts, between the verses of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā which fact has aleady been known as recorded in the verse *sarvopaniṣado gāvo.....dugdhaṃ gītāmṛtaṃ mahat.*

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*The date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and some of his Predecessors.* This is an attempt to fix 655-687 A.C. as the date of Śaṅkarācarya.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Probable Identification of King Hāravarṣa.* This is an identification of Hāravarṣa or Yuvarāja mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda with Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal.

R. RAMAMURTI.—*The Pratijñācāṇakya of Bhīma.* In this article *Pratijñācāṇakya* or *Pratibhācāṇakya* referred to and quoted by Abhinavagupta has been fathered upon Bhīmaṭa, king of Kālañjara, who flourished between 800 and 915 A.C., to whom have been attributed by the *Sūktimuktāvalī* five dramas of which the *Svapnadaśānana* has been mentioned by name.

Journal of Indian History, vol, iii, part i, April, 1929

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI.—*Antiquity of the Purāṇic Story Tradition.* This is an attempt to show, by a reference to the legends recorded and alluded to in the Vedic *mantras,* that "the original traditions of all the Puranic stories" were current contemporaneously with the Vedic legends.

K. R. QANUNGO.—*Some Side-lights on the Character and Court-life of Shah Jahan.*

HARIHAR DAS.—*The East India Company, its Origin and Growth prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy.*

RAGHAVA AIYANGAR.—*The Kaḷabhras in South India.* The writer has tried to show that the Kaḷabhras were Veḷḷāḷa Kaḷappaḷar and not the Muttarayar and that Acyuta Kaḷappāḷar of literature is the Acyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta of Buddhadatta.

S. V. PUNTNAMBEKAR.—*Ājñāpatra or Royal Edict.* It gives the first instalment of the English translation of *Ājñāpatra*, issued by Sambhoji of Kolapur, on November 21, 1716. The great importance of this work is due to the fact that Ramacandrapant Amātya was closely connected with Śivājī.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1929

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.—*A Visit to an "Astronomical" Temple in India.* This describes the Navagraha temple situated on the Citrācala, one of the hills of Kāmākhyā in Gauhati and gives a Paurāṇic account of the Grahas.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.—*Akbar II as Pretender: A study in Anarchy.*

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*Hippokoura et Śātakarṇi.* 'One is tempted,' says Prof. Rapson, 'to compare the words *Śātakarṇi* and *Satakani* with *Satiyaputa* of an inscription of Aśoka'. If one takes *Satakani* = *Satiyaputa*, then it is apparent that *Kani* must have its origin in an Andhra word that has the same sense as the Middle Indian *puta* 'son'. Now in the Muṇḍā language *Kon* or Koni means a son. *Satakani* then may mean 'son of sata'. The *root Kan* > *han* still gives in Muṇḍā *hapan*, 'son,' which without doubt comes from the ancient *pahan*. One can conceive that an Andhra word such as *Satapahan* (*a*) may have been Sanskritised into *Sātavāhana*. Besides in Muṇḍā *Sāḍām* means 'cheval' and Satakani and Sadakani of the inscriptions mean Śātakarṇi and Śātavāhana ; all these names then may have been Sanskritised from Austro-Asiatic names signifying 'son of horse' which one inscription of Aśoka has partially translated into *Satiyaputa*.

In the fables of Ptolemy certain Indian names have been partially translated into Greek. Hippokoura, for example, seems to have been found from *hippos* 'horse' and from the Indian word *Kura* 'city.' This name, which designated one of the capitals of the Andhras, appears to signify 'city of horse.'

In conclusion the king who reigned at Hippokoura carries without doubt a name found from that of the city, for Ptolemy calls him Baleokouros. With this name, in which one recognises the element *Kura*, 'city', corresponds the title *Viḷivāyaku* of the Andhra coins. In Sanskrit *Vaḍavā* means a mare and *Vaḍava* 'a horse that resembles a mare' and in Pāli *Vaḷavā* means either a horse or a mare. In Baleokouros the element *balaeo* corresponds without doubt to the form *baḷavā* deformed by vulgar use. In

order to distinguish from vulgar *baleo*, the language had recreated *Vilivāya*, comparable to Pāli *Vaḷavā*, and to Valāhaya, the name of the mythical horse in the Jain Prākṛt literature.

Then the myth of the divine horse, ancestor of the Andhra kings, permits us to explain at the same time, the name of these kings, the name of their capital and their title. (Hemchandra Ray).

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1929

R. RAMA RAO.—*Some Problems of Identity in Early Vijayanagar History*. The writer of this article is of opinion that the identities between Mādhavamantri and Māllappa Vaḍeyar, and Virupaṇṇa Voḍeyar and Viṭṭhaṇṇa Vaḍeyar sought to be established by some is not well founded.

LANKA SUNDARAM.—This concluding instalment of the subject deals with the currency system of the Mughal Empire.

R. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR.—*The Sumero-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origin.*

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Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire

1. *Puṣyamitra*

After the two great Maurya emperors, Candragupta and Aśoka, Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, is the only Indian ruler of the early historic period whose memory Indians of different denominations, the Brahmans, the Buddhists and the Jainas, could not let die. The story of Puṣyamitra's usurpation of the Maurya throne is thus told in the Purāṇas that give account of the dynasties of the Kali age :—

"These are the ten Mauryas who will enjoy the earth full 137 *years*. After them it will go to the Śuṅgas. Puṣyamitra, the Commander-in-chief (*senānī*) will uproot Bṛhadratha and will rule the kingdom as king for 36 years."[1]

This tradition is repeated with a few more details by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita, ch. vi. :—

"The wicked (*anārya*) general (*senānī*) Puṣyamitra crushed to death his foolish master, Maurya Bṛhadratha, having paraded his whole army on the pretext of review."[2]

1 Pargiter, *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 70.

2 *Śrī-Harṣacaritamahākāvyam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, edited by A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1909, p. 269 ; Cowell & Thomas, *Harṣacarita of Bāṇa*, London, 1897, p. 193.

Puṣyamitra belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty, a branch of the Bhāradvāja clan of Brahmans. He is called *anārya* by Bāṇa on account of his treachery and not on account of his birth. The grammarian Patañjali, who was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, gives us a few precious glimpses of Puṣyamitra and his time in the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya. In his comment on Pāṇini I, 1, 58, Vār. 7, Patañjali, after stating that a compound word made up of *rājan* (king) and *sabhā* (court) and meaning "king's court" should not be neuter (*rājasabham*), but feminine (*rāja-sabhā*), adds, "(compound word) made up of the name of a particular rājā (and sabhā) is not (neuter but feminine)." To illustrate this rule Patañjali mentions, *Puṣyamitra-sabhā*, "the court of Puṣyamitra", *Candragupta-sabhā*, "the court of Candragupta." Mention of the names of Candragupta and Puṣyamitra side by side indicates that these kings are evidently the founder of the Maurya and the Śuṅga dynasties respectively. In his explanation of Pāṇini III, 2, 123, Vār. 1, Patañjali writes that the group of verbal suffixes known as *laṭ* is used to denote action that has been begun but not yet finished, action that is in progress, and gives as examples, "Here we are reading; here we are sitting; here we are causing Puṣyamitra to perform sacrifice (as officiating priests)." The last sentence has led scholars to the conclusion that Patañjali compiled this part of the Mahābhāṣya at a time when he was engaged in officiating as a priest in a sacrifice (presumably a horse sacrifice) undertaken by Puṣyamitra. The sacrifice of Puṣyamitra as a present (contemporary) event is again referred to by Patañjali under Pāṇini III, 1, 26 (Vār. 3, 4). Pāṇini lays down in III, 2, 111 :—*anadyatane laṅ*

"The *laṅ* affixes are added to a verbal root to denote what is not (occurring) to-day (but what happened in the past)."

This aphorism is governed by Pāṇini III, 2, 84, *bhūte*, "affixes dealt with hereafter denote the past", and this famous Vār. is added to it :—

Parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayokturdarśanaviṣaye

"(*Laṅ* affixes added to verbal root denote) universally known (action) that (happened) out of sight, but within the range of sight of the narrator."

The apparent contradiction between out of sight (*parokṣe*) and within the range of vision (*darśanaviṣaye*) is thus explained by Kaiyaṭa, the scholiast of Patañjali :—

ananubhūtatvāt parokṣo'pi pratyakṣa-yogyatāmātrāśrayeṇa darśanaviṣaye iti virodhābhāvaḥ

"(Something that is) 'out of sight' on account of its not being actually perceived is within the range of sight if it is only capable of being witnessed ; so there is no contradiction." In other words, it means something that happens out of sight of the narrator, but within his life time. As examples Patañjali states, *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad Yavanaḥ Madhyamikām*, "the Yavana besieged Sāketa, the Yavana besieged Madhyamikā." From these examples Dr. Sten Konow concludes :—

"At all events we must conclude that the operations referred to were taking place about the time when Patañjali wrote the third book of his commentary and they were accordingly contemporaneous with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice."[1]

If Dr. Sten Konow here means to say that the statements of Patañjali indicate that the composition of the commentary (*bhāṣya*) on Pāṇini, III, 2, the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana, and Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice, were all going on simultaneously, he is wrong. Under Pāṇini III, 2, 123, Puṣyamitra's sacrifice is referred to as an act which has been begun but not yet completed (*ārabdho aparisamāptaśca vartamānaḥ*—Kāśikā) ; but the siege of Sāketa is referred to under Pāṇini III, 2, 111 which treats of *bhūta*, 'past,' *anadyatana* (=*avidyamānādyatana*), 'not in progress on the present day,' i.e. completed in the past.

1 Sten Konow, "Some problems raised by the Khāravela Inscription," *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 31.

So the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā could not have been contemporaneous with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice, but must have taken place before. Jinendrabuddhi in his Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā writes[1] :—

mūlodāharaṇe'pi prayoktā Sāketāvarodhatulyakālo veditavyaḥ tasyaiva hyasau darśanaviṣayaḥ nānyasya.

"In the original example the narrator (Patañjali) is to be recognised as one alive at the time of the siege of Sāketa. He could have witnessed that (operation); no other writer (who quotes from his commentary) could."

The examples of Patañjali under Pāṇini III, 2, 111 and 123 taken together, therefore, indicate that the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana king took place sometime before his composition of that part of the Mahābhāṣya. The Yavana invaders of Oudh and Rajputana were evidently repulsed by Puṣyamitra who then undertook a horse sacrifice in which the great grammarian officiated as a sacrificial priest and composed his commentary on Pāṇini III, 2 when the sacrifice was in progress. In the fifth act of Kālidāsa's drama, Mālavikāgnimitra, Agnimitra, Rājā of Vidiśā (Besnagar near Bhilsa), receives a letter from his father Puṣyamitra, who has the title Senāpati, "commander-in-chief", and, who is called Vaidiśa, "native of Vidiśā". In this letter Puṣyamitra, already initiated in *rāja-yajña*, royal sacrifice or horse sacrifice, informs Agnimitra that the sacrificial horse was let loose to wander freely for a year in charge of Vasumitra (son of Agnimitra) who was accompanied by one hundred princes. While the horse was wandering in the region south of the river Sindhu, it was obstructed by the leader of the Yavana (Greek) cavalry. Then there was a great fight between the troops of Vasumitra and the Yavanas which ended in the defeat of the latter. After its release the sacrificial horse has been led back to the capital

1 The *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* (*Nyāsa*) by Jinendrabuddhi, edited by Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Rajshahi, p. 941.

and is going to be sacrificed. So Agnimitra is invited to attend the sacrifice with his wives.

Dr. Sten Konow finds in this narrative a corroboration of his "inference drawn from the Mahābhāṣya that Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice coincided with the operations undertaken by the Yavana conquerors." Kālidāsa may corroborate Dr. Sten Konow's inference; but Patañjali's references to the horse sacrifice of Puṣyamitra and the siege operations of the Yavana invader do not in any way corroborate Kālidāsa's account of the fight between the guards of the sacrificial horse and the Yavana cavalry. In Patañjali, the Yavana invasion is a thing of the past, though not remote past, and Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice belongs to the present.

The Buddhist legends relating to Puṣyamitra are given in the concluding portion of the Divyāvadāna, XXIX, where Puṣyamitra is represented as the last king of the Maurya dynasty and not the first king of the succeeding Śuṅga dynasty. It is said therein that once Puṣyamitra asked his ministers, "How can I make my name immortal." They replied, "There was a king named Aśoka of your dynasty. He built 84,000 dharmarājikās (stūpas). His (Aśoka's) fame will endure so long as the religion of the Bhagavat (Buddha) will endure. Your Majesty should also build 84,000 dharmarājikās (stūpas)." The king said, "Rājā Aśoka was a great king; suggest some other way." His Brahman priest who was a non-believer in Buddhism said, "Your Majesty, there are two different ways of making the name immortal." Rājā Puṣyamitra, saying, "I shall uproot the religion of Buddha by mobilising the fourfold army," proceeded to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery. The roar of a lion was heard at the gate. The king was frightened and returned to Pāṭaliputra. This happened twice or thrice. Then, summoning the assembly of monks, he said, "I shall uproot the religion of Buddha; do you want the stūpa or the monastery?" The monks accepted (the gift). Puṣyamitra went forth destroying the Buddhist monasteries and slaughtering

the monks. When he reached Sākala, he issued this proclamation. "Whoever will present me the head of a Śramaṇa will be rewarded with 100 *dināras*." But ultimately Puṣyamitra failed in his attempt and was killed by a Yakṣa named Kṛmisena who vowed to protect the religion of Buddha.

This legend clearly indicates that Puṣyamitra was remembered by the Buddhists as a non-Buddhist monarch whose dominion extended as far as Sākala (Sialkot) and who tried to rival Aśoka in power and fame.

No story relating to Puṣyamitra has yet been discovered in the Jaina literature. But in one of the works of Merutuṅga, a famous Jaina author, who flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century A.C., occur for the first time three Prākṛt memorial verses in one of which Puṣyamitra (Pussamitta) is mentioned. The verses are thus translated by Bühler :—

"Pālaka, the lord of Avantī, was anointed in that night in which the Arahat and Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra entered *Nirvāṇa*.

"Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas ; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pussamitta (Puṣyamitra).[2]

"Sixty (years) ruled Bālamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhobāhana (*Nahavāhana*). Thirteen years likewise lasted the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are the years of Śaka.".[3]

As Dr. Sten Konw has attempted to build the Śuṅga chronology[1] on the basis of these verses, they deserve our careful attention. Dr. Jarl Charpentier writes about the authorship and the date of these verses, "That they were not composed by Merutuṅga himself or any of his contemporaries is certain, because at that time Jaina authors had long ago ceased to write in Prākṛt."[2] The Jainas ceased to

1 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. p. 33, ff.
2 *Indian Antiquary*, XLIII, 1914, p. 120.

write in Prākṛt not very long before Merutuṅga, for Hemacandra wrote his Prākṛt Dvyāśraya Kāvya a little over a century before him. In the Pariśiṣṭaparvaṇ, VI, 243, Hemacandra writes :—

anantaraṃ Vardhamānasvāmi-nirvāṇāvasarāt
gatāyaṃ śaṣṭhivatsaryāmeṣa Nando 'bhavannṛpaḥ

"Sixty years after the *nirvāṇa* of Vardhamānasvāmin this Nanda became king."

This statement leaves room for a reign of sixty years for Pālaka, king of Avantī, between the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra and the accession of Nanda. But Hemacandra's narrative of the history of Magadha and of Avantī (Mālava) before the accession of Nanda is not in agreement with the first memorial verse quoted by Merutuṅga. The king of Magadha whom, according to Hemacandra, Nanda succeeded was Udāyin, son of Kuṇika. A rājā was once deposed by Udāyin and died. The son of the deposed king went to Ujjain, the capital of Avantī, and entered the service of the king who was an enemy of Udāyin. The prince proposed to the king of Avantī that if the latter would order him, he would proceed to Pāṭaliputra and assassinate Udāyin. The king of Avantī, whose name is not given by Hemcandra, approved the proposal and the prince went to Pāṭaliputra and disguised as a Jaina monk assassinated Udāyin. As Udāyin had no male issue, the royal elephant (*paṭṭahastin*) issued out of the palace with other insignia of royalty and meeting on the way Nanda, who was being led in procession round the city after his marriage, put him (Nanda) on his back. Nanda was accordingly proclaimed king. The assassin who paved the way for Nanda's accession fled to Ujjain and claimed his reward from the king of Avantī. The latter, instead of rewarding the assassin, forthwith banished him from the city. This king of Avantī who lived to banish the assassin of Udāyin a few days after the accession of Nanda and whose death is not referred to by Hemacandra, cannot be identified with Pālaka of the memorial verses who died synchronously

with the accession of Nanda. If, therefore, Pālaka's story was unknown to Hemacandra, a Śvetāmbara Jaina author of encyclopædic learning, when he dealt with the traditional history of Avantī of that period, the conclusion is irresistible that Pālaka was brought into relation with the Śvetāmbara Jaina chronology after Hemacandra wrote his Pariśiṣṭa-parvaṇ.

The statement in the memorial verse (2), "but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas", is also far in excess of what Hemacandra indicates as the duration of the rule of the Nanda dynasty. Regarding the date of the accession of Candragupta Maurya who supplanted the Nanda dynasty Hemacandra writes (VIII, 339) :—

evaṃ ca śrī-Mahāvīramuktervarṣaśate gate
pañca-pañcāśadadhike Candragupto 'bhavannṛpaḥ

"Candragupta became king 155 years after the liberation or nirvāṇa of the illustrious Mahāvīra (Vardhamāna)."

This leaves only 95 years for the Nanda rule which closely agrees with the Paurāṇic statement that after the Nandas "have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas". It seems to me that the author of the memorial verses, in order to make an adjustment of the era of the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra current in his time and the Mālava Vikrama era started with a king of Avantī (Pālaka), transferred to him the 60 years that intervened between the nirvāṇa and the accession of Nanda according to an earlier tradition recorded by Hemacandra, and transferred to the dynasty the 155 years that intervened between the nirvāṇa and the accession of Candragupta. His allotment of 108 years to the Maurya dynasty is also wrong. The Purāṇas assign a total of 85 years to the reign of the first three Mauryas and the Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṃsa, that hands down the Buddhist tradition, gives 89 years or 4 years more only. According to Hemacandra (VIII, 326) the dynasty founded by Candragupta Maurya lasted for nine generations and from his account of the reign of the fourth Maurya king,

Samprati it is evident that according to the Jaina tradition he also must have enjoyed a long reign like his predecessors. So even if we allow a reign of 20 years to Samprati, a total of 3 years only is left for the 5 last Maurya kings out of a total of 108 years. The total of 137 years for the Maurya dynasty given in the Purāṇas suits better not only the Paurāṇik and Buddhist traditions, but also the Śvetāmbara traditions as preserved by Hemacandra.

Jacobi[1] and Charpentier,[2] who have fully discussed the verses, consider them valueless for fixing the date of the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Dr. Sten Konow attempts to fix the date of Puṣyamitra in accordance with these verses. But he does so, not by relying on these verses alone, but by combining the statements made in these verses relating to the Mauryas and Puṣyamitra with the Paurāṇik evidence. As we have already seen, it is said in verse 2 that "one hundred and eight (years) those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pussamitta (Puṣyamitra)." Dr. Sten Konow adopts Jacobi's reduction of these statements in terms of B. C. and quotes him thus: "It has been pointed out by Jacobi that the stanzas place the accession of Candragupta in B. C. 312 and that of Puṣyamitra in B. C. 204, while the latter king's rule is stated to have come to an end in B. C. 174".[3] If the stanzas mean anything, they mean that after 108 years the Maurya dynasty came to an end and after 30 following years the reign of Puṣyamitra came to an end. But Dr. Sten Konow suggests a modification of meaning and a combination of the testimonies of the Jaina *gāthās* with the Paurāṇik

1 *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, edited by H. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 7-10 (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii, 1); *Sthavirāvalicarita* or *Pariśiṣṭaparva* of Hemacandra, edited by H. Jacobi (Bib. Ind.), pp. 4-6.

2 Jarl Charpentier, "The Date of Mahāvīra", *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLIII, pp. 119-123.

3 *Acta Orientalia*, vol, I. p. 34.

evidence. He argues that the *gāthās* are not meant as a chronology of the Magadha kings, as has usually been assumed, but are *in reality* meant as an enumeration of the rulers of Central India between the Nirvāṇa and Vikramāditya. If this is once admitted, all difficulties in the way of reconciling Jaina gāthic with Paurāṇik evidences disappear. In the *gāthās* 108 years assigned to the Mauryas are not meant as the total duration of the dynasty, but as the duration of the Maurya rule in Central India. Candragupta conquered Central India in 312 B. C. and earned for his dynasty the right to be included in the Jaina *gāthās* first cited by Merutuṅga. One hundred and eight years later, in 204 B.C., Puṣyamitra, called a Vaidiśa in the Mālavikāgnimitra, started on his career as *Senāpati* or *Senānī*, i.e. general of the Maurya forces and governor of Mālava. But how with the appointment of Puṣyamitra as governor of Mālava, the Maurya rule in Mālava came to an end is not explained. The Maurya dynasty survived in Magadha for about 30 years more, thus approximating the Paurāṇik total of 137 years. In 174 B.C. Puṣyamitra, who had made himself practically independent of Magadha earlier, after having ruled there (in Mālava) thirty years, rose against the Maurya king, made himself master of Magadha and reigned there for six years more, thereby completing the reign of 36 years alloted to him by the Purāṇas. The reason why Dr. Sten Konow considers the Jaina *gāthās* an exclusive enumeration of the kings of Central India is that the first and the last kings, Pālaka and Gardhabhilla, belong to Mālava exclusively. But neither Pālaka nor Gardhabhilla, nor any other ruler who held sway in Mālava exclusively, find place in the Paurāṇik list pertaining to the period before the beginning of the Christian era. How, therefore, can the reign of 36 years assigned to Puṣyamitra by the Purāṇas after the fall of the Mauryas be divided into two different periods—one of 30 years as ruling exclusively in Mālava, and one of 6 years as ruling over both Magadha and Mālava. Dr. Sten Konow does not explain.

It appears to me that Dr. Sten Konow's combination of Jaina *gāthic* and *Paurāṇik* statements is not justifiable, and the *gāthās* afford no real ground for rejecting the commonly accepted date of the reign of Puṣyamitra (B.C. 184-148) as the successor of the Mauryas. Evidence furnished by the Greek sources points to the same conclusion.

As we have seen above (p. 398), according to Buddhist tradition Sākala (Sialkot) was included in the kingdom of Puṣyamitra. But very probably, not long after his accession, he came into conflict with the Grœko-Bactrian invaders over the possession of this city. The extent of the Grœko-Bactrian conquest is thus described by Strabo (XI, 516):—

"The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of country that they became masters of Ariana (roughly, Southern Afghanistan) and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemia. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraotes and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast....."[1]

According to Justin (Prologue to Book XLI) the Indian conquests, attributed by Apollodorus of Artemia to Demetrius and Menander, were ascribed by Trogus Pompeius to Appollodorus and Menander.[2] So the connection of Demetrius with these conquests is doubtful. We are on surer ground with regard to Menander. Demetrius is referred to by Polybius who states that when the Seleucid king Antiochus III invaded Bactria (c. 208 B.C.), Euthydemus, who had seized the throne of Bactria by overthrowing Diodotus II, sent his son Demetrius, then a young man, to meet

1 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100-1.
2 *Cambridge His. of India*, I, p. 543.

him. Antiochus was so pleased with his appearance, conversation and the dignity of his manners that "he first promised to give one of his daughters, and secondly, conceded the royal title to his father."[1] Who among the early Indo-Greek invaders conquered Sākala is a matter of dispute. Dr. George Macdonald points out that the statement that Demetrius fixed his capital at Sāgala which he called Euthydemia in honour of his father is open to challenge.[2] Dr. Sten Konow ignores the statement of Trogus Pompeius and holds, without any hesitation, that the Yavana king who laid siege to Sāketa and Madhyamikā contemporaneously with Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice was Demetrius, son of Euthydemus.[3] As the career of Demetrius practically came to an end soon after 175 B.C. when Eucratides revolted and usurped the throne of Bactria, such an assumption involves the assignment of the horse sacrifice in the very year of of Puṣyamitra's usurpation of the imperial throne. This is incredible. Therefore we have to fall back upon the Paurāṇik tradition that Puṣyamitra usurped the throne of Magadha 137 years after the accession of Candragupta (i.e. c. B.C. 184). If this is done, enough time is allowed him to consolidate his power and perform the horse sacrifice even if Menander is ignored and Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, is recognized as the invader of Sāketa and Madhyamikā.

In a Brāhmī inscription discovered at Ayodhyā and dealt with below it is said that Senāpati Puṣyamitra performed, not one, but two horse sacrifices. From this it may be inferred that Puṣyamitra's career as the ruler of the empire of Magadha was one of continued prosperity and triumph. Mr. Jayaswal has discovered a reference to Puṣyamitra's horse sacrifice in the Harivaṃśa, the supplement of the great epic Mahābhārata, which shows that his was an exceptionally successful career. The stanzas of the Harivaṃśa

1 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 209.
2 *Cambridge His. of India*, I, p. 446. 3 *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 33.

(iii, 192, 40-41) that contain the reference tell us, "A certain Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa family, a Senānī, will suddenly rise into power and again perform the horse sacrifice in the Kali age. O King of kings, in that age his descendants will perform Rājasūya, as the all-destroying Kāla seizes the demon Śvetagraha." Here Kāśyapa is evidently a mistake for Śuṅga, for the exceptional title *Senānī* for a performer of the royal horse sacrifice and the epithet *audbhijja*, 'one who suddenly rises from underground,' indicate that the usurping Senāpati or Senānī is no other than Puṣyamitra. Ancient Indian tradition knows no other king of this type. The prophecy is put in the mouth of Vyāsa who also predicts that King Janamejaya's horse sacrifice will be obstructed by Indra. In Harivaṃśa iii, 195, 11-17 it is said that in course of time King Janamejaya did undertake the horse sacrifice, and when his chief queen Vapuṣṭamā lay by the slaughtered horse, Indra entered the dead body of the animal and outraged her. For this Janamejaya cursed the god saying, "Henceforward, O Śaunaka, Kṣatriyas will not offer horse sacrifice to the lecherous and restless Indra."[1] Though it is very difficult, and to me it seems impossible, to determine when King Janamejaya lived and whether he ever lived at all,[2] one element of this legend seems to have a basis of fact. The Aśvamedha involved the performance of a very obscene rite—the chief queen of the king who undertook the rite was required to lie by the dead horse. The legend of Janamejaya's horse sacrifice indicates that the growing unpopularity of this practice rendered the ceremony itself unpopular. There is independent evidence to show that the obscene elements of the Vedic rites grew unpopular in course of time and fell into desuetude. Regarding an obscene practice connected with the Mahāvrata it is stated in the Śāṅkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (XVII,

1 *Adya prabhṛti Devendraṃ=ajitendriyaṃ=asthiraṃ Kṣatriyā vājimedhena na yakṣant=īti Śaunaka.*

2 See Roy Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, I, pp. 1-16.

6, 2), "This is an ancient rite that has fallen into desuetude; it should not be performed as a part of the Mahāvrata." According to the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (XV, 1) horse sacrifice is provided for a king who has conquered his enemies and gained overlordship (*rājā vijitī sārvabhaumaḥ*). When Puṣyamitra performed the horse sacrifice that had long been in abeyance (for there is no evidence to show that his predecessors, the Śaiśunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas ever performed it) and therefore was not necessary for signalizing his position, there must have been strong inducements and exceptional successes. We have already seen that the grammarian Patañjali, the author of the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, officiated as Puṣyamitra's sacrificial priest. Patañjali is recognised with Pāṇini and Kātyāyana as one of the three Munis or highest authorities on Sanskrit grammar and also as an incarnation of the divine serpent Ananta or Śeṣa. In his Introduction to the Mahābhāṣya,[1] Patañjali explains fully the objects, all concerned more or less with the study of the Veda and the performance of sacrifice, of studying grammar and bases his arguments mainly on the authority of the Ṛks. He concludes :—

"In ancient time this was the practice: The Brāhmaṇas studied grammar immediately after the *upanayana* (wearing of the holy thread). Instruction on the words of the Veda was imparted to those only who knew the places where originated the sounds and the internal and external efforts required for uttering sounds (as a result of studying grammar). This is no longer the practice now. After reading the Veda only (people) quickly become reciters (of the Veda) and say, 'We learn the Vedic words from the Veda and the words of the popular dialect from the current usage; so grammar is not necessary. As a friend of such misguided students, the teacher (Patañjali) expounds this text (Mahābhāṣya)."

These observations of the great grammarian clearly indi-

1 For Eng. trans. by P. C. Chakravarti, see *IHQ*, I, p. 714.

cate that in the reign of Puṣyamitra, among the Brāhmans, the study of the Veda had degenerated into a mechanical affair and the decline of the Vedic studies must have been followed by the decline of the Vedic religion. It was evidently to revive the Vedic studies that Patañjali composed his Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, and to restore Vedic religion to its pristine ascendancy that Puṣyamitra performed the horse sacrifice twice. There appears to be this much of truth in the Buddhist legends about Puṣyamitra that he endeavoured to do for Brahmanism what Aśoka had done for Buddhism. In the Āpastambīya Śrauta-sūtra (XX, 1) it is said, "A rājā who is the overlord of all (*sārvabhauma*) should perform horse sacrifice; also one who is not overlord of all (*apyasārvabhauma*)." In the Vedic period when horse sacrifice was a common occurrence, it might have been possible for a ruler who was an *a-sārvabhauma* to perform the rite which involved the wandering of the sacrificial horse freely for a year guarded by 100 princes, 100 kṣatriya warriors, 100 sons of sūtas and headmen of villages, 100 sons of charioteers and ministers, all properly armed, with the tacit consent of the neighbouring states. But in an epoch when horse sacrifice must have been looked upon as an innovation, Puṣyamitra could hardly have let loose his sacrificial horse to wander freely for a year without first making himself sure of the allegiance of the neighbouring kingdoms, that is to say, after attaining the overlordship of all the neighbouring kingdoms. Such an achievement cannot be credited to a weak ruler whose kingdom was subject to repeated invasions by a rājā of Kaliṅga and who had ultimately to save his throne by falling at the feet of the latter, as the modern interpreters of the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela would have us believe.

(*To be continued*)

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

Vedānta and the Vedāntist

The division of the life of the ancient Hindu into four *āśramas* gave rise to a peculiar division of the entire population of the country. On the one hand, there were those who had a fixed home, and who established and reared families and, among other things, felt it their duty to support the community of *sannyāsins*, by giving them alms. On the other hand, there were these *sannyāsins*, who had renounced the world and maintained themselves either by begging alms of men, or by depending on the bounty of nature which was sufficiently generous in India. Of these *sannyāsins*, again, there were two classes : (i) those who left the world after having been in it, at the ripe old age of fifty according to some and seventy according to others and (ii) those who never entered the world at all and became *sannyāsins* as soon as they were able to do so,—soon after the completion of their education,—without ever undergoing the responsibilities of a householder's life. The *sannyāsins* had no fixed home, they spent their time either in wandering from place to place, or in meditation in deep forests. The other section of the population, of course, lived in towns and villages, owning a family and shouldering the responsibilities of having one.

Towns, as distinguished from villages, must have been a later growth. And in classical Sanskrit literature, we find that, apart from the division into *āśramas* which made one section of the population extremely mobile, there was yet another division, viz., the town population and the population in the villages. In the *kāvyas* and the romances, and also in the more sacred books like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find ample description of the splendour of cities ; and by the side of these, we are told of the quiet homes of the *ṛṣis*, living outside the cities. There was a sharp difference in the standard and mode of life of these two divisions of the population. In the cities, there lived

of course the king, his courtiers, soldiers and ministers; besides, there were the mechanics and artisans and merchants. A rather dark picture of town life is preserved in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*; but there is no reason to think that the whole picture is imaginary.

As far as castes are concerned, we must own that all of them were represented in the towns. There were also brahmins, who did not live the life of a *sannyāsin* and were not averse to politics nor unwilling to accept posts under the king. We know that some important posts in the royal household, such as that of *kañcukī*, were given to brahmins; and that ministers were sometimes appointed from among them.

But true Brahmins and real Brahminism lived outside the cities in hamlets and hermitages. They carried on their religious rites, their study and teaching in unostentatious homesteads, far away from the glamour and temptation of city life. Socially, they were not cut off from the city population; the king as the common protector of both cities and hermitages kept the link between the two. The Brahmins were frequently summoned from the hermitages for the performance of religious ceremonies; and they sought the protection of the king when necessary (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 21). And in big social gatherings, such as a royal marriage or an *aśvamedha* sacrifice, the tapavana brahmins could not possibly be forgotten. Sometimes, the king and the citizens went on a visit to a *ṛṣi* in his hermitage (*Mbh.*, iii; *Daśa kumāracarita*, i,i). But if the picture presented in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* (Act iv) is true, then a time must have been there when, owing to the slackness perhaps of town-life, the hermit brahmin had a horror of visiting a city. Yet there seems to have been no permanent and insurmountable barrier between these two sections of the population of the country.

It should be noted that, the hermitage population did not consist entirely of *sannyāsins*; they kept home and had wife and children. In fact, they lived the life of an ordinary

man ; it was a case of plain living and high thinking. Vivid and copious description of the life of these hermit folk is preserved in the literature of the land. One of the most charming and romantic descriptions of this kind is that of Kālidāsa in his *Śakuntalā*.

Besides these married men with fixed homes, outside the cities, there were the wandering sages and the hermits who performed austerities in some locality. Some of them became *sannyāsins*, after undergoing the life of a householder; but there were others who had never been a householder. And some of them wandered from place to place while others continued their austere practices in the same locality.

So far as caste was concerned, this rigorous life was lived, it seems, more or less exclusively by brahmins ; kṣatriyas also, at old age, sometimes took to the life of a hermit ; and sometimes other castes also aspired to this spiritual discipline. But as a general rule, it was the practice of the brahmins to adopt the fourth *āśrama* or *sannyāsa*, either after passing through all the previous *āśramas*, or directly from their student life.

So far as the city population was concerned, it consisted mainly of the political and industrial classes ; learned men also were there, specially those who were employed as teachers of the sons of rich men and of kings. And secular works of the type of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* was certainly products of cities.

The brahmin population outside the city consisted mainly of persons engaged in spiritual pursuits and of wandering sages (*parivrājakas*) and hermits. Even the priests and preceptors of kings and of the citizens lived very often outside the city, and the spiritual and religious learning was in their possession. They frequented the courts of princes and received their protection and patronage.

It is undeniable that the *sannyāsin* orders were existing even in pre-Buddhistic days ; but with Buddhism, a new order of *sannyāsins* was introduced and the whole congregation of them

lived together in *Vihāras*. This probably led to the establishment of *maṭhas* by Hindu *sannyāsins* on similar lines. Before the advent of Buddhism, the Hindu *sannyāsins* probably did not live in brick- or stone-built houses. *Manu* vi. 26., even suggests that the *sannyāsin* should not own any fixed abode and the shade of a tree should be his only shelter. (Cf. Yājñavalkya, iii. 51 *et seq.*; Hārīta, v, vi; &c.). But after the advent of Buddhism, it seems that Hindu *sannyāsins* also developed the custom of living in groups and even organised societies of their own.

As distinguished from the city, the village and the monastery, there was yet another place in India which deserves some consideration. It was the '*Tīrtha*' or sacred place. These places, even up to the present day, have attracted men of profound learning and high spiritual attainments, *sannyāsins* as well as non-*sannyāsins*.

With regard to the *sannyāsins*, whether residing in '*Tīrthas*' or elsewhere, it is to be noted that, according to *Manu* vi. 97., all the four *āśramas* were to be followed by Brahmins only. That is to say, the last two *āśramas*, though open to all the three higher castes, were not, strictly speaking, followed only by the Brahmins. The spirit of the *Dharma-śāstras* seems to have been that *sannyāsa* was to be adopted only after one has done his duties as a householder. We find it frequently mentioned (*Manu* vi. 3., &c.) that the wife also could, if she so chose, accompany her husband to the forest. Hence, according to the orthodox view, one could become a *sannyāsi* only after he had passed through the discipline of the preceding *āśramas*. The *Dharma-sūtras* and the *Dharma-saṃhitās* both agree in this.

Yet this strict, orthodox view does not seem to have been always adhered to. At any rate, after Buddhism, if not before it also, a class of *sannyāsins* seems to have been in existence, who renounced the world early in life and so did not pass through the previous *āśramas*.

We see then that the population of the country consisted of

(i) The city population : which was made up of all castes, but contained the political and industrial classes, as a special feature. The Brahmins also were there and some learned men resided among them.

(ii) The population outside the city, in villages, hermitages and in other places : this was made up of the majority of Brahmins, the agricultural classes, and the wandering sages and other anchorites.

So far as the Brahmins were concerned, they lived mainly outside the city, specially those among them who wanted to retain the holiness of their caste and attain proficiency in the performance of religious rites and pursue philosophical studies. Though the *Kāvya* literature was mainly a product of cities and bears the stamp of city life, yet, tradition has it, that some of them also were produced outside the cities, e. g., the *Rāmāyaṇa*. And as to the sacred literature, it cannot be gainsaid that, almost without exception, it was a product of rural areas and was produced by men who lived outside the cities.

Vaśiṣṭha, xiii. forbids the reading of the Vedas in a city ; and the larger sacrifices, such as an *Aśvamedha*, were usually performed by kings outside the cities (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 8 ; vii. 104 ; &c.). Whatever the reason for the latter practice may have been, the fact that the reading of the Vedas was forbidden in a city is significant. It shows that the orthodox Brahmins wanted to keep away from the city as far as practicable. This is corroborated by the remarks of the young Brahmins in *Śakuntalā*, Act v.

But it does not follow from the above that there was necessarily any hostility between the people of the city and outside places. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, though composed in a quieter place, was first sung, we are told (vii. 106), in a royal court. And many of the Upaniṣadic discourses were also held in courts of kings.

Now, as to the Brahmins living outside the cities, at least three important orders may be noted :

(a) The *Gṛhasthas* : Those who lived the life of ordinary men, owned a home, married and established families, accepted and taught pupils, practised the appointed religious rites, showed hospitality to guests and to wandering *sannyāsins*, &c.

(b) The *Vānaprasthas* : Those who, having become old, had left their household in the care of their children and had retired to solitude to spend the rest of their life in prayer and in meditation.

(c) Those *sannyāsins* who had never become *gṛhasthas*, but had taken to the life of a *sannyāsin* immediately after their education was completed.

Originally, the last two classes do not appear to have had any fixed habitations ; but, at least in post-Buddhist days, whole congregations of them lived in permanent habitations, established *maṭhas*, *vihāras*, and other kinds of monasteries, in *tīrthas* and elsewhere.

It is important to know this classification of the population and its distribution in ancient India, with a view to ascertain from which class the Vedāntists were mainly recruited.

During the Upaniṣadic times, the teachers of Brahma-vidyā as a rule were not *sannyāsins*. Not much is known of the biography or the private life of these men ; but we know enough to be able to say that most of them were married men and owned a household ; even when teaching the subject, they had not become *sannyāsins*. Thus, one of the greatest names in this connection is that of Yājñavalkya. Now, he was the husband of two wives ; accepted fees or gifts from princes by debating on *Brahma-vidyā* in their courts. He no doubt adopted the fourth āśrama later, and Śaṅkara makes much capital of it. But Śaṅkara overlooks the fact that Yājñavalkya gave the very discourse in question to his wife while he was still a house holder. And when he visited the court of Janaka (Br., iii. 1), he was accompanied by his pupils ; he was thus a teacher of *Brahma-vidyā* before he had become a *sannyāsin*.

Āruṇi, another great name in the Upaniṣads, had a son to whom he imparted lessons on *Brahma-vidyā* (Ch., vi. i.). This, as the context shows, must have taken place while Āruṇi was still a *gṛhastha*. In *Kaṭha* i, 1, 11, we find the name of Āruṇi apparently as the father of Naciketa ; and the same story is repeated with some variations in *Mbh.*, xiii. 71. Whether it is the identical Āruṇi or not, it is the name of an Upaniṣadic teacher who was not a *sannyāsi* throughout.

In Ch. iv. 10., we are told that Satyakāma Jābāla received pupils and gave instruction to them when he was a *gṛhastha*. And his wife is said to have interceded once on behalf of one of these pupils. Raikva seems to have been a *sannyāsin* from the beginning (Ch. iv. 1 ; cf. also Śaṅkara under Sūtra iii. 4. 36,). But this may have been due to the physical ailments from which Raikva was suffering (Ch. iv. 1. 6.) ; possibly he did not care to marry and establish a home ; his case cannot be regarded as indicating the general practice in this matter. Besides, though credited with a good deal of knowledge, he does not appear to have been a regular teacher either. In ch. v. ii., we are introduced to some enquirers on *Brahma-vidyā* who owned large households ('mahāśāla') ; and ch. vi. 4. 5. speaks of earlier teachers who were highly learned and owned large houses. All this shows that the teachers as a rule were not wanderers.

As a rule, the teaching of *Brahma-vidyā* in Upaniṣadic times, seems to have been in the hands of Brahmins who lived the normal life of a villager, kept a home, received and instructed pupils, performed the various religious rites according to the *śāstras*, attended the royal courts on invitation, specially in connection with big sacrificial performances, and in accordance with the *śāstras*, and adopted in old age the life of a *sannyāsin*. At that stage, they were expected to practise the meditation of *Brahma-vidyā* which they had so long been teaching to their pupils.

In Ch. Up. v. 10., we are told of the virtues of a forest life and a life of asceticism as distinguished from that of a

village Brahmin following the routine of sacrifices. But the high value assigned to forest life here only refers to the *upāsanā* or worship practised therein ; it does not mean that the teaching and learning of the Upaniṣads were an affair of the forest life. Renunciation of the world at an advanced age is systematically advised both in *Śruti* and *Smṛti* ; and this admonition applied even to the Upaniṣadic teacher. But this does not mean that he *taught* this branch of *Śruti* after renouncing the world. As teachers, they were *gṛhasthas*, not inhabitants of cities but simple village folk.

In the Mahābhārata iii.132, we are introduced to the habitation of Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu, two great Upaniṣadic names. The identity of the men is almost beyond doubt, for, they are spoken of as great Vedāntists. Now, these men kept a home, received pupils and instructed them and lived with their family in a secluded place, which subsequently became almost a holy place or *tīrtha*. The life they lived was certainly a very rigorous one but was not the life of a *sannyāsin*.

Manu vi. 35-37 expressly lays down that one should not adopt the last *āśrama* without going through the previous ones. And in vi. 94, *Manu* further says that Vedānta should be read and studied in the usual course, i.e., along with the other branches of *Śruti* (cf. Kulluka's commentary). In iii. 78., we are told that all the other *āśramas* have to depend on a householder both for food as well as for learning : this implies that a teacher even of the Vedās was a *gṛhastha*. (cf. also iii. 70). And according to vi. 29., the actual practice and meditation on these teachings of the Vedas were to commence in the last *āśrama*.

Though the existing text of *Manu* may have been written in later times, the traditions preserved in it have a much greater antiquity. And the close similarity between *Manu* and the earlier *Smṛtis* (*Gṛhyas*), in this matter, justifies us in concluding that, in Upaniṣadic times, so far as *āśrama* was concerned, the teacher of Vedānta was a *gṛhastha*. And so

far as his place of residence was concerned, he was a man of the village ; not altogether isolated from the city, but still generally living away from it.

In the list of philosophies given by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra,* non-mention of *Brahma-vidyā* as a philosophy is rather striking. It seems to point to the fact that for the politically minded Brahmins, Vedānta was not the philosophy ; it did not thrive in cities among people of the type of Kauṭilya ; it had its home in villages and was cultivated by Brahmins of another type. Kauṭilya's silence does not argue that Vedānta did not exist as a school, as Jacobi seems to think (*Indian Antiquary,* xlvii, p. 106) ; for, whatever the date of the composition of the Sūtras may be, it is undeniable that 'a school of exegesis of the Upaniṣads already existed in early times'.

That the study of Brahma-vidyā was confined, more or less, to Brahmins of a special class seems to be placed beyond doubt by the frequent references in the Upaniṣads and elsewhere to *Brahmavādins* or 'Professors of *Brahma-vidyā*'. (cf. Ch. Up. ii. 24. 1. ; Sv. i. i. ; &c.). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i. 12. 4-5) also, we are told of *Brahmavādins* in addition to Brahmins versed in the Vedas ; and we are further told that they were invited to the king's *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. Similarly, in the *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra* (i. 4, 10 ; iv. 5. 16) we are introduced to a class of specialists bearing the name of *Brahmavādin.* All this shows that all Brahmins were not necessarily adepts in *Brahma-vidyā ;* all did not even look upon it with favour.

(*To be continued*)

UMESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Jayamaṅgalā and the other Commentaries on Sāṅkhya-Saptati

An attempt has been made in this paper to find out the author of the Jayamaṅgalā, a commentary on Sāṅkhya-saptati, and his approximate age, in the light of other Jayamaṅgalās and other commentaries on Sāṅkhya-saptati. The commentaries on the following works are called Jayamaṅgalā :

1 Sāṅkhya-saptati of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa,
2 Kāmandaka's Nītisāra,
3 Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, and
4 Bhaṭṭikāvya.

The Jayamaṅgalā[1] is mentioned as the work of Śaṅkarācārya in its colophons. The colophons at the end of the two Mss. on which the edition of the Jayamaṅgalā is based (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 19), read thus :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य-श्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्येण श्रीशङ्करभगवता कृता सांख्यसप्तटीका समाप्ता—क Ms.

The ख Ms. differs from the above in having ०परिव्राजाचार्य० instead of ०परिव्राजकाचार्य०.

The name of Śaṅkarācārya, along with that of his preceptor, is, according to Principal Gopinath Kaviraj, the interpolation of a scribe, the commentary being perhaps from the pen of the great Buddhist commentator Śaṅkarārya, who has commented upon Kāmandaka and Vātsyāyana. The reason why Śaṅkarācārya cannot be the author of the Jayamaṅgalā is, according to Principal Kaviraj, the careless slip-shod style of the work which does not correspond to the depth, lucidity,

1. Jayamaṅgalā, without any other joint designation such as कामन्दक-जयमङ्गला or वात्स्यायन-जयमङ्गला will, throughout this paper, stand for the commentary on Sāṅkhyasaptati.

terseness, learning and clarity which invariably characterise Śaṅkara's writings.

Principal Kaviraj takes Śaṅkarārya to be the author of the Jayamaṅgalā mainly because the title of this work is the same as that of the other two commentaries by Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka and Vātsyāyana, and he bases his argument also on the fact that in the benedictory verse, the two terms मुनिं and लोकोत्तरवादिनं prove the writer to be a Buddhist. The benedictory verses of the different Jayamaṅgalās are as follows :

कामन्दकीये किल नीतिशास्त्रे प्रायेण नास्मिन् सुगमाः पदार्थाः।
तस्मादु विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां तत्पञ्जिकां सर्वविदं प्रणम्य॥ (Kāmandaka).

वात्स्यायनीयं किल कामसूत्रं प्रस्तावितं कैश्चिदिहान्यथैव।
तस्मादु विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां टीकामहं सर्वविदं प्रणम्य॥ (Vātsyāyana).

प्रणिपत्य सकलवेदिनमतिदुस्तरभट्टिकाव्यसलिलनिधेः।
जयमङ्गलेति नाम्ना नौकेव विरच्यते टीका॥ (Bhaṭṭikāvya).

Now a comparison of the first two verses clearly shows them to be from one pen. Not only the metre, but the wording also is similar in both cases. The phrase सर्वविदं प्रणम्य is here considered to be an obeisance to Buddha. But let us examine here first the different sense in which the term is used in lexicons and literature. The term सर्वविद् is synonymous with सर्वज्ञ=बुद्ध, and शिव (cf. सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धः and क्षणानुरेताः सर्वज्ञः—Amara). Hemacandra too, gives, सर्वज्ञ as one of the names of Śiva. Compare also—

सर्वज्ञनाथप्रियखण्डपर्शवो ....हरः। (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 198).

सर्वज्ञस्तु जिनेन्द्रे स्यात् सुगते शङ्करेऽपि च। (Anekārthasaṁgraha, III, 140).

With the Commentary सर्वज्ञ एव जानाति परोणामं हि कर्मणाम्·····

·····शंकरे देवं प्रणम्य सर्वज्ञं सृष्टिसंहारकारकम्॥

Halāyudha also (1, 11) gives सर्वज्ञ as a name of Śiva. Maṅkhakoṣa (1,55) has शिव-बुद्धौ तु सर्वज्ञौ दोषज्ञा वैद्यवित्खलाः॥

Brahman, Brahmā, Īśvara, Svayambhū are also called सर्वविद् or सर्वज्ञ :

यः सर्वज्ञः सर्वविद् यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः।

तस्मादेतद्ब्रह्म नाम रूपमन्नं च जायते ॥ (Muṇḍ. Up., I, 1, 9).

स विश्वकृद् विश्वविदात्मयोनिर्ज्ञः कालकालो गुणी सर्वविद् यः ।

(Śvet. Up.,VI, 16).

स हि सर्ववित् सर्वकर्ता (Sāṁkhya Sūtra, 3, 56).

सर्वज्ञजनन्तमौडे (Bhāgavata Purāṇa VI, 4, 25).

Also compare Bhāgavata Purāṇa, II, 5, 8; VII, 2, 22. Yoga Sūtra, 1, 25 and Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV, 4, 6.

The benedictory verse of the Bhaṭṭi-Jayamaṅgalā is in Āryā metre, and has also the term सकलवेदिनम, which is equivalent to सर्वज्ञ and which may mean Buddha or Śiva or Jina. At the beginning of the commentary (Nirṇayasāgara ed.) we find two formulæ—दैवं नन्दनन्दनं वन्दे and श्रीं नमः सिद्धम्. While the first is an obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, the second is the Sanskritised form of the Jaina formula श्रीं णमो सिद्धाणम. So, on the basis of the term सकलवेदिनम् can we conclude that the author is a Buddhist or a Jaina ? But the evidence of the colophon at the end of the commentary on Bhaṭṭi goes against it. There, the author is described as a resident of Vallabhi, a high-born Brahmin, son of Śrī Svāmin, a great grammarian and known by three names, viz. Jaṭīśvara, Jayadeva and Jayamaṅgala. How can a Brahmin bow to Buddha ?

Therefore, the term सर्वविदम् (and also सकलवेदिनम्) cannot in any way prove that the author was a Buddhist.

The two terms, which make us suspect that the author of the Sāṅkhya-Jayamaṅgalā was a Buddhist, are मुनि and लोकोत्तरवादिन्. मुनि is not an exclusive title of Buddha, for, it has been applied to Kapila by Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself (मुनिरासुरयेऽनुकम्पया प्रददौ—Kār. 70). In the Bhagavadgītā also we find सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिः. Therefore this term does not help us now. As for the term लोकोत्तरवादी, Kaviraj says that it is the name of a school of Hīnayāna Buddhism. But it is interesting to compare the following verses from the Mahābhārata in this connection. In Śānti Parva, chap. 320, we find Bhīṣma, while explaining what Sāṅkhya is, saying to Yudhiṣṭhira—

मोक्षे हि त्रिविधा निष्ठा दृष्टान्यैर्मोक्षवित्तमैः ।
ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरं यच्च सर्वत्यागश्च कर्मणाम् ॥ ३८ ॥
ज्ञाननिष्ठां वदन्त्यन्ये मोक्षशास्त्रविदो जनाः ।
कर्मनिष्ठां तथैवान्ये यतयः सूक्ष्मदर्शिनः ॥ ३९ ॥
प्रहायोभयमप्येवं ज्ञानं कर्म च केवलम् ।
तृतीयेयं समाख्याता निष्ठा तैन महात्मना ॥ ४० ॥

In the light of the above verses, I think we ought to explain the term लोकोत्तरवादिनम् as लोकोत्तरं यत् ज्ञानं तस्य वादिनम् । And it refers to Kapila मुनि who teaches the ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरम्. It is quite impossible that लोकोत्तरवादिनं मुनिं should refer to Buddha. The Lokattaravādins are a school of the Hīnayāna. They are so called, because they believe that Buddha was no human being, but "above the world" (Lokottara), who for a time adapted himself to worldly life. In the Mahāvastu, which is a Hīnayāna work, it is said (1, 159, 2) that the Buddhas have nothing in common with the world, but everything with them is above the world, as for example, they wash their feet though they are not soiled by dust, they take food though they never feel hunger, etc. It is clear that one cannot call Buddha himself लोकोत्तरवादिनं मुनिम्, that (if it did refer to Buddhism at all, which I believe it does not) it could only mean a Buddhist of the Lokottaravāda school of Hīnayāna.

Therefore it is evident that the author of the Jayamaṅgalā is not a Buddhist. Here it is essential to compare the Jayamaṅgalā with other commentaries on Sāṅkhya-saptati, before we can establish the identity of our author. A detailed comparison of Māṭharavṛtti, Jayamaṅgalā, Tattvakaumudī, Candrikā and the commentaries of Gauḍapāda and Vijñāna Bhikṣu shows that many explanations and many phrases are common to all. This leaves us in a very great confusion as to the relative chronology of these commentaries. But a careful study throws some light on this point. The question regarding Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda is practically settled. Not only the verbatim agreement between the two, but the fact (as shown below) that Gauḍapāda at several places quotes

the Māṭharavṛtti wrongly, makes us entirely agree with the following remark of the learned editor of tha Māṭharavṛtti :

यत्तु सांख्यसप्तत्या गौडपादीयं भाष्यं (बनारस-संस्कृतसीरीजाव्यग्रन्थमालायां मुद्रितम्) तत्तु माठरवृत्तेः केनचित् कृतः संक्षेप इति भाति। न हि परकृतेः संक्षेपकर्तृत्वं श्रीशङ्कराचार्यपरमगुरुषु गौडपादेषु सम्भवति। अस्य च उत्तरगीता-व्याख्यायाश्च प्रणेता कश्चिदपरो गौडपादः सम्भाव्यते ॥

These few instances will clearly show what has been said before. Gauḍapāda on Kārikā 27 (p. 130, Wilson's Edn.) says—

अथैतानि इन्द्रियाणि भिन्नार्थग्राहकाणि किमीश्वरेणोत स्वभावेन कृतानि यतः प्रधानबुद्ध्याहङ्कारा अचेतनाः पुरुषोऽप्यकर्त्तेत्यलाङ्—इह सांख्यानां स्वभावो नाम कश्चित् कारणमस्ति ॥ and further on अथैतन्नानात्वं नेश्वरेण नाहङ्कारेण न बुद्ध्या न प्रधानेन न पुरुषेण स्वभावात् [1]कृतगुणपरिणामेनेति ॥

Māṭhara on this very point says :

अथैतन्नानात्वं नेश्वरेण न बुद्ध्या नाहङ्कारेण न प्रधानेन न पुरुषेण न स्वभावेन कृतम् गुणपरिणामेनेति। .....एवमिन्द्रियाणां निक्षेपः पुरुषेण वा कृत ईश्वरेण वा स्वभावेनेति। अत्रोच्यते—इह सांख्ये पुरुषेश्वरस्वभावा न कारणम् ॥ [2]

1 I think we ought to read कृतं गुणपरिणामेनेति ॥

2 While Gauḍapāda will have स्वभाव as the cause of plurality, Māṭhara will not accept स्वभाव as a cause. Wilson translates स्वभावात् कृतगुणपरिणामेनेति—"But from the modification of qualities produced by spontaneity". But in order to have this meaning, the phrase ought to have been स्वभावकृतगुणपरिणामेनेति ; or स्वभावात् being outside the compound, cannot be grammatically joined to कृतगुणपरिणामेनेति. Therefore the reading was perhaps न स्वभावात्, कृतं गुणपरिणामेनेति। And moreover इह सांख्यानां स्वभावो नाम कश्चित् कारणमस्ति, seems to be an interpolation, as it disagrees with the remark of Gauḍapāda himself on Kārikā 66, where he says :

सर्वकर्तृत्वात् कालस्यापि प्रधानमेव कारणम्। स्वभावोऽप्येवं लीनः।
तस्मात् कालो न कारणम्, नापि स्वभाव इति ॥

Another instance is the following quotation in Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya on Kārikā 61,

अजो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मा नः सुखदुःखयोः।
ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत् स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा ॥ (Mbh., Vanaparva, 30, 38)

This seems to be wrongly quoted from Māṭhara where it reads :

अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः।
ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत् स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा ॥

Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Candrikā is evidently a summary of Vācaspati's Tattvakaumudī. Therefore, we are left face to face with Māṭharavṛtti, Jayamaṅgalā and Tattvakaumudī. There is a great deal of uncertainty as to the age of the Māṭharavṛtti. The editor of this work opines that Māṭhara is not a proper name, but a family name, and as Nyāyabhāṣya

A third instance is the line of Gauḍapāda (Kārikā 61)

काल: पचति भूतानि काल: संहरते जगत्,

the correct form of which in Māṭhara is काल: सृजति भूतानि etc.

It will be interesting to say here something about the lost Karikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Tilak in his Gītārahasya (p. 163, Hindi Edn.) says that there must have been a Kārikā after this, which refuted the views of other people. This according to him is based on—

स्वभावमेके कवयो वदन्ति कालं तथान्ये परिमुह्यमानाः।

देवस्येष महिमा तु लोके येनेदं भाम्यते ब्रह्मचक्रम ॥ (Śvet. Up., VI, 1)

Therefore according to him, the lost Kārikā is—

कारणमीश्वरमेके ब्रुवते कालं परे स्वभावं वा।

प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्ताः काल. स्वभावश्च ॥

When Tilak wrote it, Māṭharavṛtti was not published. But now after its publication we have to revise this lost Kārikā. Māṭhara says—

इह सांख्ये पुरुषेश्वरस्वभावा न कारणम्।

The Jayamaṅgalā also puts forth these very alternatives of पुरुष, ईश्वर or स्वभाव. Māṭhara, however, adds काल as another possible alternative. To me it seems that this discussion is based not only on the verse of Śvet. Up. but also on the following verse from Nāradaparivrājakopaniṣad (Minor Upaniṣads, edited by Schrader, p. 214).

कालः स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम्।

संयोग एषां न त्वात्मभावादात्मा ह्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥

(It will be seen here that even the line of the Mahābhārata, viz., अजो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः is based on the latter half of this verse.). While Śvet. Up. mentions स्वभाव and काल, it ignores पुरुष; and the Nār. Par. Up. mentions पुरुष, but leaves out ईश्वर. If the lost Karikā is to be supplied on the basis of Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya (or now on the basis of Māṭharavṛtti) then it must have the mention of पुरुष also. So the amended reading according to me will be

कारणमीश्वरमेके पुरुषं कालं परे स्वभावं वा।

प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तः कालः स्वभावश्च ॥

That is, we should read पुरुषं in place of ब्रुवते।

by Pakṣilasvāmin is commonly called as Vātsyāyanabhāṣya so the Vṛtti by a person belonging to the Māṭhara family is called Māṭharavṛtti. Now who is this Māṭhara? Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi thinks that Māṭhara was according to I-tsing a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa. But the date of Aśvaghoṣa is uncertain. If we take it to be, say, 1st cent. A. D., then Māṭhara might be safely assigned to that date. This is further borne out by the fact that the Anuyogadvārasūtra of the Jainas preserves a list of the Brahmanical works which contains the names of Kanagasattari, Kabiliyam, Saṭṭitantam and Māḍaram. Now if the date of the Anuyogadvārasūtra in its present from be 100 A. D., then Māṭhara can be safely put in the 1st century A. D. The editor of Māṭharavṛtti (Chowkhamba Series) remarks that "according to eastern as well western scholars, this Māṭharavṛtti along with the text of the Kārikā was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between 557 and 569 A.D. Tilak, however, differs from this view (Sanskrit Research, p. 108). Therefore, this Vṛtti cannot be posterior to 394 A.D.".[1] He remarks—"In the Vṛtti on the 39th Kārikā, we find यथा दर्पणाभाव आभासहानौ, a quotation from Hastāmalakastotra, which is contemporaneous with the first Śaṅkarācārya. Therefore, this and such other instances as अहंकारो धियं व्रते etc., which favour Advaita philosophy, must be regarded as interpolations, according to the scholars who stand for the antiquity of the Vṛtti."

So, there are two conflicting opinions as to the age of Māṭhara, one placing him in the first century and the other in the eighth century A.D. But more light is needed to solve this problem, before anything can be said definitely.

The agreement of Jayamaṅgalā with Māṭharavṛtti at several places may be the result either of Jayamaṅgalā

1 But Keith in his 'Sāṅkhya System', p. 70, fn., says that S. K. Belvalkar (Bhandarkar Comm. Vol., pp. 171, ff.) argues that the original of the Chinese version was the Māṭharavṛtti, which he is editing; but this cannot be proved because derivation from a common source is still equally probable.

borrowing some ideas from Māṭhara or vice versa. A detailed study of Jayamaṅgalā shows that the author is quite expert in Pāṇini's Grammar and quotes sūtras in support of his derivations, e. g., Kārikā 12 :

अन्योऽन्यजननाः। जनयन्तीति जननाः, 'कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम्' इति कर्तरि ल्युट्। अनेकार्थत्वात् धातूनां बोधनार्था द्रष्टव्याः। अन्योऽन्यस्य प्रबोधका इत्यर्थः।—p. 17, ll. 5-7.

तस्य दुःखत्रयस्यावघातकक्षदवघातकः। तृजकाभ्यां षष्ठीसमासप्रतिषेधः, 'तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च' इति न भवति।—p. 2, ll. 4-5

Although Vācaspatimiśra indulges in grammatical explanations, yet not so often as the Jayamaṅgalā. Again the author has quoted from Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtra. He calls it Śāṅkhyapravacana. The following quotation may be compared :

यथोक्तं सांख्यप्रवचने 'अहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः' शौचसन्तोषतपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः इति। तत्र सन्तोषः संनिहितसाधनाभ्याशादधिकस्यानुपादित्सा। तपो जिघत्सापिपासाशीतोष्णसाधनजयः काष्ठमौनाकारमौने, व्रतानि च कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादीनि। स्वाध्यायो मोक्षशास्त्राध्ययनं प्रणवजपो वा। ईश्वरप्रणिधानं विशिष्टदेवताराधनम्।—Jayamaṅgalā, p. 31, ll. 7 ff.

शौचसन्तोषतपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः। तत्र शौचं मृज्जलादिजनितं मेध्याभ्यवहरणादि च बाह्यम्। आभ्यन्तरं चित्तमलानामाक्षालनम्। सन्तोषः सन्निहितसाधनादधिकस्यानुपादित्सा। तपो द्वन्द्वसहनम्। द्वन्द्वं च जिघत्सापिपासे शीतोष्णे स्थानासने काष्ठमौनाकारमौने च। व्रतानि चैषां यथायोगं कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणसान्तपनादीनि। स्वाध्यायो मोक्षशास्त्राणामध्ययनं प्रणवजपो वा। ईश्वरप्रणिधानं तस्मिन् परमगुरौ सर्वकर्मार्पणम्। Vyāsabhāṣya on Yogasūtra, II. 32.

The comparison shows that Jayamaṅgalā has rather adapted the Vyāsabhāṣya than quoted it verbatim.

Although Māṭhara too quotes the Yogasūtras, he never quotes the Vyāsabhāṣya. Again,

'पञ्च विपर्ययभेदा' इत्यादि। अत्राज्ञानाख्यस्य सर्गस्य भेदाः पञ्च। तमो मोहो महामोहस्तामिस्रोऽन्धतामिस्रश्चेति। एत एव सांख्यप्रवचने क्लेशा उच्यन्ते। 'अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः' इति। तत्राविद्याक्षेत्रमुत्तरेषाम्।—जय०, p. 50, ll. 9 ff.

May be compared with

अथ के क्लेशाः कियन्तो वेति। अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः। क्लेशा इति पञ्च विपर्यया इत्यर्थः।—व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र, II. 3.

With the following also may be compared :

अविद्याक्षेत्रमुत्तरेषां प्रसुप्ततनुविच्छिन्नोदाराणाम् ।—योगसूत्र, II. 4.

तम इत्यविद्योच्यते । सा चोत्तरेषां प्रसवभूमिः ।—जय०, p. 51, l. 1.

अविद्याक्षेत्रमुत्तरेषां प्रसवभूमिः ।—व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र, II. 4.

सुखानुशयी रागो मद्दामोह इत्युच्यते (Joya., p. 51, l. 8) and दुःखानुशयी द्वेषस्तामिस्र इत्युच्यते (ibid., l. 12) seem to be incorrect reading for सुखानुशयी रागः and दुःखानुशयी द्वेषः in the Yogasūtra (II. 7 and 8). नरकप्रासोऽन्धतामिस्रः (जय० p. 51, l. 17) is also taken from नरकप्रास उच्छेदृष्ट्यात्मकः etc. of व्यासभाष्य on II. 9.

तथा चाहुः—गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति ।

यत्तु दृष्टिपथं यातं तन्मायैव सु- तुच्छकम् । इति

(जय० p. 63, ll. 3 and 4) is found also in व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र (IV. 13.)[1]

This shows the fondness of our author for Vyāsabhāṣya.

It seems that the author of the Jayamaṅgalā had some commentary of Saṅkhyakārikā before him. Compare—अस्मिन् व्याख्याने 'कार्यवशादुपलब्धेर्मेहदादि तच्च कार्यम्' इत्यनेनैव सिद्धत्वादन्यैरन्यथा व्याख्यायते । यदुपकरोति तत्कारणम् etc. (जय०, p. 21, ll. 1 ff., 21, 22) ; and अन्यस्त्वाह—'अविभागि वैश्वरूप्यस्य'—(p. 22, ll. 11ff).

Now these alternative explanations given here are untraceable. We do not find them in Māṭhara or Vācaspati. And not only the explanation, but also the reading अविभागि for अविभागात् is untraceable. This alone does not prove anything as to the priority of the one to the other but on the whole it appears that the author of the Jaymaṅgalā had not the Māṭharavṛtti before him. There is a very striking passage in Māṭhara—यथा कस्यचिद्वैराग्यमस्ति । (जितेन्द्रियो विषयेभ्यो विरक्तो न यम नियमपरः केवलम्)[2]—माठरवृत्ति on Kār. 45.

Compare it with जयमङ्गला—'वैराग्यात्' इत्यादि । यो विषयादि-दर्शनादिरक्तो यमनियमपरिस्थितो न ज्ञानं पर्येषते etc..

1 In तत्त्ववैशारदी, Vācaspati attributes this quotation to षष्टितन्त्र. In भामती, on ब्रह्मसूत्र, II. 13., Vācaspati quotes it and attributes it वार्षगण्य.

2 I do not know why the editor has put this sentence in a parenthesis.

Does it not look as if Māṭhara were criticising the view of Jayamaṅgalā ? While there is no line or passage in Jayamaṅgalā which might show that the author is cognisant of a Maṭharavṛtti, the line quoted above clearly shows that he had made use of the Jayamaṅgalā. Therefore, the verbal agreement between them rather tends to prove the priority of the Jayamaṅgalā to the Māṭharavṛtti. There is another fact which points to this conclusion. According to the Jayamaṅgalā the reading of the text of Kārikā 26 ought to be : बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि चक्षुःश्रोत्वग्रसनानासिकाख्यानि (The reading in the text is based on Dr. Jha's edition). On this reading Jayamaṅgalā notes शब्दवशादत्राक्रमः कृतः। क्रमस्तु श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुरिति।

Māṭhara reads in the text of the Kārikā श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षूरसनानासिकाख्यानि. Although it might be said here that the reading in the text might not be that of the commentator himself, for it is not quoted as प्रतीक in the Vṛtti, yet the explanation श्रोत्रादीनि बुद्धीन्द्रियाणीति उच्यन्ते। शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धान् बुध्यन्त इति बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि, leaves no doubt as to the order of the text. Can we not say, in view of the fact that this reading is not found in any of the editions or mss., that it is adopted by Māṭhara after reading the note on क्रम in the Jayamaṅgalā ?

There is another very vital question. Who is this Śaṅkarācārya, the author of the Jayamaṅgalā ? Is he the great first Ācārya of that name or some one else ? It has been said by Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj in his introduction to the Jayamaṅgalā, that its style does not correspond to "the depth, lucidity, terseness, learning and clarity which invariably characterise Śaṅkara's diction". Let us examine the following quotation from the Jayamaṅgalā on Karika 17 :

तत्र सिद्धे पुंसि विवादाः। एक एवायं पुरुषः सर्वशरीरेषु स्थित इत्येके। सर्वे काया अनतानेकात्मनः सात्मकत्वात् योगिशरीरवृन्दवत् प्रतिशरीरमनेकपुरुष इत्यपरे। एक एवायं पुराणः पुरुषः, तस्मादग्नेरिव विष्फुलिङ्गाः प्रतिशरीरं पुरुषा आविर्भूता इति वेदान्तवादिनः।

Further on we find in the जय० on Kār. 18—

'पुराणपुरुषादग्नेरिव विष्फुलिङ्गाः प्रतिशरीरं पुरुषाः' इत्यस्मिन्नपि दर्शने पुरुषबहुत्वमस्त्येव। तेषां परस्परविलक्षणत्वात् ते पुराणपुरुषादभिन्ना भिन्ना वेति दर्शनद्वयम्। तदन्यत्र विचारितत्वादिह ग्रन्थगौरवभयात् नोपन्यस्तमस्माभिरिति।

Compare with it मुण्डकोपनिषद्, II. 1 :

तदेतत् सत्यम् – यथा सुदीप्तात् पावकात् विष्फुलिङ्गाः सहस्रशः प्रभवन्ते सरूपाः।
तथाक्षरा विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापि यान्ति।

Os this शङ्करभाष्य is as follows—

यथा सुदीप्तात् सुष्ठु दीप्तात् अग्नेर्विष्फुलिङ्गा अग्नावयवाः सहस्रशोऽनेकशः प्रभवन्ते निर्गच्छन्ति सरूपा अग्निसलक्षणा एव, तथोक्तलक्षणादक्षरादविविधाः नानादेहोपाधिभेदम् अनुविधीयमानत्वात् विविधाः हे सोम्य भावाः जीवा आकाशादिवत् घटादिपरिच्छिन्नाः सुषिरभेदा घटाद्युपाधिभेदमनुभवन्ति।

This clearly shows that the Jayamaṅgalā refers to this portion of Śaṅkara's bhāṣya by the term **वेदान्तवादिनः**. Therefore, this Śaṅkarācārya of Jayamaṅgalā is not only different from the great Ācārya, but is later than him.

Now, when we compare Vācaspati's Tattvakaumudī with the Jayamaṅgalā, we find innumerable instances where both agree. A few instances are given here :

यथान्धकारे विद्युत्सम्पातै क्षणसर्पसन्दर्शने युगपदालोचनाध्यवसायाभिमानसङ्कल्पनानि भवन्ति। (जय०, p. 37, ll. 4, 5).

यदा सन्तमसान्धकारे विद्युत्सम्पातमात्रात् व्याघ्रमभिमुखमतिसंनिहितं पश्यति तदा खल्वस्यालोचनसङ्कल्पाभिमानाध्यवसायाः युगपदेव प्रादुर्भवन्ति। (तत्त्वकौमुदी, Kār. 30)

प्रसवो धर्मोऽस्यास्तीति प्रसवधर्मि। (जय०, p. 14, l. 20.)

प्रसवरूपो धर्मो यः सोऽस्यास्तीति प्रसवधर्मि। (तत्त्व०, Kār. 11).

प्रधानेनादिसर्गे प्रतिपुरुषमुत्पादितत्वात्। (जय०, Kār. 40).

प्रधानेनादिसर्गे प्रतिपुरुषमेकैकमुत्पादितम्। (तत्त्व, Kār. 40).

शब्दतन्मात्रादाकाशमेकगुणम्। शब्दतन्मात्रप्रतिसंहितात् स्पर्शतन्मात्रात् द्विगुणो वायुः। ताभ्यां प्रतिसंहिताद्रूपतन्मात्रात् त्रिगुणं तेजः। तैः प्रतिसंहितात् रसतन्मात्रात् चतुर्गुणा आपः। चतुर्भिः प्रतिसंहितात् गन्धतन्मात्रात् पञ्चगुणा पृथिवीति। (जय०, Kār. 22).

तत्र शब्दतन्मात्रादाकाशं शब्दगुणम्। शब्दतन्मात्रसहितात् स्पर्शतन्मात्रात् वायुः शब्दस्पर्शगुणः, शब्दस्पर्शतन्मात्रसहितात् रूपतन्मात्रात् तेजः शब्दस्पर्शरूपगुणम्, शब्दस्पर्शरूपतन्मात्रसहितात् रसतन्मात्रादापः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगुणाः, शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसतन्मात्रसहितात् गन्धतन्मात्रात् शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धगुणा पृथिवी जायत इत्यर्थः। (तत्त्वकौमुदी०, Kār. 22).

एकत्वमर्थवत्त्वं पारार्थ्यं चेति प्रधानमधिकृत्योक्तम्। अन्यत्वमकर्तृत्वं बहुत्वं चेति पुरुषमधिकृत्य। अस्तित्वं योगो वियोगश्चेति उभयमधिकृत्य। स्थितिर्मूलसूक्ष्ममधिकृत्य। (जय०, Kār. 51).

एकत्वमर्थवत्त्वं पारार्थ्यं च प्रधानमधिकृत्योक्तम्। अन्यत्वमकर्तृत्वं बहुत्वं चेति पुरुषमधिकृत्य। अस्तित्वं वियोगो योगश्चेत्युभयमधिकृत्य। वृत्तिः स्थितिरिति स्थूलसूक्ष्ममधिकृत्य। (तत्त्व०, Kār. 72).

The agreement at several places is so striking that we are obliged to conclude that one of the two has used or seen the commentary of the other. But who is earlier and who is later? At the first instance one is disinclined to believe that Vācaspati could borrow or utilize the Jayamaṅgalā. Several scholars are of opinion that the Jayamaṅgalā must have used Vācaspati's Tattvakaumudī. The comparison made above is not sufficiently decisive. So we have to find out some other deciding factor. The following instance in our opinion gives this deciding factor: वाचस्पति in his **तत्त्वकौमुदी** on Kār. 51, says—

अन्ये व्याचक्षते—"विनोपदेशादिना प्राग्भवीयाभ्यासवशात्तत्त्वस्य स्वयमूहनं यत् सा सिद्धिरूहः। यस्य सांख्यशास्त्रपाठमन्यदीयमाकर्ण्य तत्त्वज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा सिद्धिः शब्दः, शब्दपाठादनन्तरं भावात्। यस्य शिष्याचार्यसम्बन्धेन सांख्यशास्त्रं ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतश्चाधीत्य ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते साऽध्ययनहेतुका सिद्धिरध्ययनम्। सुहृत्प्राप्तिरिति यस्याधिगततत्त्वं सुहृदं प्राप्य ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा ज्ञानलक्षणा सिद्धिस्तस्य सुहृत्प्राप्तिः। दानं च सिद्धिहेतुः, धनादिदानेनाराधितो ज्ञानी ज्ञानं प्रयच्छति"।

अस्य च युक्तायुक्तत्वे सूरिभिरेवावगन्तव्ये इति कृतं परदोषोद्भावनेन नः सिद्धान्तमात्रव्याख्यानप्रवृत्तानामिति।

Here, the criticisms by Vācaspati presupposes a commentary. In Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda, we do not find any thing corresponding to it. But compare it with the Jayamaṅgalā.

ऊह इति। जन्मान्तरसंस्कृतधियो यस्य बन्धमोक्षकारणमुत्प्रेक्षमाणस्य प्रधानपुरुषान्तरज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तस्य सिद्धिरूहहेतुका प्रथमा तारमित्युच्यते। यस्य सांख्यशास्त्रपाठमन्यदीयमाकर्ण्य तत्त्वज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा सिद्धिः शब्दहेतुका द्वितीया सुतारमित्युच्यते। यस्य शिष्याचार्यसम्बन्धेन सांख्यशास्त्रं शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चाधीत्य ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तस्याध्ययनहेतुका। अध्य-

यनेन हि तत्परिज्ञानात्। एषा ह्तोया तारवि (?) इत्युच्यते।.....सुहृत्प्राप्तिः इति। योऽधिगततत्त्वं सुहृदं प्राप्य ज्ञानमधिगच्छति, तस्य सुहृत्प्राप्तिपूर्विका.....। दानं च सिद्धिहेतुः। दानेन ह्याराधितो ज्ञानी ज्ञानं प्रयच्छति।

The comparison will show that while the passages underlined are exactly identical, the remaining portion is also the same in trend. It is clear that Vācaspati is here criticising the Jayamaṅgalā.

The following quotation from Vijñānabhikṣu also agrees with Vācaspatimiśra in sense, but it proves nothing :

ऊहो यथा। उपदेशं विनैव प्राग्भवीयाभ्यासवशात् तत्त्वस्य स्वयमूहनमिति। शब्दस्तु यथा। अन्यदीयपाठमाकर्ण्य स्वयं वा शास्त्रमालोक्य यज्ज्ञानं जायते तदिति। अध्ययनं यथा। शिष्याचार्यभावेन शास्त्राध्ययनात् ज्ञानमिति। सुहृत्प्राप्तिर्यथा। स्वयमुपदेशार्थं गृहागतात् परमकारुणिकात् ज्ञानलाभ इति। दानं च यथा। धनादिदानेन परितोषितात् ज्ञानलाभ इति।—Vijñānabhikṣu on सांख्यसूत्र, III, 44.

It is quite clear that Vijñānabhikṣu, who is much later than Vācaspati, and who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D., cannot be the target of Vācaspati's attack. Moreover, the agreement between Vijñānabhikṣu and Vācaspati is not so striking as between Vācaspati and the Jayamaṅgalā. Therefore, in conclusion it may be safely asserted that the author of the Jayamaṅgalā is earlier than Vācaspati and later than the great Śaṅkarācārya. According to Macdonell (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 393) Vācaspati's time is about 1100 A.D.[1] And the great Ādi Śaṅkara cannot be placed later than the eighth century A.D. Therefore our Jayamaṅgalā-Śaṅkarācārya must have flourished about 1000 A.D. In this conclusion, I am fully supported by Mr. Ram Krishna Kavi, who writing on the Jayamaṅgalās in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, October, 1927, says : "All these Jayamaṅgalās are

1 But according to Keith, the time of Vācaspati Miśra is ninth century A.D. See J.R.A.S., 1914, 1098.

extensively read and found in Malabar. To relieve the anxiety of some critics that the great Ācārya should not be associated with the authorship of these commentaries under the same name, we have to search for another Śaṅkarācārya in Malabar who, besides being an author, must be a pupil of Govindabhagavatpāda. We shall try to find one to answer our purpose.

In the commentary on Vātsyāyana, one of the quotations (रक्तजाः क्रमयः सूक्ष्माः.....यथाबलम्—कामसूत्र II. 1.) is traced to Ratirahasya of Kokkoka who belongs to the tenth century and in my opinion is later than Sāṅkhyabhikṣu, the author of Nāgarasarvasva. Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana may therefore be assigned to some period later than 1000 A.D."

Further on, according to Mr. Kavi, two more works of Śaṅkarācārya, a pupil of Govindabhagavatpāda, are found. One is a commentary called Yogabhāṣya-vivaraṇa on Vyāsabhāṣya and the other called Bhāṣyapradīpa, a commentary on Śābarabhāṣya. In one of the colophons of the latter, the scribe has written पय्युरभगत्पादविरचितम्. The Ms. once belonged to a well-known Payyur Patteri of Malabar who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A.D. or even later. To this Payyur family belonged a great scholar called Parameśvara who wrote commentaries on several works and who is the son of the Ṛṣi and the pupil of Śaṅkarācārya. cf. इति श्रीमद्दृषिगौरीनन्दन-श्रीमद्भवदासपिदृव्यश्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ स्वदितं करण्यां द्वतीयः श्लोकः।

This shows that Śaṅkara must have been one of Parameśvara's relatives and his tutor. For, in a work called Śivodaya, the author Vāsudeva, one of the eight brothers of Parameśvara, describes his family and mentions Śaṅkara as one of his uncles.

"Thus Bhāṣyapradīpa and Yogabhāṣyavivaraṇa are decidedly the compositions of one and the same Śaṅkarācārya, who, as said by Vāsudeva, was the pupil of Govindabhaga-

vatpāda. We are inclined to think that all the Jayamaṅgalās must have been the production of this Śaṅkara."[1]

The Jayamaṅgalā on Sāṅkhyasaptati, therefore, is earlier than Vācaspati, and if the existing Māṭharavṛtti is not the genuine one (as there are reasons to suspect) then Jayamaṅgalā may be safely placed earlier than even the Māṭharavṛtti.

HARADATTA SARMA

1 In the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, January, 1928, p. 94, it is mentioned by the Editor that "Mr. Kavi says that all these authors are identical and that this Śaṅkara lived about 1400 A.D."

This is a mistake. Mr. Kavi mentions that the "Ms. belonged to the well-known Payyur Patteri who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A.D." So that, 1400 A.D. can be the date of the possessor of the Ms. and not that of the author. Therefore, this Śaṅkarācārya cannot be placed later than 1000 A.D., or near about.

Iron and Steel in the Ṛgvedic Age

The hymn (X-72-2) in the Ṛgveda stands thus,—जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः पर्णेभिः शकुनानां कर्मारः अश्मभिः दृभिः हिरण्यवन्तमिच्छति. Dr. Schraeder translates :

"The smith with brushwood on the hearth, and in his hand a goose's wing, with anvil and a blazing fire awaits a wealthy customer," and states that it is "the oldest passage on Indo-germanic ground which introduces us into a smithy."[1]

Ordinarily the meaning of the Ṛk, as rendered by various commentators, is "with dried faggots of trees as fuel and fans of wings of birds, and clear and bright stones, the *Karmāra* or the smith (engaged in making arrows) desires a rich person (to buy them)." But the Ṛk may be more literally translated thus—जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः with dried medicinal plants, पर्णेभिः शकुनानां with the wings of birds, कर्मारः the smith, अश्मभिः दृभिः with bright stones, हिरण्यवन्तमिच्छति desires rich persons, that is, *"with dried medicinal plants and wings of birds, as also bright stones, the smith awaits wealthy men."*

In the first place, we see that the smith (*karmāra*) of the Ṛgveda had to do something *with dried medicinal plants.* But what would probably these medicinal plants be required for by the Ṛgvedic smith, and what would be the nature of such medicinal plants one can hardly explain. It would be really difficult, however, to get the true meaning of this passage of the Ṛgveda elsewhere, except from the literature existent on the manufacture of 'wootz'[2] or Indian steel, where

1 Schraeder, Prehistoric Antiquities, p. 162.

2 "*Wootz* or Ootz is probably the name of steel in the Gujarāṭi language in use at Bombay, from which place the first specimens of Indian steel were sent to England under that name." David Mushet, Papers on Indian Iron and Steel, p. 666.

Roscoe writes: "Lastly *wootz* or Indian steel must be mentioned.

we often meet with the use of such medicinal plants in the process. From such sources, however, we learn that "the wood which is selected to furnish carbon to the iron, is the *cassia auriculata*,[1] and the leaf used to cover the iron and wood is that of the *asclepias giganta*[2] or where it is not available, that of the *convolvulus laurifolus*."[3]

The same authority observes again—"It seems probable that the selection of particular kinds of vegetable matter

This is a product prepared by heating malleable iron in small clay crucibles, in which small pieces of the wood *Cassia Auriculata* are also placed, until the external portions begin to fuse. The product is then hammered frequently and the steel thus consist of a mixture of two irons, one being rich and the other poor in carbon. Indian wootz is extremely hard and elastic, and was highly prized by the ancients. A specimen of wootz was sent from Bombay to the President of the Royal Society, and the first description of the substance was given by Dr. Pearson in 1795 (Phil. Trans. 1795, part II, 322) and the steel was afterwards analysed by Faraday and Henry."—Roscoe, Chemistry, vol. II, Metal, p. 988.

1 "A tall shrub (Tarwar in Hindi ; Mayahari Tālapatra in Sans.), with virgate branches and underside of the leaves finely grey downy. It is said in Spon's Encyclopædia to yield a medicinal resin...In Bengal a brownish sap hardens on the surface of wounds on the bark ; this may be the so-called resin."—Watt, Dictionary of Economic Products of India, vol. II, p. 205.

"The seeds are valued as local application in purulent ophthalmia, an infusion of the leaves is esteemed as a cooling medicine.....The root is spoken of as of great value in tempering iron metal."—Watt, Commercial Products of India, p. 289.

"I have been informed by my friend Dr. Sherwood that the native Doctors are in the habit of prescribing this medicine in diabetic cases." —Ainslie, Mat. Medica, vol. II. *From all these it is very clear that the plant is a medicinal one.*

2 'Ākanda' in Hindi ; 'Arka' in Sans. (It is a well known medicinal plant).

3 From a letter addressed to The Royal Asiatic Society of Great

to afford carbon to the iron may not be altogether a matter of fancy. The Indian steel maker, of course, knows nothing of the theory of his operations. He is satisfied with knowing that he can convert iron into steel by fusing it with what he calls medicine,[1] and this medicine, as experience has taught him, must be dried wood and green leaves, and as different woods and leaves very probably contain carburetted hydrogen in very different proportions, experience may have taught him that he can make iron pass into the state of steel more quickly and with a smaller bulk of particular kinds of vegetable matter than with others. The *cassia auriculata* is the only wood I have ever seen used for the purpose. It contains a large quantity of the extract called *catechu*. The leaf of the *convolvulus* is no less remarkable."

1 The operation receives a scientific explanation in the hand of a well known iron expert of modern times.—"On elevating the temperature.....an abundant evolution of carburetted hydrogen gas would take place from the vegetable matter, and as its escape would be prevented.....it would be retained in contact with the iron, which at a high temperature.....have a much greater affinity for gaseous than for concrete carbon. This would greatly shorten the operation and probably at a much lower temperature than were the iron in contact with charcoal powder. In no other way can I account for the fact that iron is converted into cast steel by the natives of India, in two hours and a half, with an application of heat that in this country would be considered quite inadequate to produce such an effect ; while at Sheffield it requires at least four hours to melt blistered steel in wind furnaces of the best construction, although the crucibles in which the steel is melted, are at a white heat when the metal is put into them, and in the Indian process, the crucibles are put into the furnace quite cold."—On Indian Iron and Steel, in a letter addressed to the Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland by J. M. Heath, Nov. 1837.

"The fact of the superior reductive process of uncharred fuel, mentioned by Mr. Heath and known to the unlettered Indian by the experience of ages, has not escaped notice in my investigations" (vide. Phil. Mag., vols. xxxii, xxxiii).—Mushet, Iron and Steel, vol. I, pp. 6-12.

The above is quite significant, and since the simplicity of the process of steel making in India even up to the present day gives a clear proof of its being carried on traditionally from the remotest antiquity, the explanation of the Ṛg-vedic passage जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः *"with dried medicinal plants"* means some sort of medicinal plant like *'cassia auriculata'* etc. used in the manufacture of 'wootz.'

From the above elucidation of the passage, it is quite clear that जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः means *"with dried medicinal plants."*

Let us next turn to find out the explanation of पर्णैभि शकुनानां. It plainly signifies—*"with the wings of birds"* or as Schraeder renders *"goose's wings."* But why the smith required them is a very difficult question to solve.

Sāyaṇa understands by जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः the wings of the arrow-shaft.[1] But this meaning seems to be very doubtful. Most of the modern scholars support the view that the Ṛg-vedic smith required them for bellows or fans. But the bellows could never be made of wings of birds. Science does not accept the idea at all. A bellow is generally made of leather, otherwise it cannot be air-tight. On the other hand, the preparation of fans is not particularly tenable. For in the process of iron smelting ordinary fans would be useless. Again the use of the expression *'karmāra'* in the Ṛk involves the idea of *ayas* or iron smelting by *bellowing through bellows* (*dhamati*) and producing the sound of bellowing.[2]

1 Then the smith becomes an arrow maker. This is what is hardly seen in India. The smith prepared the head of the arrow while the rest must have been finished by a distinct guild of arrow-makers (*Iṣu-kṛt, vāṇa-kara*-vide Ṛv., 1, 184, 3; 30, 7. Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxvi, 46; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 4, 3, 1. Cf. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 300; Weber, Indische Studien, 18, 29, 286; Hopkins, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 13, 275, et seq. 25, 337). "A regular profession of arrow making existed"—Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index.

2 Vide "On Metals and Metallurgy in Ancient India."—The Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. III, no. 4, pp. 795-800.

The smith, therefore, of the Vedic age was acquainted with the making of bellows which he certainly could not prepare with the wings of birds. As the term *'karmāra'* itself involves the conception of fire, hammering and working with bellows, we have very little to trouble about these things in the text. All the accessories of a smith's shop in the Ṛg-vedic age could be easily understood from the expression *'karmāra'* identified with his work धम, to blow. That is, he used to work with fire by blowing air through the bellows (making a peculiar sound), as also striking with his hammer (from धम—वधकर्म striking) on the anvil.[1]

Now the tools and accessories of the Ṛg-vedic master smith, viz., anvil, hammer, bellows, etc. being understood, the proper explanation of the expression पर्षभिः शक्तनानां in the Ṛk in question may be rendered by taking it to mean something which the smith used for the manufacture of his steel.

Again from the particulars of 'wootz'-making quoted above we find that dried medicinal plants (जरतिभिः ओषधिभिः) were used for the making of steel. These supplied no doubt the requisite carbon to the iron for converting it into steel. Similarly we know from the analysis of goose's wings[2] that owing to the small percentage of carbon they contain they might have been used by the Ṛg-vedic smith for the proper and final carburisation of iron for its conversion into steel.

Such an interpretation will make the Ṛg-vedic process of manufacture more easily understood even in the light of modern steel making.[3]

1 Vide p. 435, fn. 2.

2 "Goose-feathers—volatile matter—90, charcoal 10."—Mushet, "On Indian Iron and Steel," p. 730.

3 Vide Bessemer's process of manufacturing steel. Roscoe writes: "Other difficulties arose,.....a mass of pasty wrought-iron being produced. This was overcome by the important suggestion made by Mushet (Patent, Sep. 22, 1856) of the addition of *spiegel* at the end of the operation in such quantity as is necessary for the conversion of the

The next expression which we have to expound is द्रापिः अश्मभिः। Literally it means 'bright stones'. But what these stones were is a question that presents some difficulty. Sāyaṇa does not explain them clearly. Most of the modern scholars are inclined to believe that they were *'whetting stones.'* But this is hardly adequate. The plurality of the form with the single individual *'karmāra'* goes against this view.

The extremely economical and simple method of manufacture with which the Ṛg-vedic smith was acquainted is plainly against such a conception.'[1] Further the question as to why the whetting stones should be *'bright'* throws considerable doubt over the interpretation.[2]

The Vedic smith may require a bundle of dried medicinal plants, and a lot of goose's or birds' wings but why he should have a number of whetting stones and again why they should be 'bright' cannot be accounted for. Hence the rendering "bright whetting stones" is faulty and unacceptable.

We may, however, keeping the literal idea of द्रापिः अश्मभिः as *'clean bright stones,'* render their proper meaning as clean or bright stones of *ore.* For, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[3] we have it clearly stated that *'ayas'* was obtained by

whole of the wrought-iron into steel."—Roscoe, Chemistry, vol. II, Metals, p. 975.

"*Spiegel*—contains carbon from 3·5-6 per cent."—Ibid., p. 960.

N. B. As Mushet was then the most conversant with the operations of Indian steel-making, this very valuable suggestion he might have been able to render to the art from his Indian experience. His own observation on the point viz. "known to the unlettered Indian by the experience of ages" is quite indicative of the value he attached to the process.

1 One could hardly see more than a single *whetting stone* in an Indian smithy and that too he would say had come to him from his forefathers.

2 The 'whetting stone' of an Indian smithy is a very hard Silicate stone without any lustre.

3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi, 1, 3, 5. Also Macdonell & Keith, Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 405.

smelting the ore (अश्मन्). So अश्मभिः here may be easily taken to mean bright '*stone ore*' or simply bright stones from which the '*karmāra*' used to obtain his metal. Tradition also supports this rendering, inasmuch as, we have evidences of the 'wootz' (steel) manufactured in India from the bright quartzian stony ore.[1]

Now the last point of difficulty in the Ṛk which requires a reasonable solution is about हिरण्यवन्त-इच्छति, i.e., "desires rich persons" or "awaits rich people." Why the Vedic smith should await wealthy buyers for his things is not clearly understood. Sāyaṇa satisfies himself by explaining that the '*karmāra*' used to manufacture arrows and as those articles were purchased in ancient times by rich men only, he could do nothing but await them. This rendering of the terms has been accepted by all the Vedic commentators. The foreign Vedic scholars also have followed suit. But still the meaning is not clear. Tradition, however, enlightens us somewhat on the point, and we may quote here from a learned authority[2] the following in

1 "The ore from which the Wootz steel is made is the magnetic oxide of iron, combined with *quartz*, of which specimens accompany this letter. The ore varies much in its appearance, according as the grains of quartz and oxide of iron are large and small ; but the proportion in which the component parts unite is nearly uniformly 48 of quartz and 5.2 of oxide of iron in 100 parts by weight."—From a letter addressed to the Secy., Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland by J. M. Heath., Nov., 1837.

N. B. From the above it is clear that it is no wonder if the ore is seen as bright and fine stones owing to the presence of nearly 50 % of quartzs. Again that the Wootz or Indian steel used to be obtained direct from the ore we have the following evidences in proof of same : "We may, without risk, conclude that it (Wootz) is made directly from the ore."—Dr. Pearson. *Phil. Trans. Royal Society*,vol. 85, 1795, p. 343.

"That the Wootz of India, in the state in which we receive it, is the immediate product of the ore seems to be undoubted."—Stoddart, Treatise on Metals, vol. I, p. 223.

2 Mushet, "On Indian Iron and Steel," p. 366.

our support:—"The first correct idea we received from history of the importance of steel in the arts is from the account of the present made by Porus to Alexander of 40 lbs of Indian steel, a present which we are bound to consider was the most valuable that Porus could bestow, and the most acceptable that Alexander (at that time overwhelmed with the spoils of the East) could receive. This transaction on the banks of the Hydaspes must have taken place at least 800 years after iron was in use in Palestine, and affords a strong presumption that steel, if not then altogether unknown to the artificers in Alexander's army, was an article exceedingly rare. The same observation will equally apply to India at the same time. *Nothing in the estimation of Porus in his extensive dominions was more valuable than a gift of steel.*"

The above is plainly suggestive as to why the Ṛg-vedic '*karmāra*' would await rich people for buying his article, as in that far remote period of antiquity, it is no wonder that the material (steel) should be highly valued by the ancient people. All the data given above lead us, therefore, to believe that the Ṛg-vedic smith was actually engaged in making *steel* direct from the ore.[1]

In fact, the arguments here advanced in support of our interpretation of the Ṛk under question, afford a most valuable material in proof of the existence of iron in the Ṛg-vedic

1 Cf. "The antiquity of the Indian process is no less astonishing than its ingenuity ; we can hardly doubt that the tools with which the Egyptians covered their obelisks and temples of porphyry and syenite with hieroglyphics were made of Indian steel. There is no evidence to show that any of the nations of antiquity besides the Hindus were acquainted with the art of making steel."—Mushet, "Papers on Indian Iron and Steel." p. 669.

"It appears then that the claim of India to a discovery of Iron- and Steel-making which has exercised more influence on the arts conducive to civilization and manufacturing industry than any other within the whole range of human inventions is altogether unquestionable."—J. M. Heath, "Letter to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," Nov. 1837.

times, inasmuch as this is the only passage in the whole of the Ṛg-veda that gives a description of the process of manufacturing *steel* in that oldest period of antiquity and this method of manufacture when compared with that followed in India even up to the beginning of the last century fully gives evidence of the preservation and continuity of the art as handed down from generation to generation by traditional methods from ages long gone by.

Thus from the Ṛk elucidated above we can describe how the Ṛg-vedic smith used to manufacture steel in those times. He used to manufacture direct from the ore (most probably bright quartzian magnetic stones of iron oxide), in an open hearth (made of mud), adjusted with bellows and fire, and covered over with dried *medicinal plants* such as *Cassia Auriculata*; the whole was then heated until the product began to fuse when *birds' wings* were added for the proper and final carburisation of the mass which, at the end of the operation, was frequently hammered into *steel*.

MANINDRA NATH BANERJI

The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kautilīya

To understand fully the way in which government was administered at the time of Candragupta Maurya, a knowledge of the various officers with a demarcation of the respective ranges of their duties is essential. A clear and accurate description of such duties would also show the divisions and sub-divisions of the labour necessary for an efficient working of the huge machinery of administration of the Maurya empire. This will also serve as a convenient means of comparing the system of admininistration of the Maurya period with those of earlier or later times. Such comparisons are calculated to indicate the line of evolution of the Hindu administrative system together with the changes through which it passed at the various epochs. I have shown in my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, ch. VII, the extent of resemblance existing among the several lists of functionaries named in Sanskrit works from the Vedic period to the *Kauṭilīya*. The recognition of the *eighteen tīrthas* (functionaries) of a state was traditional and had a very early origin. In tracing the evolution of the state officials, it has also been pointed out how some of the private or semi-private servants of the king's household gradually evolved into executive officers of government in later times. A few instances would make the point clear. The *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* and *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Purohita* figuring among the eight *vīras* of the *Pañcaviṃsa Brāhmaṇa* appear to be the same, signifying the royal priest. The *Senānī* of the Vedic list is the Commander of the Army and the *Sūta* the Royal Equerry. The latter officer was very likely a mere private servant of the king's household, but an official charged with the state duty of looking after the management of

The importance of a trustworthy delineation of the duties of the officials.

all the horses kept for the king's personal use as well as for military purposes. In later times, with the greater differentiation of duties, his place was occupied by the Aśvādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Horses) in the *Kauṭilīya* list. The *Akṣāvāpa* or the Superintendent of Dicing, appears to have been a private servant of the royal *entourage*, but later on, he was a public official supervising the gambling halls and collecting revenue therefrom. The *Dyūtādhyakṣa* with similar functions is found in the *Kauṭilīya*. There are several other officers of the Vedic period, such as *Saṃgrahītṛ*, *Bhāgadugha*, *Rathakāra*, who may also be cited in corroboration of my remark regarding the two aforesaid points viz. the evolution of some of the Government officials from the royal *entourage*, and the resemblance in functions and sometimes in names of several functionaries of the Vedic and later periods ; but the names of those cited above are sufficient for the present purpose.

The difficulty of the task.

The delineation of the respective spheres of duties of the many state-officials mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*, pointing out at the same time the gradation of their ranks, is no doubt an interesting task, but it is not without its difficulties. Apart from the obscurity of the text of the *Kauṭilīya* on many items of duty of the officials, the treatise is sometimes silent on the position of some of the officers in the official hierarchy. In such cases, the difficulty has to be overcome, if possible, by inferences drawn from other evidences.

Evidence as to the several ranks in the official hierarchy.

The scale of salaries and allowances to the queen, crown-prince, royal priest, prime minister, and the various officers of state supplies a clue by which the rank of a particular person or officer can be determined. The largest amount is recommended for the (permanent) sacrificial priest (ṛtvij), royal tutor, *mantrin*, royal priest (*purohita*), com-

1 *K.*, bk. V, ch. 3.

mander-in-chief, crown-prince as also the queen and the king's mother. In the first rank are therefore found so far as the secular administrative work is concerned, the *mantrin*, and the commander-in-chief. The crown-prince was also appointed at times to responsible posts under government, e.g. the governorship of a province.

The officials in the first rank.

In the second rank are named *Dauvārika*, *Antarvaṃśika*. *Praśāstṛ*, *Samāhartṛ*, and *Sannidhātṛ*. The official named second is the Superintendent of the inner or ladies' appartments. His designation appears to be a variant of Antarveśmika [*antar* (inner) and *veśma* (house)]. He belongs to the king's household staff, and important as his duties are, he has been placed in the second rank of officials in respect of salary. His duties will be detailed in connection with the delineation of the king's household staff, and so he is left out of consideration for the present.

The officials in the second rank.

Antarvaṃśika.

Dauvārika was not always the ordinary gate-keeper as his designation may lead one to think, but was a high official with responsible duties. The variants of his designation as given in the *Amara-koṣa* are : *pratihāra*, *dvārapāla*, *dvāḥstha*, *dvāḥsthita* and *darśaka*, while those in the *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā* of Halāyudha are *dvāḥstha*, *dauvārika*, *kṣattṛ*, *daṇḍin*, *vetradhara*, *utsāraka*, *dvārapāla*, and *pratihāra*. As already pointed out he received a salary equal to that of the Praśāstṛ, Samāhartṛ, and Sannidhātṛ, and higher than that of the judicial officer of the town (Pauravyāvahārika) and the members of the *mantri-pariṣat*. The word *Dauvārika* is found in the *Arthaśāstra* more than once (I, 12 ; 21 ; V, 2) along with the names of the most important and responsible officers of the State. Every morning along with the ministers and king's relatives he had to wait for and receive the king in an apartment of the palace (I, 20 ; caturthyāṃ mantribhiḥ samban-

Dauvārika.

dhibhiḥ dauvārikaiś ca). If occasion demanded he is recommended to be entrusted even with the duties usually performed by the king himself (dauvārikāntarvaṃśikamukhaś ca yathoktaṃ rājapraṇidhim anuvartayet).

The *Prasāstṛ* was most probably the official who was in charge of the department in which the writs or instruments containing the royal orders were prepared, and from which they were issued to the individuals concerned in the formal way. Bk. II, ch. 10 of the *Kauṭilīya* on the preparation of royal writs is silent as to the officer under whose direction the affairs of the department were carried on. The *Praśāstṛ* named in the second grade of the official hierarchy is very probably the officer who was the head of this department. The nature of his duties required that the person entrusted with them should be extremely trustworthy, and hence the dignified position of this office in the official cadre.

Praśāstṛ.

The *Sannidhātṛ* and *Samāhartṛ* named last in the list were the two most important executive officers in the dominion. The *Sannidhātṛ* was saddled with heavy duties. In addition to certain items of work done directly by himself, he had to supervise the duties of the following Superintendents of different departments viz., (1) The Superintendent of the Treasure-house (*Kośādhyakṣa*). (2) The Superintendent of Trades (*Paṇyādhyakṣa*). (3) The Superintendent of Store-house (*Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*). (4) The Superintendent of Forest Stores (*Kupyādhyakṣa*), (5) The Superintendent of the Arsenal (*Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa*). (6) The Superintendent of Prisons (*Bandhanāgārādhyakṣa*).

Sannidhātṛ.

Six Superintendents under Sannidhātṛ.

The reason for holding that these six Superintendents were under the control of Sannidhātṛ lies in the fact that certain items of work implying and involving supervision of those of the aforesaid Superintendents are mentioned in Book II, ch. 5 of the *Kauṭilīya*, enumerating his duties in a general way. In addition to this work, he was in charge

of the construction and perhaps also the up-keep of the houses required for working the six departments viz, *Koṣagṛha*, (Treasure-house) *Paṇyagṛha*, (Trade-house), *Kaṣṭhāgāra* (Store-house) *Kupyagṛha*, (Forest Store-house), *Āyudhāgāra* (Arsenal) and *Bandhanāgāra* (Jail). These were built under the direction of the *Sannidhātṛ*, according to particular plans with underground rooms where necessary, to suit the requirements of the work done there. In addition to these buildings those for the *Mahāmātras* as also those for the location of the law-courts (*Dharmasthīya*) were also constructed under his supervision.[1]

Two Superintendents under Paṇyādhyakṣa.

The works of the Superintendent of Weights (*Pautavādhyakṣa*), and the Superintendent of Measures (*Mānādhyakṣa*) were supervised by the *Paṇyādhyakṣa*[2] who had also to control or supervise other matters concerning other departments of government. He had, for example, to control the prices of all the commodities manufactured or garnered in the several departments of government and sold to the public at large. The fixing of the prices was a difficult task, as it had to be done after taking into account various factors bearing upon the collection or production of the commodities.

Äkarādhyakṣa.

The Superintendent of Mines (*Ākarādhyakṣa*) had a close touch with the Superintendent of the Treasure-house, for, as Kauṭilya says, the mines are the source of the treasure, and treasure the source of the

1 *K.*, II, ch. 5.

2 The opening passage of *K.*, IV, ch. 2 has the words 'saṃsthādhyakṣyaḥ paṇyasaṃsthāyāṃ tulāmānabhāṇḍāni cāvekṣeta, pautavāpacārāt'. Here *saṃsthādhyakṣa* may refer to the head of the particular department where wares of a particular class are stored, manufactured, and sold, but as the work of supervision of a department is best done by an official not belonging to the department and as we find such official in the *Paṇyādhyakṣa*, *the Saṃsthādhyakṣa* in the passage would, I think, be the *Paṇyādhyakṣa*.

army. It is with the treasure and the army that the whole world can be acquired. But inspite of this close connection between the spheres of work of the two heads of departments, the text does not mention that the Superintendent of Mines was under the *Sannidhātṛ* as the Superintendent of the Treasure-house was. The extracting of metals from the ores and the collection of pearls and precious stones from land and ocean-mines were the duties of the *Ākarādhyakṣa*. The further treatment of the metals thus obtained to convert them into metal wares, coins etc. rested upon

Five other Superintendents connected with the Mining Department.

(1) the *Lohādhyakṣa*, in charge of the inferior metals,

(2) the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* the Minter of copper coins,[1]

(3) the *Suvarṇādhyakṣa*, who was in charge of the department for making gold wares and ornaments, and had to supervise the work of the *Sauvarṇika*, the Minter of gold and silver coins ;

while the *Khanyadhyakṣa* had to give the final merchantable shape to the precious stones, conch-shells, pearls, corals, and the *kṣāra* from which salt was obtained. There was a separate officer (*Lavaṇādhyakṣa*) who was entrusted with the disposal of the purified salt, and the collection of government dues on this as well as on the salt imported from outside.[2]

The treasure kept in the Treasure-house included among other things *ratna*, *sāra*, *phalgu* and *kupya*. These four items comprised articles of diverse kinds from pearls aud precious stones to sandal wood, agallochum, skins, blankets, and cloths of various descriptions. It will be seen shortly that cloths and blankets were manufactured, and skins stored in the two government departments under *Sūtrādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Weaving) and *Kupyādhyakṣa* respectively but the

Whether the Treasure-house had any connection with the Forest Store-house and the Weaving Department.

1 The English translation on this point by Dr. R. Shama Sastri is faulty.

2 *K.*, II, chs. 12, 13.

textiles in the Treasure-house were of five qualities and comprised those from places noted for their manufacture, while the skins kept there were valuable, and were of animals different from those named in connection with the forest store-house.

The connection of Koṣṭhāgāra and Kupyāgāra with other departments.

We have examined the connection of the departments under the *Kośādhyakṣa* and *Paṇyādhyakṣa* with the other departments. The next two Superintendents under the *Sannidhātṛ* are those of *Koṣṭhāgāra* (Store-house) and *Kupyāgāra* (Forest Store-house).

The articles of food and clothing needed in the several departments of government e.g. the Military and the Live-stock, as also for payments in kind made by the government when necessary were supplied from these two as also from other departments where they were stored or manufactured.[1]

The touch of arsenal and jail with other departments.

The close touch of the *Āyudhāgāra* (arsenal) with the police and the military, as also that of the *Bandhanāgāra* (jail) with the *Dharmasthīya* and *Kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts needs no mention, and as regards the jail (*Bandhanāgāra*) in a town, the *Nāgaraka* (Town-keeper) was associated with its management, very probably, as subordinate to the *Sannidhātṛ*.[2]

The Jail in a town and the Nāgaraka.

Samāhartṛ.

The duties of the *Samāhartṛ* may be divided into:

(1) The conduct of the department entrusted with the maintenance of statistical records up to date as a permanent source of information at all times of the year, and with the work of land survey. The statistics in regard to a town were compiled under

1 For references to payment of salary etc. in kind (*bhakta*), see *K.*, II, chs. 32, 33; V, ch. 3.

2 *K.*, II, ch. 36.

the direction of the *Nāgaraka*, the official in charge of a town.[1]

(2) The collection of all sorts of taxes and other government dues through officers directly under him, or through those of other departments, who by the nature of their work could realize the dues more conveniently, making over, subsequently, to the *Samāhartṛ* the sums realized by them.[2]

(3) The control and supervision of the Accountant-General and his staff, the checking of accounts, endeavouring at the same time to keep down the expenses as far as possible. That it was part of his duty not merely to collect government dues and to exercise pressure for keeping the items of expenses as far within the prescribed limits as possible is evident from passages in book II, ch. 6 of the *Kauṭilīya* where the items comprised in the whole body of expenditure (*vyayaśarīram*) are enumerated in a general way as a subject requiring the *Samāhartṛ's* attention, and the reduction of expenditure has been mentioned as one of his duties (*hrāsam vyayasya*).

(4) It was the practice in the *Kaṇṭaka-śodhana* court that three *Pradeṣṭṛs* or three *Amātyas* would try cases.[3] As an *Amātya* (high official), the *Samāhartṛ* could sit as one of these judges in the court for trying cases. This inference obtains confirmation from the opening passage of Bk. IV, ch. 9 of the *Kauṭilīya*, where the *Samāhartṛs* and the *Pradeṣṭṛs* are asked to maintain discipline in the various departments of government by bringing to book the offending heads of departments or their subordinates. But as there were many *Amātyas* (high officials), the *Samāhartṛ* had to sit as a judge at intervals, which

1 *K.*, II, chs. 35, 36. 2 *K.*, II, ch. 6.

3 See my *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 129. *K.* IV, ch. 1.

must have been long in view of the various other duties occupying much of his time.

(5) The detection of offences committed by the Government servants in the performance of their duties and the collection of correct information in regard to matters involved in the land survey and the keeping of statistical records up to date by engaging the services of officers of the Department of Secret Intelligence were the duties of the *Samāhartṛ*.[1] Of course, he was relieved in the performance of these duties by a large number of subordinate officers of various grades, whose assistance made it possible for him to do justice to his multifarious works.

The *Śulkādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Tolls) appears to have been under the *Sannidhātṛ*, for śulka (toll) is included in the first division of government dues, the collection of which was supervised by the *Sannidhātṛ*. This division was named *durgaṃ*.[2] The other divisions such as *khani, setu, vanam* mention in a general way the articles subject to the payment of tolls or other impositions. These articles are detailed in the *Kauṭilīya*, II, ch. 22 with the mention of the sums paid on them as toll. Moreover, *dvārādeya* (gate-due) collected by the Superintendent of Tolls is included in the *durgaṃ* mentioned above. This shows in a general way that the Superintendent by the nature of his duties was under the superintendence of the *Sannidhātṛ*, and as he had no duties other than the collection of *śulka* (toll) and the like, he appears to have been wholly subordinate to the *Sannidhātr.*

The *Sītādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Agriculture) supervised the raising of food crops and medicinal herbs on crown lands, and the collection of certain government dues connected with agriculture. The yield of crops from crown lands was stored under his care.

Sītādhyakṣa.

1 *K.*, II, 35 ; iv, 9. 2 *K.*, II, ch. 6.

Sūtrādhyakṣa.

The *Sūtrādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Weaving) was responsible for the manufacture of textiles, ropes etc. for use for government purposes mentioned in connection with the *Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*.

Surādhyakṣa.

The *Surādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Liquor) looked after the preparation of liquor for government use and its sale in grog-shops. He also regulated the location of grog-shops conducted by private individuals, controlled them otherwise, and collected from them the government dues.

Sūnādhyakṣa.

It was the duty of the *Sūnādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Slaughter) to prevent the molestation of birds and beasts declared to be under state protection or living in the forest preserves of the State. He also supervised the butchers' trade.

(*To be continued*)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

Some Historical Sites and Monuments of Kerala

II

Neḍumpura Taḷi

Neḍumpura Taḷi in the Cochin State is one of the most important historical sites of ancient Keraḷa, about which, curiously enough, history has been silent. A brief notice that it contains a Śiva temple with some old inscriptions is all that is vouchsafed to us in the monumental work of Mr. Sewell on the Antiquities of Southern India. An examination of this secluded and generally unknown place and the unfolding of its past are rendered difficult by its comparative inaccessibility to the ordinary traveller accustomed only to modern conveyances and means of communication. But, apart from its lithic documents noticed by me in a previous article, a study of its antique remains as well as of its existing traditions is bound to bring to light valuable historical materials. This will amply repay the travail of the tourist and sight-seer and of the patient research student, as it will considerably help the investigation of certain interesting points in Keraḷa history, and suggest fresh historical problems for solution.

Taḷi is a village in the Talappaḷḷi Taluk of the Cochin State, about 5 miles south of the Paṭṭāmbi Railway Station on the Malabar branch of the South Indian Railway and 8 miles due west of Ceṛuturutti on the Cochin State Railway. Inaccessible by road and situated in remote corner of the north-western part of the State, it is removed from all centres of civilization. Tourists getting down at the sixth milestone on the Ceruturutti-Ponnāni road will have to trudge a distance of about 3 miles through paddy flats and well-wooded hillocks to reach the place. This village can also be reached from the south by the road running from Vaṭakkānceri to Nelluvāya and Titccūr, the last village being about 4 to 5 miles south of Taḷi.

The name 'Taḷi,' which first meant the temple, the unit of local administration, and later on the manager of the temple, appears to have been applied to the city of Nityavicāreśvaraṃ in which it was situate. It is now known as Neḍum Taḷi, and Neḍumpura Taḷi, the first being a contraction of the second and different from the Neṭiya Taḷi of *Kraḷolpatti* fame or it might mean the

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'Great Taḷi', especially as the deity of the pagoda is designated 'Tirumattaḷi Appan'. 'Neḍumpura Taḷi' must have received its prefix 'Neḍumpura' from Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu, the country in which it was situate, and in which the Taḷi temple was the grandest and most important pagoda. The prefix distinguishes it from other places which continue to have the affix 'Taḷi' added on to them.

According to one tradition these Taḷis were the seats of the Perumāḷs who ruled over Keraḷa. These Perumāḷs are said to have frequently toured about the country and given the name of 'Taḷi' to their palaces, and the residences of their councillors, the four Taḷiyātiris. It is likely that some of them were the seats of the local potentates including the scions of the early Perumāḷ family shut out from regal succession by the law of Marumakkathayam, of the princes who became the ancestors of some of the royal houses like the Puraḷiśans of Kaṭṭayam (North Malabar), the Ayirūr Svarūpam, the Quilon royal family, etc. They had their miniature courts and generals similar to those attending on the suzerain Perumāḷ.

There is some basis for this tradition, since we find that we have definite historical data to prove that many of these Taḷis were once the capitals of pro-consuls, e.g., Nileśwaraṃ Taḷi, Rāman Taḷi, Kōḷikkoṭṭu Taḷi, the Crānganūr Taḷis, the Kaṭatturutti (Vaṭakkenkūr) and Tirunakkara (Tekkenkūr) Taḷis. Neḍumpura Taḷi might, therefore, well have been the capital of the Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍ Chief.

Traditionally, these Taḷis number about eighteen-and-a-half, the half-Taḷi being the Ara-Taḷi of Cranganūr, said to have been converted, with royal permission, into the present Koḍuṅgu Mosque. Neḍumpura Taḷi is said to have been the most important of these Taḷis, as it had a famous and richly endowed temple with about 108 shrines within its Sanketam or sacredotal and temporal jurisdiction.

Even to-day relics of these are visible through the labyrinth of ruins scattered about the plain, barely two furlong to the east of the principal temple of Neḍumpura Taḷi and separated from it by means of the Arakulam. This latter is a wonderful "half-tank" similar to the lake, Arā Kulam, of the Imperial Capital of Crānganūr, about half a mile by a quarter of a mile in size. Half of the Arakuḷam of Nityavicāreśvaraṃ is now used for paddy cultivation, and the rest is choked up with rubbish from the neighbouring plains. The open space in the east of it is literally strewn with the wreckage of centuries, the most striking being the granite idols, some of enormous size. These rear their heads over

the tops of every woody ridge and through every cluster of trees in the homesteads of the poor Moplah peasantry of the locality. One of these *lingams*, perched on the top of a hill more than 40 feet high, is about 6½ feet high. Its upper portion is circular and is 4 feet in altitude with a circumference of about 7½ feet, while the lower part is hexagonal in shape. This image, popularly and correctly styled 'the Taṭiyan Tevar' or 'Big' Śiva Lingam, is set up on a *pīṭham* or basement of granite, 4ft. 9 in. square and one foot high. The original temple appears to have been approachable from the ground below by a flight of stone-paved steps which have now disappeared almost completely. Remains of similar temples with slightly smaller idols as well as the vestiges of more than a dozen wells can be found all over the place.[1]

Apart from historical records, existing local traditions about wholesale conversions to Islam, destruction of temples in the Ponnāni Taluk and the construction of a well-built fort at a strategical position

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1 Systematic conservation alone can save from imminent destruction the still surviving traces of the pristine glory of a parochial civilisation which preserved the best fruits of Hindu culture and the manifold achievements of the Malayāḷis in the arts, architecture and art-crafts. Already, many causes have greatly contributed to the rapid dispersion of many of these extant traces that have survived the ravages of time, and only a few massive idols and granite slabs remain, the solitary remnants of imposing edifices which have for many centuries defied all human efforts to dislodge or transport them.

Apart from conservation, the imperative necessity of commencing excavation operations on a systematic scale and under able and expert direction is more and more keenly felt. Unlike in many other places, the area over which the temple exercised immediate jurisdiction, i.e., the *Ambalapparambu* or temple site, is almost clearly marked out by the presence of monuments, and hence the task of digging up the remains is comparatively easy. But the swift advance of time and the swifter action of man will complicate tenfold the difficulties of the archæologist in laying bare to the public the various inscriptional and art treasures lying entombed in this benighted region. In fact, even now the action of the landords of the place in filling up the Arakulam—which be a *fait accompli*—has introduced another element of confusion in the matter of excavation.

at Kūrrnāḍ by Tipu Sultan, lend support to the view that he had some hand in the downfall of this premier city of the Neḍumpuraiyūr Chiefs. For Kūrrnāḍ is situated about 6 miles north-west of Taḷi and at the junction of two important commercial land routes, *viz.*, the Pālghāt-Ponnāni road and its branch to Kunnamkuḷam and ultimately to Cāvakkāḍ and Tṛcūr.

With a well-endowed old temple which had attached to itself a large number of Śiva shrines, Taḷi might well have been the capital of an important principality. There are even now traces to show that the Ayirūr Svarūpaṃ, a collateral branch of the present Paṭiññāṟṟiyeḍatt Svarūpaṃ or the Crāṅganūr royal family, exercised in the early medieval period some sort of authority over Taḷi and the neighbouring parts, especially towards the west. The Raja of Ayirūr is said to have possessed a palace called the Ayirūr Kovilakam in Celūr *deśam* adjacent to the Taḷi *deśam* and now merged into it. He is believed to have owned the Bhadrakāḷi temple of Śrī Vīrasthānaṃ, popularly called Tiruviṭṭāṇikkāvu, now administered by an Aḍigaḷ family who claims its ownership and who performs the worship in it like the Aḍigaḷs of the Crāṅganūr Bhagavatī temple. This shrine is barely half a mile to the west of the premier Śiva temple. Taḷi itself is half-way between the traditional and original seat of the Ayirūr family in Vannerināḍ, some 6 miles south of Ponnāni, and their next known capital Pālappeṭṭi, now a petty village in the Kaṇṇamkuḷam *aṃśaṃ* of the Ponnāni Taluk of South Malabar, 4 miles south-west of Tṛpṛayār and 18 miles south of Cetwāi creek.

Another relic is a strong fort located a furlong to the north of the temple and built throughout of brick and laterite, on the summit of a high hill, about a mile in circumference. This citadel had a deep moat, now mostly filled up with mud and masses of cyclopean masonry carried by the torrents from the hill-top above and the high ramparts around. The fortress probably faced the west, the deep rectangular cut made by the outway towards the centre being clearly visible on that side. It was probably also connected by a bridge (now lost) with another hill of the same height to its north, as may be inferred from the existence of a long mound of earth of the same level between the two hills. The crown of the last hill is wide enough to have provided space for a bastion or turret in which a strong reserve force could be safely lodged, ready for any emergency. On the principal hill is a small eminence containing a crater-like hollow, the evident traces of a watch-tower.

This fort is now designated the Ceramān Koṭṭa, the fort of Ceramān Perumāḷ, by a people who love to assign eveything ancient to Ceramān Perumāl, the eponymous hero of popular tradition in Keraḷa. It most probably belonged to the *Nāḍuvāḷi* (or provincial ruler) and was occupied by the *Paṭanāyar* (*Senāpati*, Commander) of Neḍumpurāiyūrnāḍu, mentioned in the epigraphs in the temple at Taḷi.

Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu seems to have comprised the major portion of the Talappaḷḷi Taluk and extended right up to the eastern borders of Pālghāt and included it. This province was divided into many sub-divisions, none of which are named in the Taḷi inscriptions. The name of one of them, Vaccanāḍu, the country about Maṅkarai on the Pottanūr-Ṣoraṇūr portion of the South Indian Railway, has, however, come down to us; for Kaṇḍan Kāman, a native of Maṅkarai in this sub-division of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu, is mentioned along with other chiefs of Malaināḍu in the retinue of Prince Rājāditya Cōḷa, son of Parakesari Parāntaka I.[1]

This Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu has also been mentioned in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravi Varma[2] as the territory of Kotai Śrī Kaṇṭhan and Kotai Ravi who witnessed that document. Dr. Hultzsch, when Government Epigraphist, identified it with Pālakkāḍu (Pālghāt) and with the Puraigiḻannāḍu of the Tirunelli grant.[3] Though the latter equation is incorrect, his identification of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu with Pālghāt is confirmed by surviving relics. The most significant of these is that the Pālghāt Accans (called also the Rajas of the Tarūr Svarūpaṃ), the descedants of the Pālghāt Rajas, are still using the name of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu for their ancestral kingdom in their *Ariyiṭṭuvāḻcca* —a purificatory ceremony accompanied with the throwing at the claimant to the throne, of raw uncooked rice sanctified by mantras, which was an essential preliminary to the *Kirīṭam Veccu Vāḻcca* or coronation.

There is also a tradition that the ancestors of the Pālghāt Rajas emigrated from the western to the eastern parts and fixed their capital at Pālghāt, or more probably at Neḍumpuraiyūr, an old city on the Pālghāt road. They are said to have given part of their territories in the Ātavanād *aṃśaṃ* of the Ponnāni Taluk to Āḻuvāncēri Tam-

1 Vide *The Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India*, 1905-6—the inscriptions of Parāntaka I at Tirunāmanallūr, p. 181.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, p. 68.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 285-92.

purākkaḷ, the great primate of Keraḷa. This *aṃśaṃ* lies only a few miles to the north-west of Taḷi. As the emigration is said to have taken place before the *Koṇṇanpaḍa* of 917 A.C. we may understand why the Taḷi inscriptions do not refer to the *Nāḍuvāḻi* as residing at Taḷi.

A preliminary examination of the antiquities of the place in the light of local traditions and subsequent history, therefore, brings to light that this historic site was the seat of a prominent *Nāḍuvāḻi* or *Paṭanāyar*—that of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu—and that it was the residence of the Ayirūr Svarūpaṃ. It is a point for careful investigation as to which of these chiefs first occupied the place, when the Ayirūr family emigrated to Taḷi and from there to Pālappeṭṭi (their capital in historic times) and when the Pālghāt Accans came to be separated from the Cochin Rajas who were their relatives according to tradition.

A. GOVINDA WARIAR

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY New Delhi

Assamese Historical Literature*

The talented compiler of the Gupta inscriptions penned the following lines deploring the absence of ancient historical compilations in India: "Rich as have been their bequests to us in other lines, the Hindus have not transmitted to us any historical works which can be accepted as reliable for very early times.....It is, indeed, very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessed the true historical sense in the shape of the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines,"[1] This statement would have been qualified to a great extent if it had been known that the Assamese people have preserved regular chronicles of their country from very early times. This claim is substantiated by what Sir George Abraham Grierson said several years ago in the *Linguistic Survey of India*: "The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient.....The historical works or Buranjis, as they are styled by the Assamese, are numerous aad voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the Buranjis was an indispensable qualification to an Assamese gentleman."[2]

Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, the first Assamese to receive the light of western culture, and to rise to the rank of a District Magistrate at the age of twenty-seven, wrote so early as 1855: "In no department of literature do the Assamese appear to have been more successful than in history. Remnants of historical works that treat of the times of Bhagadatta, a contemporary of Rājā Yudhiṣṭhira, are still in existence. The chain of historical events, however, since the last 600 years, has been carefully preserved, and their authenticity can be relied upon. It would be difficult to name all the historical works, or as they are styled by the Assamese, *Buranjis*,

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* Read at the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November, 1928.

1 Dr. J. F. Fleet's *Indian Epigraphy*, reprinted from *the Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. II, pp. 3 and 5.

2 *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. I, part 1, Introductory, p. 156.

They are numerous and voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the Buranjis was an indispensable qualification in an Assamese gentleman, and every family of distinction, and specially the Government and public officers, kept the most minute records of historical events, prepared by the learned Pundits of the country."[1]

Of these Buranjis, a few have been recovered while many others are still in the possession of ancient families. They are written in fast-coloured ink on polished strips of the bark of *Saci* (*Aquilaria Agallocha*) tree. We may classify these chronicles under three main heads, confining our remarks to those which we have ourselves seen and gone through:

1. Desultory chronicles of the Hindu kings of Kāmarūpa, from Bhagadatta to the conquest of Assam by the Ahoms, a Shan tribe, in 1228 A.C.
2. Chronicles of the Ahom kings of Assam from 1228 to the termination of their rule in 1826, continued up to 1838 A.C., or even later.
3. Chronicles of countries other than Assam.

Besides the above three classes there are other chronicles supplementing and amplifying the information found in the former, *viz.*, dynastic archives and chronicles, family histories or Vaṃśāvalīs, chronicles of the religious institutions or Satria Buranjis, and metrical chronicles dealing with the lives of religious pontiffs and founders of the numerous religious creeds and monasteries of Assam.[2]

1. *Chronicles of Early Kāmarūpa Rulers.*—History and tradition are interwoven in the texture of these chronicles, and none of them give an exhaustive survey of all the rulers, though attempts are made to indicate the chronology by the mention of succeeding dynasties with the names of their prominent representatives. One feels that the crude chroniclers have committed 'the fault of treating contemporaneous dynasties as successive ones'. Some names occurring here are to be found in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa kings published from

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1 Anandaram Phukan: *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language*, 1855, p. 45ff.

2 For a detailed classification of Assamese Buranjis see S. K. Bhuyan's *New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources*, published in the *Islamic Culture*, July, 1928, pp. 324-27.

time to time in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Epigraphia Indica.*[1]

According to these chronicles, the earliest kings of Assam or Kāmarūpa was Mahiraṅga-dānava, son of Brahma, who had his capital at Moiroka near Gauhati. He was succeeded by Hatakāsur, Sambarāsur and Ratnāsur. The last king was killed by Viṣṇu, who installed Narakāsur on the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa. After the death of Naraka in the hands of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the great Bhagadatta of Kurukṣetra fame sat on the throne of Kāmarūpa. Discrepancies are noticeable in the enumeration of the successors of Bhagadatta, and we come across the following names : Bhagadatta's son Dharmapāla, his son Kāmapāla, his son Pṛthvipāla, and numerous other kings of the Bhagadatta line, extending over nineteen generations, each ruler reigning for a period of 105 to 125 years. Then came a king of another dynasty, named Mādhava, whose son Lakṣmīpāla invaded Gauḍa, and died after a reign of 74 years. Lakṣmīpāla's son Subāhu, Savaṅga in some chronicles, detained the horse let loose by Rājā Vikramāditya in connection with his Aśvamedha sacrifice. Vikramāditya invaded Prāgjyotiṣpura, and rescued his sacrificial horse after vanquishing Subāhu, who then retired to the Himalayas with his wife and children. He was succeeded by his minister Sumati, though he had a son, Subala, who joined his father in his penances. There were 21 kings of the dynasty of Mādhava. Then a Kṣatriya named Jitari, who belonged to the Dravida country, occupied the throne of Kāmarūpa and assumed the name Dharmapāla, and brought to Assam several families of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas from Gauḍa and Kanauj. Dharmapāla's son Śatānik, also known as Ratnapāla or Raktasiṃha, invaded the Gauḍa kingdom, and was succeeded by his son Somapāla. The Kṣatriya dynasty founded by Jitāri ruled for eight, according to some manuscripts, seventeen generations, the last being Rāmacandra or Pratāpasiṃha, whose son through Candraprabhā, named Śaśāṅka or Arimatta, became ruler of all the four *pīṭhas* of Kāmarūpa,—Ratna, Kāma, Svarṇa and Saumara. Arimatta constructed a huge rampart, which is known as Vaidyargarh up to this day ; he was defeated by

1 The copper-plate grants of the following kings of Kāmarūpa were published in the JASB for 1840, 1894, 1897 and 1898 respectively :—Vanamāladeva, Balavarma, Indrapāla, Ratnapāla ; those of Vaidyadeva, Vallabhadeva and Bhāskaravarma in the *Epigraphia Indica* of 1894, 1898, 1899 and 1914 respectively.

the invader Phingua of the royal family of Kamata, who had learned the vulnerable point in the war-methods of Arimatta from the latter's wife Raktamālā. Phingua murdered Raktamālā, but he himself was killed by Arimatta's son Raktasiṃha or Gajaṅka, who then ascended the throne of his father. Gajaṅka was succeeded by his son Sukaraṅka, and the latter by Mṛgāṇka. Arimatta's descendants ruled for four generations, for the period of 240 years, from *śaka* 1160 to 1400. Mṛgāṅka was childless, and he died of consumption as a punishment for carrying on secret liason with a Brāhmaṇa woman. With Mṛgāṅka, the long line of Hindu rulers of Assam came to an end. Kāmarūpa then became divided into numerous principalities, governed by the Barabhuyans and others who were gradually subdued by the Ahoms. The kingdom was invaded by Hussain Shah, Badshah of Gauḍa. Cooch Behar then rose into prominence under Viśvasiṃha in the first half of the sixteenth century.[1]

The above synopsis, which has been based on manuscript chronicles, without any attempt to divest the narrative of its native crudeness, will convince the reader that a systematic attempt was made in old Assam to record at least the traditions, which have been regarded as a subsidiary source of history, specially when they receive corroboration from other authoritative records, such as inscriptions. The original narrative of the Buranjis might have been drawn from written records which have now been lost, and which may eventually come to light when a more systematic, vigorous and organised attempt is made to recover and examine all the manuscripts lying in the archives of Assamese families. Epigraphic records, hitherto discoverd, tend more to corroborate in substance than to contradict the account given above, making ample allowance for the absence of the critical spirit which is mainly a modern product. At least, it has not been proved that any of the facts is of doubtful authenticity except from the chronological point of view.

Inscriptional evidence helps us to trace the following rulers of

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1 This account of the early Kāmarūpa rulers is based on two India Office manuscripts, transcripts of which are in the library of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati. I have also consulted Haliram Dhekial Phukan's (father of Anandaram quoted *ante*) *History of Assam* in Bengali published in 1829. Phukan appears to have drawn his materials from ms. chronicles of the class described in this paper.

Kāmarūpa: Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta, interval,[1] Puṣyavarman, Samudravarman, Balavarman I, Kalyāṇavarman, Gaṇapativarman, Bhāskaravarman, interval, Susthitavarman *alias* Mṛgāṇka, Suprasthitavarman, Bhāskaravarman, interval, Śālastambha, Vigrahastambha, Pālakastambha, Vijayastambha, interval (?), Śrī-Hariś, interval, Pralambha, Harjjara, Vanamālā, Jayamālā, Balavarman II, interval, Tyāgasiṃha, Brahmapāla, Ratnapāla, Purandarapāla, interval, Tiṣyadeva, Vaidyadeva. The non-recurrence of most of these names in the chronicles may be due to the following reasons: First, the epigraphic texts were composed by learned scholars under the strict supervision of ministers to be finally approved by the monarch, and in consultation with authentic dynastic records, where laudatory exaggerations may creep in, as in the case of the Mandasor Inscrption of Yaśodharman[2] but never an inaccuracy with regard to the names of persons or places. As a reward for his labour the composer's name occasionally goes down to posterity being engraved in the concluding part of the inscription, like Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Harisena of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta. The kings are mentioned by their honorific appellations, rather than by their popular titles, except on very rare occasions, when the popular name had some widespread significance as in the case of Bhāskaravarman's father Susthitavarman, whose alternative name Mṛgānka also figures in the Nidhanpur copper-plate, a title which Haṃsavega mentioned before Emperor Harṣavardhana.[3] The chronicles of the early period mainly written for popular instruction generally inserted the names by which the monarchs were known widely among their subjects. Arimatta, who like king Arthur is the central figure of an extensive cycle of legends, is never known as Śaśāṅka, which name occurs curiously in one chronicle only. So we believe some of the chronicle kings of Kāmarūpa may be identical with the sovereigns of the epigraphic records. Secondly, the inscriptions hitherto discovered do not help us to trace the missing links; and intervals of hundreds of years, as in the case of Vajradatta and Puṣyavarman,

1 According to Yuan Chwang, the dynasty of Bhagadatta had been ruling for 3,000 years when he visited Kāmarūpa; so the interval between Vajradatta and Puṣyavarman may be roughly computed at 2,600 years.

2 Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 328.

3 Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*, tr. Cowell and Thomas.

remain still unbridged. The chronicle kings might have reigned in these intervals.

Now let us turn to the epigraphic corroborations of the chronicle account. In all the inscriptions and Hindu classics, Bhagadatta is regarded as the founder of the dynasty of kings, known after his name, and known also as the Bhauma or Kaumra dynasty.[1] The chronicles give Dharmapāla as the name of Bhagadatta's successor, against Vajradatta in the inscriptions. Dharmapāla is a generic title, being assumed also by the first Dravidian king of Kāmarūpa, Jitāri. Vajradatta might have been known also as Dharmapāla, which has been used by our traditionalist chronicler, leaving the more accurate dynastic name Vajradatta to the official composer.

Another king of Kāmarūpa, Subāhu, is said to have intercepted the sacrificial horse of Vikramāditya, evidently a powerful ruler of Northern India. As this tradition has a more general interest we will scrutinise it somewhat minutely. The generic character of the name *Vikramāditya* has now been established beyond question. But who was this particular Vikramāditya who vanquished the Kāmarūpa king, Subāhu, the last king of the post-Bhagadatta dynasty? There are four recorded conflicts between Kāmarūpa and rulers of Northern India.

(*a*) Kāmarūpa was one of the kingdoms whose rulers, *Pratyanta-nṛpatis*, fulfilled the imperious commands, and obeyed the orders of the Indian Napoleon, Samudragupta, as we learn from the Allahabad Inscription, which however does not give any account of the conquest or subjugation of Kāmarūpa beyond mere reference to the event. It is a well-known fact that the Imperial Guptas favoured the recrudescence of Hinduism, and that Samudragupta, who has been styled *Aśvamedha-Parākrama* in a coin, restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice, which was in abeyance perhaps since the time of Puṣyamitra. The conqueror performed the ceremony with great splendour, and millions of gold and silver coins were distributed among Brāhmaṇas. An inscribed stone figure of the horse is now in the Lucknow Museum, though the inscription which was visible before is now almost effaced.[2] Samudragupta's son Candragupta II is regarded as one of the Indian Vikramādityas, during whose reign

1 *Bhauma* is applied to a ruler of Naraka's race in Ratnapāla's grant, while *Kaumra* is used as the name of the dynasty to which Vajradatta belonged in Indrapāla's grant. Vide JASB, 1897, p. 124.

2 Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 288.

Kālidāsa is supposed to have flourished. The poet's description of Raghu's victory over the Kāmarūpa king,[1] who was vanquished in his own territory by the imperial invader, might be an echo of the actual defeat of the ruler of Assam in the hands of the father of the poet's patron. It is one of the most rational historical mistakes in record that our chronicles transferred the title Vikramāditya from son to father; and besides, who knows that the Indian Napoleon himself was not a Vikramāditya?

(*b*) According to the Mandasor Stone Inscription, Yaśodharman extended his territories up to the Lohitya. The achievements of this ruler as recorded in the inscription have been held as an instance of panegyric grandiloquence; and his name is not mentioned in any other contemporary document, except a few inscriptions, which would be impossible if he had been a Vikramāditya.

(*c*) The Aphsad Inscription refers to the victory of Mahāsenagupta of the later Gupta family over Susthitavarman, the fame of which heroic deed was heard on the banks of the Lohitya during the reign of Mahāsenagupta's grandson Ādityasena, some seventy or eighty years after. Discarding the theory that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari king, and taking him to be a Kāmarūpa ruler, father of Bhāskaravarman,[2] we have no additional data to connect the Mahāsenagupta-Susthitavarman contest with our chronicler's Vikramāditya-Subāhu campaign.

(*d*) According to the account of the chronicle, the last king of Naraka's line was ousted by Mādhava, who had 20 successors, the last being Subāhu who was defeated by a Vikramāditya. The copper-plate of Ratnapāla (JASB, 1898, p. 114) states that Naraka's dynasty was overthrown by Śālastambha, a great king of the Mlecchas. Śālastambha had 20 successors the last being Tyāgasiṃha. The grant of Vanamāladeva (JASB, 1840), says that Pralambha, father of Harjjaravarman,[3] destroyed his enemies and took action against those who were enemies to his ancestors, from Śālastambha to Śrīharṣa. In the inscription of Jayadeva Paracakrakāma, the Licchavi king of Nepal, Harṣadeva is mentioned as father of Rājya-

1 *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto 4, vv. 81-85.

2 The name Susthitavarman does not occur in any Maukhari coin or record.

3 In the rock inscription at Tezpur, of the reign of Harjjaravarman, where the Gupta era 510 has been used, corresponding to 828-29 A.C.

mati, born of the royal family of Bhagadatta, a compliment which has not been paid to her father Harṣadeva, probably because Rājyamati's relationship with the Bhagadatta family was derived from the female line.[1] One thing is clear from this inference, that Rājyamati's mother etc. being of the family of Bhagadatta, Harṣadeva must be of a non-Bhāgadatta family, a conclusion which agrees with the evidence of the chronicle account and Vanamāla's grant read with that of Ratnapāla. Prof. S. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Aiyangar surmises that Harṣadeva of the Nepal Inscription is the same as Śrī-Harṣa of Vanamāla's grant. The learned historian points to the possibility of Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa and lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala being the Gauḍa ruler who was defeated by Yaśovarman of Kanauj, as described in the Prākṛt poem *Gauḍavaho*, i.e., Gauḍavadha or slaying of the Bengal ruler.[2] Yaśovarman was a veritable Vikramāditya, being patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, author of the *Gauḍavaho*. May we not take the Vikramāditya-Subāhu conflict to be identical with the Yaśovarman-Harṣadeva war?

The chronicles have preserved a large mass of folklore which is still to be found in oral traditions among the people, some being associated with many ancient sites and ruins of the Assam valley. We hesitate to dismiss the account as untrustworthy, for the paucity of data with which they can be verified, and which may be forthcoming when long-continued investigations will place at our disposal a larger volume of facts. There are instances where tradition has preceded history. I will cite only one instance. An historical ballad procured by me from a villager, dealing with the adventure of Badancandra Barphukan, the Ahom Viceroy of Gauhati, who brought over the Burmese to Assam in 1817, gives the picture of an Assamese princess, Rangili by name, the queen of King Bodowapaya of Ava.[3] Accord-

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1 The inscription was deciphered by Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji, in the *Ind. Antiquary*. vol, ix. The date of the inscrp. corresponds to A.C. 758-59.

2 *Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India, J.I.H.*, Dec. 1926, p. 327. The two questions, 1st., whether Susthitavarman of the Aphsad Inscription was king of Kāmarūpa ; 2nd. whether Harṣadeva is of non-Bhagadatta origin, discussed in S. K. Bhuyan's "Copper-plate and Stone Inscriptions of Old Assam".

3 *Barphukanar Git*, ed. by S. K. Bhuyan, reviewed in JRAS, 1925, pp. 763-768.

ing to the ballad, Rangili was responsible for securing for Badancandra the good graces of the Burmese monarch, who lent the supplicant a strong Burmese detachment with which he returned to Assam. This episode was never before known, not being mentioned in any history published up to date. Subsequent investigations proved that Rangili's intercession was an historical fact, which received further corroboration from the Diary of Capt. Hiram Cox, the British Resident at Ava.[1]

With regard to these chronicles, the duty of the future investigator will be to extricate the historical substance from the large mass of narratives of a traditional character. Whatever might be their value, they at least help us to sketch the outline of the ancient history of Kāmarūpa provisionally, and not entirely in an unconnected form.

2. *Chronicles of the Ahom Rulers*, 1228-1838. Our claim that Assam is an exception to the complaint made by Western scholars regarding the paucity of historical literature among the Hindus is based upon chronicles dealing with the events of the Ahom period. The Ahoms were a member of the great Shan race, to which the peoples of Burma aud Siam also belong. The Siamese and the Burmese have maintained voluminous chronicles of their countries, known as *P'ongsawadans* and *Azawins* respectively, which show their historical instincts, though not critical according to our modern conception. The introduction of historiography into Assam by the Ahoms was one of the greatest cultural contributions which they made to their land of adoption. At the same time, there is room for doubt that the contact of Assam with Kāśmīr, the only other Hindu country which can boast of any historical literature, through king Meghavāhana, the consort of the Kāmarūpa princess Amṛtaprabhā,[2] and through the invasion of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, might also be responsible for the historical predilections of the Assamese people. The question has not yet been finally settled.

Whatever may be the contributory factors, Assam possesses a voluminous mass of chronicles. They are known as *Buranjis*, which is an Ahom word, literally meaning 'a store that teaches the ignorant.' They were compiled under the supervision of government officials, and the chroniclers were given free access to all the necessary state papers,

1 *Rangili*, by Benudhar Sarma, published in *Bāhi*, vol. xv, p. 492.

2 Rājataraṅgiṇī, tr. A. Stein, Book II, vv. 147-150; III, vv. 9-10.

including despatches from local administrators and commanders engaged in civil and military operations, diplomatic correspondence, court minutes recorded day to day, as well as proceedings of important judicial trials. Attached to the secretariat there was an army of scribes under an officer called *Likhakar Barua* or superintendent of the department of writers. Buranjis were also compiled by the nobles under their immediate supervision or by themseles. Copies of chronicles were taken by persons who wanted to preserve in their archives a representative collection of *puthis* or manuscripts. The result was that every family of distinction managed to have a Buranji in its possession.[1]

A knowledge of history was an indispendable factor in the cultural equipment of an Assamese gentleman. It was a part of the training imparted to the children of princes and nobles. A few pages of a Buranji were recited in royal marriages. It was even believed that the future could be ascertained by consulting hand-written chronicles. All this tended to convert the secular Buranjis into religious scriptures. In A.C. 1803, an Ahom officer named Śrīnāth Duara Barbarua had a history compiled of the kings of Tungkhungiya dynasty, who reigned from 1682 to the termination of Ahom rule. The preamble to this chronicle testifies to the esoteric veneration with which Buranjis were looked upon in old Assam:

"Salutation to Śrīkṛṣṇa! Salutation to Gaṇeśa! Salutation to Pārvatī! This is the Buranji compiled in *Śaka* 1725 under the orders of the Duara Barbarua. Keep it secretly. Do not give it to your son if you have no confidence in him. Paṇḍits have prohibited the betrayal of princes, and if trust is violated it amounts to an insult shown to one's mother. So keep it confidential; more specially it is an unfathomable *Śāstra*; who ever finds its end? Even great sages become victims of mistakes; so Paṇḍits should not at random find fault with this book, for if one is bent upon detecting blemishes he will find many. This is the chronicle of the Swargadeos or kings of the Tungkhungiya dynasty. This history was written on Thursday, the twenty-second of Phālgun, on the *Pañcamī Tithi*."[2]

The chronicles are mutually corroborative and supplementary.

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1 The subject of Assamese historiography has been discussed in S. K. Bhuyan's *Ahomar Din*, pp. 89-92.

2 This chronicle is being translated into English by S. K. Bhuyan for the Assam Government.

Inaccuracies and mis-statements are rare except those arising from scribal ignorance or idiosyncrasy. The portions relating to the conflicts with the Muhammadans are materially corroborated in the corresponding Persian chronicles.[1] Facts are mentioned accurately to the hour and the minute. We cite two instances from a manuscript chronicle, part of which was published in the first Assamese magazine, *Arunodoi* in 1852;

(i) "On Saturday, the 13th of Śrāvan, in the year 1565 *Śaka*, on the sixth *daṇḍa* at night, the queen said to the brother of the king—'It is your son who killed my son. I will slay him in turn. So bring him out.

(ii) "Not being able to disregard the request of the Dangarias (i.e., the three ministers), the Baruas and the other officers, the Kuonria prince ascended the throne on the morning of Saturday the 13th of Bhādra, *Śaka* 1560."

In the process of conserving the deeds of the people with a remarkable realism, the Buranjis have become endowed with human interest, instead of being dry-as-dust chronicles of court-events. We shall quote an example from a voluminous chronicle of the reign of Lakṣmī Siṃha, 1769-1780. A wordly-minded Vaiṣṇavite Ahom noble, being importuned to accept initiatory *mantras* from a Śākta Gosain or religious head, replied as follows:

"I am the son of an Ahom, what mantras have we got? We are all bewildered by the bait of worldliness. If we take mantras and sit down for a moment to utter them, the children will cry, the womenfolk of the house will break the silence of the atmosphere by their gossips, our retainers and tenants will give out a vociferous howl, commands will come from the king to proceed to his presence at once. So, how will one bring his mantras to perfection? So we, the sons of the Ahoms, have all agreed to cherish the religion as propounded in the Bhāgavat. So, why should we be offered the mantras?"

Patriotic utterances are not rare in these chronicles. The Moamaras, a Vaiṣṇava sect, were once insulted by a Śākta sovereign, Queen Phuleśvarī, consort regnant of Śiva Siṃha (1714-44). They

1 Some instances of the confirmation of Assamese accounts by Persian chronicles were mentioned in S. K. Bhuyan's *Mirjumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, published in the "Journal of Indian History", Dec., 1926.

marshalled their forces and raised the standard of revolt, and thereby caused a civil war in the country which had a very disastrous consequence. Lakṣmī Siṃha fled from the capital and took shelter in an old fortress with his ministers and dependants. The nobles offered him two alternatives, one to surrender to the rebels and the other to proceed to Lower Assam with a view to collect an army to oust the insurgents. The Chief Executive Officer, Kīrticandra Barbarua championed the second proposal, and said:

"The duty of a Kṣatriya is to fight as long as there is life in his body. If victorious he enjoys the powers and blessings of sovereignty; if dead he goes to heaven. If he desists from fighting he earns disgrace in a life hereafter, while in this world he has to lead a life of subservience to others. As he has perpetually to carry out the commands of others, he becomes subjected to fright, humiliation and pain. He has to live in eternal solicitation of death. This is certainly a dire distress. When a king becomes subjected to the monarch of another country, diplomatic measures should be adopted so that the conqueror may return to his own kingdom. On his retirement the subdued prince should remain in preparedness with his army; and when opportunities present themselves for action he should act promptly and reinstate himself in his lost suzerain power .....The wicked have never consistently maintained their vows of friendship with the pious. The wicked have no forgiveness and piety. So none of the king's adherents will be spared by the rebels. If nothing untoward happens to His Majesty, he will at least have some mental anxiety and displeasure; his nobles and followers also will share the same; it will then be impossible for the king to collect adherents like ourselves. A person acquires a petty job by parting with large sums of money and other articles; still he is reluctant to give it up. If anybody asserts that the Moamaras will retire to the forest after attaining the position of a *Rāja-cakravartin*, Your Majesty should by no means believe in such words."[1]

The warning of the Barbarua was ignored, with the result that the rebels seized the persons of the king and his nobles, and ran the government in their name for some time. Kīrticandra was pressed to death under two wooden cylinders; and the country became plunged in anarchy and confusion.

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1 See *An Assamese Nur Jahan* by S. K. Bhuyan, reviewed in JRAS, July, 1927.

Let us quote a patriotic speech uttered under more favourable circumstances. The western limit of the ancient Kāmarūpa was extended up to the river Karatoyā. In course of time Kāmarūpa became much reduced in size. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Ahoms chased the invader Turbak as far as the Karatoyā, but for diplomatic reasons the boundary was pushed further east, and rested on the river Mānaha, opposite Goālpārā. The greatest of the Ahom rulers, Rudra Siṃha, 1696-1714, cherished the ambition of restoring the limits of the once extensive kingdom of Kāmarūpa, and made colossal preparations for the same enterprise. We shall quote an extract from the proceedings of the war-council, convened specially to discuss the scheme, as we have got them recorded in a manuscript chronicle :

"Barpatra Gohain's speech : The territories bordering on the Karatoyā are ours. The enemies have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large fleet (Nawarra) and naval soldiers, and abundance of war-materials. If the king orders, the enemy will be crushed and destroyed.

"The Buragohain then added :—The king's proposal is reasonable, and what the Barpatra Gohain says is equally reasonable. The ancestors of our king had, by virtue of their prowess and courage, crossed the boundaries of Raṅgamatī, and washed their swords at the Karatoyā-Gaṅgā. They found it inconvenient to fix the boundaries of Assam at the Karatoyā, so they made the river Manas the western limit of Assam, and established a garrison at Gauhati. In the reign of Jayadhvaja Siṃha, there was an abundance of provisions and men, and still he earned the name of the *Deserting-King*.[1] Arms and ammunitions, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent; the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation, they alone can infuse into the immobile war-provisions a dynamic force."[2]

The Ahom conception of sovereignty is nowhere better illustrated

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1 Jayadhvaja Siṃha was the king of Assam during whose reign the country was overrun by the Moguls under Mirjumla. The king left the capital and took shelter in the hills of Namrup.

2 This extract was embodied in S. K. Bhuyan's *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, published in J.I.H., 1926, pp. 372-3.

than in the speech made by Sonai Buragohain, the Prime minister, at the coronation of Pramatta Siṃha, 1744-51:

"The Barphukan led the new king by the hand to the throne, and said:—'The king's brother has now become the king. All people, assembled here including the Baruas and the Phukans should now bow down before the newly anointed king.' Then the assembly knelt before the king and paid their homage to him.

"The Buragohain then turned to the king and said,—"The Almighty God has conferred upon you the exalted office of a king. The affording of shelter to the pious, the punishment of the wicked, and vigilant investigation into the happiness and misery of your subjects, have now become your sole duty. Just as one sheltered by a huge tree becomes free from heat and rain, so during the kingship of your elder brother Your Majesty was not affected by the piety or sin of your subjects. From today God will hold you responsible for the virtue and wickedness of the creatures under your sway. Your Majesty will have to discriminate between actions which are good and those which produce evil."

The chronicles contain many accounts which are valuable to historians of Assam-Muhammadan conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of them are interspersed with copies of diplomatic letters that were exchanged between the Ahom and Mughal courts. Mir Jumla wrote to Aurangzeb:

From Dacca.—"Assam has occupied Kāmarūpa, and is contemplating to invade us. My scheme of subduing the country of the Maghs cannot be completed within a short time. So in the meantime I propose to invade Cooch Behar and Assam. I am awaiting the orders of the Emperor." Aurangzeb replied as follows,—"I want you to invade Cooch Behar and Assam and to consolidate our supremacy there."

I shall now reproduce an extract illustrating the diplomatic negotiations between the Mughal General Rama Siṃha and the Ahom commander Lacit Barphukan. According to the treaty concluded between Allah Yar Khan and Momai Tamuli Barbarua during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, Gauhati belonged to the Mughals. But after the departure of Mir Jumla, Gauhati was wrested back by the Ahoms. Rama Siṃha sent a message to Lacit to the following effect:

"The Phukan should remember the old treaty and give us back the fort of Gauhati. Then only the cows and the Brāhmaṇas will be saved.

I am the son of Rājā Mukunda (Man Siṃha), and the Phukan is an exalted personage being the son of the Barbarua. If he has no war-provisions, let him write to me, and I will furnish him with the necessary materials. Anyhow our brother Phukan should give us a fight at least for an hour."

Having received the above message Lacit Phukan sent the following reply through the Mughal messenger Firuz Khan:

"Well Firuz Khan, tell my friend the Raja of Amber, that though he cites the authority of the treaty between Allah Yar Khan and my father the Barbarua, yet Gauhati and Kāmarūpa do not belong to the Mughals. We have taken possession of the place by turning out the Koches. It was through mere chance that it fell into the hands of the Mughals for a few seasons. Now God has given it back to us. When He pleases to give it to our brother-sovereign (Bhai-raja) he will then get Gauhati, otherwise not. To his request for a fight for one hour, I would like to say that we are prepared to fight as long as there is life in our body. He has besides expressed his willingness to give us war-materials; he has come over long distance undergoing fatigue in his journey,and the provisions may be inadequate for his own purposes. Our Heavenly King has nothing unavailable for him. If the Rajput Raja has fallen short of articles, let him ask me and I will try to oblige him."

The engagements which ensued between the Mughals and Ahoms did not prove advantageous to the invaders. The battle of Saraighat witnessed the crushing defeat of the Mughal forces. Lacit Phukan, though in high fever, personally conducted the operations, and Ram Siṃha could not but give vent to his admiration for the manner in which the war was conducted.[1]

The above extracts translated literally from manuscript chronicles will convey some idea of the nature of their contents. They are written in Assamese prose of a very racy character, though Buranjis written in the now practically obsolete Ahom language are also met with here and there. The Vaiṣṇava literature of Assam is artistic in its style and subject-matter, but it does not throw much light on the actual life of the people except in an indirect manner. The Buranjis have enshrined the sorrows and sufferings of the people, which, when widely read, will be a revelation. There are amorous intrigues and courtly romances, idylls of pastoral life, outbursts of patriotism and

1 Vide *J.I.H.*, 1926, pp. 373-4.

valour, critical analysis of complex political situations and epic descriptions of war and triumph. We only wish that our fellow-workers in and outside Assam had known more of these Buranjis, of which, not only the Assamese but all people of Hindustan may rightly feel proud.

Recently a list of the Buranjis was made, and their number came to one hundred and fifty. Besides, there are many more in the possession of the ancient families. Many Buranjis have been destroyed by fire and water. Kīrticandra, the chief executive officer of Rājeśvara Siṃha, 1751-69, destroyed a large number suspected as having reference to his obscure descent.[1] The civil war of the Moamaras as well as the depredations of the Burmese devastated the country, and people left their homes and took shelter in forests or remote unaffected areas. This dislocation was responsible for the loss of many manuscripts and relics including chronicles. The numerous Buranjis which have survived these disasters only point to the very extensive scale on which they were used in the country.

3. *Chronicles of Countries outside Assam.*—The historical instinct of the Assamese people led them to take interest in the events of countries other than their own. So we have in Assam many chronicles throwing light on the history of neighbouring and remote countries. A chronicle of Burdwan was recovered some years ago and exhibited in a literary conference wherefrom it disappeared mysteriously.

By far the most noteworthy chronicles of this class are the Assamese histories of the Delhi Sultanate, dealing with the reigns of the greater Timurids, and their predecessors. They are commonly known as *Padshah-Buranjis*, and of them I have seen two and heard of two others. One of them is a manuscript in the possession of Lady Buckingham, the widow of Sir James Buckingham, some time Superintendent of the Amguri Tea Estates in Upper Assam, of which a transcript was prepared by Mr. B. Sarma some years ago for the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati; and the other was found by me in 1925 in the godown of the Gauhati branch of the American Baptist Mission, along with other chronicles of the Ahom reign.[2]

For historians of Muhammadan India the *Padshah-Buranjis* pre-

1 This subject has been elaborately dealt with in S. K. Bhuyan's *History of Rājeśvar Singha, Bā̃hi*, vols. 15 and 16.

2 For a very detailed examination of the *Padshah-Buranjis*, see

sent an unexplored field of materials. They were mainly compiled in the seventeenth century when Assam was invaded by the Mughals more frequently than before, their primary object being to acquaint the Assamese with the history and manners of the invaders, an intimate knowledge of which was an essential factor in encountering the enemy with success. The authors took as their materials the reports of reliable witnesses as well as written records. There is only one date mentioned, and the chronology is maintained by reference to the reigns of successive sovereigns which have no fear of being confused or misunderstood. One of the reporters whose testimony is embodied by the chronicler was Muhammad Ali of the territory of Siliman Padshah of Farranga-Bundar.[1] He was a great scholar, being highly proficient in Arabic and Persian *loghats* or vocabularies. He was a tutor to the children of Nawab Mansur Khan, who was Fauzadar of Gauhati from 1678 to 1682. Another reporter was Paramānanda Vairāgī of Gokulpur in Brindaban, who exercised almost a supernatural influence upon the Assamese king Udayāditya, 1670-73, during whose reign the Rajput General Rāma Siṃha invaded Assam. The author refers to some chronicles of the reign of Shah Jahan in the chapter devoted to that Emperor.

The language of the book is Assamese, but unlike other Buranjis, there is a large admixture of words of Arabic and Persian origin, which have been all used in their appropriate context, such as, *zabah, gor, khuda, nikah, tamam, vilayat, haramzada, haramkhor, takhth, fatiha doa-sapasi, takid, muzra, baghal, dakhil, padshah-hazrat, behaya, amal, inam, loghat, zahar, waqinavis, khan-khana, sipar-salah, amir-ul omrao, mansabdar, darbar, wazir, qazi, dewan, nazur-navis, panchhazari, dewankhas, amkhas, farman, sirpao,* etc.

The chronicle shows a wonderful knowledge, on the part of the author, of the traditions and customs of the Muhammadan world, which tempts us to think that he was either a Muhammadan scholar or a Hindu ambassador who visited Mughal courts in connection with the numerous embassies and diplomatic missions.

S. K. Bhuyan's *New Lights on Mughal India from Assamese Sources*, published in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, July 1928 to July 1929.

1 The chronicle gives a detailed account of Secunderabad, and its conquest by Siliman Padshah of Farranga-Bundar, who can be identified with Manucci's Siliman Khan, Governor of Porto Novo. Vide Irvine's edition of *Storia do Mogor*, vol. III, p. 370.

The *Padshah-Buranjis* deal with the establishment of Muhammadan supremacy in India after the defeat of Pithor Raja. The conqueror introduces reforms into the system of administration, though he leaves social problems alone. The army is properly organised on the *mansabdari* system. During the reign of his successors Timur Lane invaded the country, he having risen to power through the mediation of a faquir. The chronicle gives a picturesque account of Timur's life as a shepherd in Central Asia. Not much is written about Babar. Humayun's throne is usurped by Sher Khan, afterwards Sher Shah. The Emperor flees to Persia, where the Sultan of that country takes the fugitive into his confidence after a series of trials which are fully described. The magnanimous Sher Shah retains the ex-Emperor's wife, Hamida Banu Begam or Miriam-Makkani, and Prince Akbar in their accustomed splendour. Humayun fails to regain his throne even with the help of Persian soldiers. Sher Shah invites Humayun to reoccupy his lost throne at Delhi, while he himself retires to Agra. The details of Akbar's reign are omitted. Jahangir conquers Secunderabad after long efforts. Its forts are impregnable, being surrounded by a moat as wide as a river where monstrous crocodiles and sea-horses were let loose which devoured the imperial soldiers. Shah Jahan interviews Prithive Shah of Kandour, whose country was one of the most prosperous kingdoms of India. The Emperor peacefully distributes power among his four sons, but they subvert the arrangement in no time. Mumtaz Mahal, afraid of the inevitable sight of a fratricidal conflict among her spirited sons, dies by self-immolation. Aurangzeb slays Dara and Murad and ascends the throne. His chief helper in his ambitious design was Mir Jumla who had given the prince 18 crores of rupees. Mir Jumla, son of Mirza Hazru, exasperates his master, the Sultan of Golkunda. The Nawab flees from the Deccan and joins Aurangzeb. On the latter's ascension to the throne of Delhi, the Nawab is deputed with the Emperor's son to pursue Sultan Shuja. The prince accompanying Mir Jumla deserts his rank, and joins Shuja whose daughter he marries. Mir Jumla then marches against Cooch Behar and Assam without express orders from the Emperor, as he thinks that the Arakan campaign could not be undertaken immediately, and his army would be better employed in the meantime in an expedition against Assam whose ruler had encroached upon Mughal territory and re-occupied Gauhati. The Emperor ratifies the action of the Nawab. The general compels the Assam Raja to enter

into a treaty favourable to the invaders, and returns with large treasures and a princess for his Imperial Master but he dies on his way. His son Masudami Khan (Md. Amin Khan) appears before the Emperor who expresses *sincere* regret at the death of such a great general. The account of Mir Jumla is vivified by human touches. As commanded by Aurangzeb he interviews the Emperor's maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, Governor of Bengal. In the interview Mir Jumla is discourteously treated by Shaista Khan, being given presents worthy of a panch-hazari Nawab. Mir Jumla came home broken-hearted and said to his confidants,—"The reputation which I have acquired during these seventy years of my life has all been smashed in the hands of Shaista Khan." Later on when Mir Jumla was taken to task for the desertion of the prince to the camp of Shuja, the Nawab replied to the Emperor,—"I would like to inform His Imperial Majesty, that if I, Mir Jumla, only shake the sleeves of my cloak, dozens of such Padshah-jadas will come out instantly"! Prominence has been given to Mir Jumla by the chronicler because he was the most outstanding figure in the Assam-Mughal relations of those days.

A chapter is devoted to the Nawabs of Dacca, Man Singha, Mushaf Khan, Burhan Khan Koka, Islam Khan, Ajam Khan, Sultan Shuja, Shaista Khan, Fede Khan Koka, and the Prince Azamtara, the son of the Emperor. The last of them neglects the duties of government, spending most of his time in sports. He loses the jewel of his head which is most ominous. The Sultan attempts to gag the waqinavis but fails. The Prince deputes Mansur Khan to wrest Gauhati from its treacherous viceroy Laluk Barphukan.

The careers of the three Rajas, Man Singha or Māndhātā, Mirza Jaya Siṃha and Rāma Siṃha of Amber are described in full. Man Singha fights most of the battles of Akbar and Jahangir, which were directed against refractory Hindu rulers. He sees through the motive which goads his Imperial masters to keep him always engaged in war. Jaya Siṃha subjugates Eastern India after a long struggle. The Raja of Cooch Behar agrees to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees to the Emperor during the Naoroz celebrations, which afford an opportunity to the chronicler to paint the gaiety and splendour of the occasion. Jaya Siṃha's ultimatums to refractory princes were worded as follows :

"Have you heard of the prowess of Emperor Shah Jahan? Have you also heard the rattling of my invincible sword as well as that

of Māndhātā ? If you have, then come promptly and seek our friendship; or otherwise be prepared for war."

After a protracted campaign where Muhammadan generals could not achieve much success, the Rajput prince was deputed against Kandarpa Simha, the Raja of Sewa. The royal hero attended the Mughal court, and gave the following reply to Aurangzeb's proposal for submission: "I cannot deviate from my determination to shake off your vassalage, nor can I accept your proposal even on pain of death."[1] Rāma Simha, the host of the undaunted chief, came to the latter's rescue. A son was born to Rāma Simha; on that occasion he used to send out presents in big boxes of copper and brass. He released Sewa Raja, put him in a box and sent him back to his kingdom. Rāma Simha did the same with the Sikh Guru, Teg Bahadur, for whom the former was a surety. The Emperor said to himself—"Rāma Simha's actions have become intolerable. But I cannot take any drastic measure against him remembering what his forefathers have done for our Empire. There is also the fear that if Rāma Simha is punished, he may organise a Rajput clique which will be disastrous to us." The Emperor deputed Rāma Simha to Assam to die in the midst of its poisonous waters, noxious airs and forest-covered hills. The Rajput prince is received very cordially at Dacca by Shaista Khan, an intimate friend of Mirza Raja Jaya Simha.

Besides the narrative details we have specifications of distances from Delhi and Agra to important places in Mughal India; the names of the Rajput-Marhatta chiefs who formed a confederacy under Jaya Simha II or Sewai Jaya Simha of Amber, including Mulahar Rao Holkar, with their quota of soldiers, camels, horses and elephants; and the letters that passed between Jahangir and the rebellious prince Khurram, between Shah Jahan and the Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur, including the famous letter on the receipt of which the Bijapur captains cried words of defiance ending in the despatch of a haughty reply to the Emperor.[2]

Writing on Muhammadan history in a remote corner of India,

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1 The chronicler has evidently combined here the story of Rajah Karan Bhurtiyah of Bikaner, and Śivājī, against both of whom Aurangzeb deputed Jaya Simha. Raja Karan was himself sent against Śivājī. See Irvine's *Manucci*, vol. II, pp. 22-23.

2 J. N. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I, p. 256.

our chronicler has committed mistakes here and there. Jalal Hussain is mentioned as the ruler of India during whose time Timur invaded India. We all know it was Muhammad Tughlak. This mistake is due to the confusion with Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, the Keiani prince of Sistan whose army was routed by Timur, during which engagement the conqueror received a wound in his foot which was permanently crippled, and for which he was called Timur-langa or Timur the Lame.[1] Humayun is described as having lost his throne, being ousted by Sher Khan, a slave of a Nawab. Before occupying the throne Sher Khan had to fight several battles with the Emperor, but he could not succeed till an old woman taught him the proper method of attack from the analogy of a dish which must be eaten from the sides and not from the middle. We read in Manucci,—"The old woman laughed heartily, and at the same time taught him (Timur *incognito*) a good lesson, saying, 'You are like Taimur-i-lang, who did not know how to take this counry, for he came right into the middle of it, and had to go out again defeated. If he had begun by attacking the confines, he could in time have made himself master of the whole."[2]

I feel very strongly that if workers in the field of Muhammadan history had access to the virgin materials embodied in the Assamese *Padshah-Buranjis*, they could much appreciate them. They were written from a detached quarter with the help of materials which may be now lost. The testimony of reporters like Muhammad Ali and Gakulpuri would have been recorded in the pages of historians like Minhaj-i-Siraj Jurjani, Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah and Muhammad Amin bin Abu'l Hasan Qazwini, where frequent references are made to the report of reliable witnesses.

Conclusion.—But Assam suffers by being curiously reticent about her past achievements. She is not vocal, and there is not that atmosphere here which leads to cultural intercourse with other countries. The antiquity of Assamese prose literature was unheard of even in Bengal till 1919, when Sir P. C. Roy, after returning from a tour in Assam introduced the fact to his countrymen. Who ever heard of the martyred Princess Jayamatī before it was broadcast throughout the length of India from the pavilion at Pāṇḍavanagar in Dec. 1926? Kāmarūpa played an important part in the history of Nor-

1 Sykes, *Persia*, vol. II.

2 Irvine's ed. of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, p. 100.

thern India. The Emperor Harṣavardhana was proud of the friendship of Kumāra Bhāskaravarman. According to Yuan-Chwang the Kumāra king was himself a man of learning. The colleges of Kāmarūpa attracted students from all quarters. A special school of *Smṛtis* had devoloped here fostered by the penetrating genius of Kāmarūpa Brāhmaṇas. The *Tantras* are said to have originated here as a result of the reconciliation between the demands of the illiterate tribes and the gentle concessions of their Brāhmaṇical neighbours. Assam was one of the few provinces in India which could successfully stem the tide of Mughal invasion. All this is not a mere matter of chance. There was as its strong foundation a culture which permeated the life of the people and which raised the average man to a superior level endowed with a consciousness of patriotism which would never desert him even under the severest temptations. But the glories of Kāmarūpa remain buried because no vigorous investigations have been launched here to discover the treasures and reveal them to the rest of India which may as well be proud of the same.

The fact that the Hindus of Kāmarūpa possess a systematic record of events, which is historical in the true sense of the word, will be of the greatest interest to Indian scholars. It may not be comparative and critical, but it states the bare truth without any embellishment or attempt to hide it. Foul deeds as well as good ones are recorded in all their particulars. Neither the king nor his nobles are spared if they ever perpetraed a wicked deed. A family history written under its auspices is likely to be marked by undue colouring, but contemporary chronicles written in impartial and neutral quarters will help us to test the veracity of the former. Systematic attempts should have been made to publish Buranjis, but hitherto only one Buranji has been published through the efforts of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhati.[1]

SURYYA KUMAR BHUYAN

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1 It may be mentioned that the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, recently established by the Assam Government, with Mr. A. H. W. Bentinck, I.C.S., M.A., (Oxon), C.I.E. as Honorary Provincial Director and Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., M.A. (Oxon) and Prof. S. K. Bhuyan M.A., B.L. as Honorary Assistant Directors, is publishing a number of old Assamese *Buranjis*, edited in the most up-to-date fashion.

The Scope and Development of the Hindu Gaṇita

Modern Classification of the Gaṇita: Bhāskara

The *Gaṇita* means the "Science of Calculation". According to the celebrated Hindu astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarācārya (born 1114 A. C.) it has two main branches: *Pāṭīgaṇita* (or "The Science of Calculation of the Board") and *Bījagaṇita* (or "The Science of Calculation with Elements"). They are also respectively called *Vyakta-gaṇita* ("The Science of Calculation with Knowns") and *Avyakta-gaṇita* ("The Science of Calculation with Unknowns"). The latter corresponds to modern algebra and the former includes arithmetic and geometry (with mensuration).

Ancient Classification

The term *gaṇita* as the name of a science is a very ancient one. It occurs copiously in the Vedic literature. The *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (*c.* 1200 B. C.) gives it the highest place of honour amongst all the sciences which form the *Vedāṅga* (or "Member of the Veda"). "As are the crests on the heads of peacocks, as the gems on the hoods of snakes, so is the *gaṇita* at the top of the sciences known as *Vedāṅga*."[1] There are altogether six *Vedāṅgas*, namely, (1) *śikṣā* ("the science of proper articulation and pronunciation"), (2) *chandas* ("the science of prosody"), (3) *vyākaraṇa* ("grammar"), (4) *nirukta* ("etymological explanation of difficult Vedic words"), (5) *jyotiṣa* ("astronomy") and (6) *kalpa* ("ritual or ceremonial"). *Gaṇita* was then same as *jyotiṣa* and *jyotiṣa* has been defined as "the science of calculation of the time" (*kāla-vijñānaśāstra*).[2] The sacrifice was the prime religious avocation of the Vedic Hindus. The culture of astronomy was chiefly needed to fix the proper time for the sacrifice. The *Kalpa-sūtra* contains, besides other matters of ritual, the rules for the proper construction of sacrificial altars. It was perhaps in this connection that the

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1 *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, 4:

यथा शिखा मयूराणां नागानां मणयो यथा।
तद्वद्वेदाङ्गशास्त्राणां गणितं मूर्द्धनि स्थितम्॥

2 *Ibid.*, 3.

study of problems of geometry, as also arithmetic and algebra, began in ancient India. Geometry was then, indeed, the science of altar-construction. The *Śulva-sūtra* (literally, "The Rules of the Cord" meaning no doubt "the measuring tape") which embodies the knowledge of geometry that the Vedic Hindus had, form a part of the *Kalpa-sūtra*. We thus find that in Vedic India, astronomy on the one hand, and geometry on the other were being cultivated under different circumstances, by different classes of priests having different duties apportioned to them. Arithmetic (including algebra) of course formed necessary adjunct of each. Hence the science of the *gaṇita* in its early stage included astronomy, arithmetic and algebra, but not geometry. It is not improbable that rudiments of geometry, at least so much of it as was indispensable for astronomical purposes, were included in the *gaṇita*. It is not unusual, especially in olden days, to find an element of repetition, oftentimes a lack of proper co-ordination amongst the sciences developing under different circumstances and having different immediate objects before them. However, in those days the *gaṇita* seems to have been classified into two branches, astronomy and arithmetic (including algebra, probably also elementary geometry). In a detailed list of the sciences enumerated in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[1] the former has been specified, very appropriately, as *nakṣatra-vidyā* ("The Science of Knowledge of the Stars") and the latter branch as *rāśi-vidyā* ("The Science of Knowledge of the Numbers"). In the Jaina canonical literature, we have the names *jyotiṣa* and *saṃkhyāna* ("the Science of Numbers") or *gaṇita* and they have always been called *Brāhmaṇa-śāstra*[2]

Value and Importance of Gaṇita

It is ordinarily said that in ancient India no science did ever attain an independent existence and was cultivated for its own sake. Whatever of any science is found in Vedic India, is supposed to have originated and grown as the handmaid of the one or the other of the six "members of the Veda", and consequently with the primary object of helping the Vedic rituals. It is also supposed sometimes that any further culture of a science was somewhat discouraged by the Vedic Hindus in suspicion that they might prove hindrance to their great quest of the knowledge of the supreme by diverting the mind to

1 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vii, 1, 2, 4.

2 For instance see *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, sūtra 90; *Kalpa-sūtra*, sūtra 11.

other external channels. That is not indeed a correct view on the whole. It is perhaps true in the earlier Vedic age that sciences grew as help to religion. But it is generally found that the interest of the people in a particular branch of knowledge, in all climes and times, has always been aroused and guided by specific reasons. Religion being the most prime avocation of the earlier Vedic Hindus, it is not unnatural that the culture of other branches of knowledge grew as help to it and was kept subsidiary. But there is evidence to show that in course of time all the sciences outgrew their original purposes and were being cultivated for their own sake. A new orientation had indeed set in in the later part of the Vedic age. There is a story in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[1] whose value in support of our view cannot be overestimated. It throws a good deal of light on the kind and value of sciences known amongst the Hindus of the time. It is said that once upon a time the sage Nārada approached the sage Sanatkumāra and begged of him the *Brahma-Vidyā* or the "Supreme Knowledge." Sanatkumāra asked Nārada to state first what sciences and arts he had already studied so that he (Sanatkumāra) might judge what still remained to be learnt by him. Thereupon Nārada enumerated the various sciences and arts studied by him. This list includes astronomy (*nakṣatra-vidyā*) and arithmetic (*rāśi-vidyā*). Now Nārada is not known to have ever led a family or worldly life. He was from childhood an earnest seeker of the supreme knowledge, the Science of all sciences. So it cannot be explained that Nārada had learnt astronomy, arithmetic and other sciences during a family life. Whatever he learnt, he did so with the sole intention and belief that it would help him towards his great goal. It is thus found that in ancient India, the culture of the science of mathematics, or of any other branch of what we now call secular knowledge, was not considered to be a hindrance to what we designate as spiritual knowledge. In fact, *aparāvidyā* (secular knowledge) was then clearly considered to be a helpful adjunct of the *parā-vidyā* (supreme knowledge).[2] Importance to the culture of the *gaṇita* is also given by the Jainas. Their religious literature is generally classified into four branches, called *anuyogas*, meaning "the exposition of the principles." One of them is *gaṇitānuyoga* or "the exposition of the principles of mathematics" necessary in Jainism. The knowledge of *saṃkhyāna* (literally, "the science of numbers," meaning arithmetic)

1 Loc. cit. 2 *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, i, 1, 3-5.

and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy) is stated to be one of the principal accomplishments of the Jaina priest.[1] It is laid down in the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*[2] that the king must show honours to astronomers before entering the court. In the Buddhist and canonical literature, arithmetic (*gaṇanā, saṃkhyāna*) is regarded as the first and the noblest of the arts.[3] But the Buddhist monks were advised to refrain from the study of astronomy.[4] All these will give a fair idea of the importance and value set upon the culture of *gaṇita* in ancient India.

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1 *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, sūtra 90 ; *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, xxv, 7,8,38.

It is noteworthy that the knowledge of astronomy and arithmetic is considered necessary for the Jaina priest for exactly the same purpose as it is for the Vedic priest viz., to find the right time and place for the religious ceremonies. Thus it is observed by Śānticandragaṇa (1595 A.C.) in the preface to his commentary on the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*: "गुरुगणितसिद्धे प्रश्ने काले गृहीतानि प्रश्नफलानि सुराः, कालश्च ज्योतिश्चाराधीनः, स च जम्बुद्वीपादिक्षेत्राधीनव्यवस्थस्तेनार्थं कालापरपर्यायो गणितानुयोगः"।

2 i, 20.

3 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, vol. IV, p. 7 ; *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. I, p. 85 ; *Cullaniddesa*, p. 199.

4 Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. II, pp. 20ff. where astronomy and astrology have been condemned as "low arts" (*tiracchāna vijjā*) as far as bhikṣus are concerned. He more especially condemned astrology (*Cullavagga*, V, 33,3 in *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, xx, p. 152). Later on he relaxed his opinion and made it a rule of conduct for the Bhikṣus dwelling in the woods that they must learn elementary astronomy. The incident which compelled him to change his mind is this : Once upon a time some thieves approached certain Bhikṣus living in the forest and asked them, "with what constellation is the moon now in conjunction ?" The Bhikṣus could give no answer as they were forbidden by religious injunction to learn astronomy. This incensed the thieves, who took the Bhikṣus to be thieves, beat them and went away. When Buddha came to know of this unfortunate incident, he made the following rule : "They (*Bhikṣus* living in forests) should learn the stations of the constellations, either in whole or in parts, and they should know the directions of the sky." (Cullavagga, viii, 6,3 in *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, xx, pp, 292-4).

Gaṇita in Hindu Education

The elementary stage in Hindu education lasted from the age of five till the age of twelve. This period slightly differed in the case of the sons of kings and noblemen. The main subjects of study were *lipi* or *lekhā* (alphabets, reading and writing), *rūpa* (drawing and geometry) and *gaṇanā* (arithmetic). It is said in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya that "having undergone the ceremony of tonsure, the student shall learn the alphabet (*lipi*) and arithmetic (*saṃkhyāna*)."[1] We find in the Hathigumpha Inscriptions that the king Khāravela of Kaliṅga spent nine years (from the age of sixteen to twenty-five) learning *lekhā*, *rūpa* and *gaṇanā*.[2] Prince Gotama began his education when he was eight years of age with "firstly writing, then arithmetic as the most important of the seventy-two sciences and arts".[3] There is a very interesting story in the Buddhist *Vinaya Piṭaka* having a bearing upon this matter. The parents of the celebrated sage Upāli once began to deliberate what sort of education they should give to their boy. They ascertained that an education in reading and writing, arithmetic and drawing (*lekhā*, *rūpa*, *gaṇanā*) would certainly increase the prospect of the boy in after life, but they apprehended that such an education might result in the physical malady of the boy in the way that writing might cause the disease of the fingers, arithmetic of the breast, and drawing of the eyes. The commentator Buddhaghoṣa remarks in this connection: "He who learns arithmetic must think much; therefore his breast will become diseased."[4]

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1 *Arthaśāstra* edited by R. Shama Sastri, i, 5, 2 (Eng. trans., p. 10).

2 *Hathigumpha and three other Inscriptions*, edited by Bhagawan Lal Indrajī, p. 22.

3 *Antagaḍa-dasāo and Anuttaravavāiya-dasāo*, English translation by L. D. Barnett, 1907, p. 30. Compare *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, sūtra 211.

4 *Mahāvagga*, i, 49; *Bhikkhupācittiya*, lxvii. Compare *Lalita Vistara* (x, xii) about Buddha's primary education.

Mention of *lekhā*, *rūpa* and *gaṇanā* is found also in the Jaina canonical works, e.g., *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, sūtra 72.

Renaissance in Hindu Mathematics supposed Greek Influence

Sometimes before the beginning of the Christian era, there was a renaissance of the Hindu *Gaṇita*. There is a great difference of opinions about the time of the beginning of this renaissance. Previous writers have generally taken it to be *c.* 400 A.C. Leaving aside that question for the present, we shall draw attention to another point. All the modern historians of mathematics are almost unanimous in presuming that this revival in Hindu mathematics is due to the Greek contact. Kaye says, "Subsequent to the *Śulvasūtras* nothing further isrecorded until the introduction into India of western astronomical ideas."[1] Here the implication is obvious. "This change[2] was possibly due", says Smith, "to the influence of Greek scholars whose works might still have been appreciated by the descendants of the ancient Greeks who settled in India after Alexander's time".[3] Though Cajori is aware that it is difficult to trace the relation between Hindu and Greek mathematics, still he thinks that "the second period of Hindu mathematics probably originated with an influx from Alexandria of western astronomy".[4] Now in the opinion of competent authorities, the contact of Hindu astronomy with Greek astronomy began in the fourth century of the Christian era.[5] It will be shown subsequently as we proceed that the renaissance in Hindu mathematics began long before that time. There are also other reasons to reject the hypothesis of Greek contact.

Greek Astronomy in India : A Difficult Tangle

Let us divert for a moment to the subject of migration of the Greek astronomy to India. This has an important bearing on the subject-matter of our present study inasmuch as it has been made, as we have just seen, a basis for a fresh conjecture about the migration of Greek mathematics to India. Now while believing in general the Greek influence on the scientific Hindu astronomy the

1 G. R. Kaye, *Indian Mathematics*, Calcutta, 1915, p. 9.
2 That is, the revival after the *Śulvasūtra* period.
3 D.E. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, p. 145, 2nd ed. 1922.
4 F. Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, p. 84 ; also p. 83.
5 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 385.

Indologists have differed to a very considerable extent as regards the nature and extent of the transmission of astronomical knowledge. Their difficulty in this respect was caused by the fact that the Hindu astronomy differs materially from the astronomy of Ptolemy and his disciples, quite contrary to what could be reasonably expected. From a thorough discussion of all those matters, Whitney had to conclude that it was the pre-Ptolemian Greek astronomy of Hipparchus that was transmitted to India.[1] But such a theory is confronted with a difficulty of a different kind. For, competent authorities are of opinion that the first transmission of the Greek astronomy to India took place in the fourth century of the Christian era. The question then naturally arises, how it is that the Hindu astronomers took inspiration from the earlier crude works in disregard of the contemporary and improved scientific treatises? Attempts have been made by Biot followed by Thibaut to explain this weakness of the previous theory by supposing that the Greek astronomy was transmitted to India not through scientific treatises but through manuals used by Greek astrologers and calender-makers. The astronomical knowledge in the works of those classes were presumed to have been rather imperfect and to have diverged in more than one point from the theories propounded in the scientific treatises. These are very ingenious arguments indeed, but they are purely speculative and also far from being convincing. Assuming that the Indians were attracted to Greek astronomy through the manuals of the astrologers and calender-makers though there is no evidence for it, the question may be asked, what prevented them from the pursuit of further and more accurate information about the subject? Communication between the two countries did not stop about that time. On the other hand it was more active then. Opportunities of obtaining such information were better about that time. For there were Greek settlements just on the borders of India. Dogmatic assertion of Kaye and others of his ilk do not help us in the least to get out of this tangle. All these considerations make the theory of Greek influence on Hindu astronomy of doubtful value. At least, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that the theory is not well grounded. P. C. Sengupta, who has thoroughly re-examined the whole subject in a recent paper says: "All these considerations lead the writer of this thesis altogether to reject and discredit

1 Whitney, *Sūryasiddhānta*, pp. 470 ff.

2 Thibaut and Dvivedi, *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, Introduction, pp. 41 ff.

the hypothesis so long so persistently asserted by the European researchers that Indian astronomy was actually derived from Greek source. If Indian astronomy is to be held indebted to any foreign system of astronomy that was the Babylonian—the fountain-head from which both the systems took their rise".[1]

My intention in referring to this complex situation is not to dispute the hypothesis of the Greek contact with the Hindu astronomy. Indeed, there is incontrovertible evidence of foreign contact, Greek or Babylonian. But I intend to point out to those who take it as an argument in support of launching a fresh theory of Greek influence on Hindu mathematics, how slender is that basis of their argument. If the manuals which brought Greek astronomy to India are presumed to be neither extensive nor intensive so as to have contained the advanced ideas in their own special subject of treatment, how can they be said to have contained the teachings in other branches of mathematics ?

Effect on the Gaṇita

Whatever be the cause of the revival, its effect on the scope of the science of the *Gaṇita* was great. Astronomy separated out

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1 P. C. Sengupta, Āryabhaṭa—the father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. xviii. Vide also a paper on "Alleged Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy" by Sukumar Ranjan Das, I. H. Q., March, 1928.

I sometimes venture to think that the renaissance in the Hindu astronomy is entirely indigenous. It began before the transmission of Greek or Babylonian astronomical knowledge into India. Indeed, the foreign connection itself seems to have come in the wake of the renaissance but was not the cause of it. Before that connection, the Hindu astronomy had sufficiently reformed itself out of its earlier crude knowledge and had set up its own ideas and theories, as also its own methods of observation and calculation. So that when it came in touch with the foreign astronomical science, it picked up as much from it as it could profitably assimilate without losing its own individual character. This theory will be corroborated by the strong virility of the Hindu astronomical culture which could thoroughly Hinduise, even beyond recognition, whatever of the Babylonian or Alexandrian science was transmitted to India (H. Kern, Preface to his edition of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, p. 49).

came to be ordinarily known by the name *Jyotiṣa*. Geometry which formerly belonged to a separate group of sciences, viz., the *Kalpa-sūtra*, came to be regarded as an integral part of the *Gaṇita*. Thus the readjusted science of the *Gaṇita* consisted mainly of arithmetic, algebra and geometry. It is not easy to say whether the science of trigonometry (so far as it means the science containing the idea of the function of an angle) was discovered by that time ; probably it was. It also came within the scope of the *Gaṇita*. The *Gaṇita* was sometimes called, especially amongst the Jainas and Buddhists, by the name *saṃkhyāna* (literally meaning the "Science of Numbers").

Āryabhaṭa and Mahāvīra

It is in its wider range, including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry, that Āryabhaṭa (*c.* 476 A.C.) considers the science of the *Gaṇita*. His treatise on the subject forms the second book of his astronomical treatise, the *Āryabhaṭīya*[1] (499 A.C.), and it contains topics from all those branches of mathematics. The *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*[2] ("Collection of the Essence of the Gaṇita") of Mahāvīra (*c.* 850 A.C.) contains mainly topics from arithmetic and geometry. There is nothing of trigonometry in it. Though certain problems for solution require the help of algebraic analysis, there is no treatment of topics of algebra proper, except the positive and negative quantities and the Indeterminate analysis (*Kuṭṭaka*) of the first degree. This latter subject is generally found included in the Hindu treatises on arithmetic, though it is admitted to belong properly to Algebra. This leads to the strong presumption that Mahāvīra considers the scope of the *Gaṇita* to be restricted to arithmetic and geometry. There is absolutely no doubt that he excluded *Jyotiṣa* from its scope. In a detailed list of the subjects for which the knowledge of the science of the *Gaṇita* is considered to be indispensable, Mahāvīra has enumerated the various topics of astronomy : "In relation to the movements of the sun and other heavenly bodies, in connection with the eclipse and the conjunction of planets, and in connection with the *tripraśna*[3] and the course of the moon, indeed in

1 *Āryabhaṭīyam*, ed. Kern, Leipzig, 1874.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* edited with English translation by M. Rangacarya, Madras, 1912.

3 *Tripraśna* is the name of a chapter in Sanskrit astronomical

all these (connections) it [*Gaṇita*] is utilised."[1] Again, referring to the treatment of shadow problems, which is ordinarily included in the Hindu *Gaṇita*, Mahāvīra remarks that it properly belongs to the department of practical calculation in astronomy."[2] All these prove the *Gaṇita* to be separate from the *Jyotiṣa* in his opinion.

Śrīdhara

Śrīdhara's (*c.* 750 A.C.) specification of the scope of the *Gaṇita* seems to be nearly the same as that of Mahāvīra. Only a short treatise by him is available to us at present. It is the *Pāṭī-gaṇita-sāra* ("Essence of the *Pāṭī-gaṇita*"). This book is more known as *Triśatikā* as it contains 300 verses.[3] This latter name must have been given to it by some later mathematician, not by the author. For that name occurs nowhere in the original text. We learn it on the authority of Bhāskara that Śrīdhara had also written a treatise on algebra. Bhāskara has not only acknowledged his indebtedness to Śrīdhara's *Vījagaṇita* but has actually quoted from this work a rule for the solution of quadratic equations.[4] That rule is not found in the existing work of Śrīdhara which contains only topics from arithmetic and geometry. Hence there cannot be any doubt that Śrīdhara considered the *Pāṭī-gaṇita* and the *Vīja-gaṇita* as separate, and wrote separate treatises on each.

Brahmagupta

Four chapters and a half of Brahmagupta's (628 A. C.) big astronomical treatise, *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*[5], are devoted to the treatment of topics of mathematics. Chapter xii, called the *Gaṇita* (or the

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works dealing with problems connected with the direction, position and time of the heavenly bodies, and hence the name.

1 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, i, 12.

2 *Ibid.* i. 23

3 *Triśatikā* of Śridharācārya, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1899.

4 *Vījagaṇita of Bhāskara, Avyaktavarga-Karaṇa*; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra* pp. 209-10, 275.

5 *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1912. Chapters xii and xviii of this work have been translated into English by Colebrooke in his *Hindu Algebra*.

pāṭī-gaṇita), treats of subjects belonging properly to arithmetic and geometry. Chapter xviii, called the *Kuṭṭaka*, contains discussion of almost all the matters included in Bhāskara's algebra. Chapter xix deals with the sun-dial and shadow problems which have also been partly treated in chapter xii. Chapter xx, entitled "Supplement to the Chandaściti," is devoted to that subject. Finally a part of chapter xxi is devoted to the construction of the table of sines. This portion really belongs to trigonometry. There are reasons to believe that Brahmagupta considers arithmetic (with geometry), algebra and trigonometry as different subjects and he names them respectively as the *Gaṇita* (or the *Pāṭī-gaṇita*), the *Kuṭṭaka(-gaṇita)* and the *Jyotpatti (-gaṇita)*. Firstly, in the concluding lines of his chapter on the *Gaṇita* (ch. xii), Brahmagupta observes: "This is only one direction (or aspect), the others I shall say in the 'construction of the sine' and in the '*Kuṭṭaka*'."[1] This remark clearly shows that the subject-matter of the chapter was considered by the writer to be quite separate from the other two. Secondly, it is the usual practice with Brahmagupta to state in the opening verse of each and every chapter the usefulness of the subject-matter of that chapter. The importance and utility of the *Kuṭṭaka (-gaṇita)* has been spoken of by Brahmagupta in almost the identical language as has been used by Bhāskara in his *Bījagaṇita*.[2] This

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1 *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, xii, 66. The original text is दिङ्मात्रमेतदन्यज्ज्योत्पत्तौ कुट्टके च कथयिष्ये. Colebrooke renders it as: "This is a portion only of the subject. The rest will be delivered under the construction of sines and under the pulverizer." *Dṛk* literally means "direction," "aspect," not "part."

2 Brahmagupta says:

प्रायेण यतः प्रश्नाः कुट्टाकाराद्ऋते न शक्यन्ते ।

ज्ञातुं वक्ष्यामि ततः कुट्टाकारं सह प्रश्नैः ॥ *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*, xviii, 1.

"Since questions can scarcely be known without the *Kuṭṭaka*, therefore I will speak of *Kuṭṭaka* with problems."

3 Bhāskara says:—

* * * प्रायः प्रश्ना न विनाव्यक्तयुक्त्या

ज्ञातुं शक्या मन्दधीभिर्निताम्तं यस्मात्तस्माद्बीजक्रियाञ्च । Bījagaṇita, 2.

"* * * since questions can scarcely be known without the reasoning of the *Avyakta* (*-gaṇita*),—not at all by those of dull perceptions, therefore I shall speak of the *Bījakriyā* (the operations of analysis).

leads to the strong presumption that what has been implied by the *Kuṭṭakagaṇita* by one, has been done by the name *Bījagaṇita* by the other. Thirdly, in the beginning of each of the chapters on the *gaṇita* and the *kuṭṭaka*, Brahmagupta has clearly defined the range of topics of each. This process has not been followed by him in the rest of his great treatise. This fact will lead to the conclusion that they were separate treatises of mathematics incorporated into a treatise of astronomy as is usual with the Hindu scholars. All these taken together will justify the correctness of our belief. There is another matter which deserves more than a passing notice. The *kuṭṭaka* is only one topic of the science of algebra and it corresponds to the modern indeterminate analysis of the first degree. The question which naturally arises is, why Brahmagupta called the whole science after it. The terms *avyakta* and *bīja* were not unknown to him.[1] But they have not lent their names to the science, though it would have been very proper. The reason for this seems to be that the solution of the indeterminate analysis of the first degree was once considered to be the most important achievement of the analytical science. A discussion of the origin of the term *kuṭṭaka* will be beyond the scope of this paper.

Āryabhaṭa II

Āryabhaṭa II (*c.* 950 A.C.) mentions separately the names of three branches of mathematics, viz., the *pāṭī*, *kuṭṭaka* and *bīja*.[2] Chapter xv of his treatise, *Mahā-siddhānta*, contains the *pāṭī-gaṇita* and chapter xvii deals with the *kuṭṭaka*. The range of topics of his *pāṭī-gaṇita* is the same as that of Śrīdhara. There is practically no treatment of the *bīja-gaṇita* or of any topics properly belonging to it, if the *kuṭṭaka* has not been meant by it. There is a very noteworthy observation in this connection from the pen of the eminent mathematician Gaṇeśa (c. 1545). As a commentator of Bhāskara's mathematical works, Gaṇeśa was a believer in the division of the science of the *gaṇita* into two main branches the *pāṭī* and the *bīja*. Therefore he thinks that the separate mention of the *kuṭṭaka* by Āryabhaṭa II was meant as an intimation of the difficulty and importance of this branch of analysis, but not to indicate it as the subject for a separate treatise.[3]

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1 Vide *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*. 2 *Mahāsiddhānta*, i, 1.

3 Commentary on *Līlāvatī*; compare Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, pp. 112, 113, footnote.

Hindu Geometry of the early Renaissance Period

One very noticeable feature of the renaissance of Hindu mathematics is that it left the culture of geometry least affected. We have already seen how in the course of that revival, the science of geometry was separated from the *Kalpasūtra* and was incorporated into the science of *gaṇita*. But compared with arithmetic and algebra, it seems to have received little impetus for further progress and development. Indeed, the early Hindus are found to have devoted their attention more and more to the analytical branch of mathematics than to the geometrical branch. Consequently the Hindu geometry which started in a brilliant way, being not only much in advance of the contemporary Egyptian or Chinese geometry but also in anticipating some of the notable discoveries of the posterior Greek geometry, did not make as much head-way as it ought to have done like the other branches of mathematics.[1] It cannot be said that the study of geometry was completely neglected by the Hindus of the early period of the renaissance. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that it was cultivated for its own sake apart from any ritualistic motive. It even came to be regarded as a part of general education of the people, not excepting even elementary education[2]. Above all, we find it in an early Jaina canonical work (composed about 300 B. C. or still earlier) that great importance was given then to the culture of geometry. It says: "Geometry is the lotus in mathematics,.....and the rest is inferior."[3] Hence it appears still more strange not to find any evidence of progress and improvements in geometry. The notable contributions of this period to geometry are the discovery of (1) ellipse, (2) elliptic cylinder, (3) the value $\pi = \sqrt{10}$ and (4) some mensuration formulæ. The value $\pi = \sqrt{10}$, though not an accurate one, is an improvement upon the value known in the *Śulva-sūtra*. This value occurs as early as in the *Sūryaprajñapti* (C. 500 B. C.).[4] The ellipse and elliptic cylinder were also discovered about the same time. The ellipse

1 Bibhutibhusan Datta, "*Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*," *Bulletin of the Mathematical Association*, University of Allahabad, vol. I, 1927-28, pp. 49 et seq.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 55 et seq.

3 *Sūtrākṛtāṅgasūtra*, 2nd *śrutaskanda*, ch. i, verse 154.

4 *Sūtra* 20.

(*viṣama-cakravāla* or *parimaṇḍala*) is mentioned in the *Sūryaprajñapti*,[1] *Bhagavatī-sūtra*[2] (c. 300 B.C.), *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi*[3] (before 350 B.C.) and also other works.[4] The mention of elliptic cylinder (*ghana parimaṇḍala*) is found in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*.[5] In this work the form of the ellipse is described as like that of a barley corn (*yavamadhyavṛtta saṃsthāna*).[6] Further, there are reasons to believe that the ellipse is symmetrical about its either axis.[7] We do not know what other properties of the ellipse were known to them. But this is at least true that in the matter of the discovery of the figure of the ellipse and elliptic cylinder, the Hindus anticipated the Greeks. The mensuration formulæ referred to are those connected with the segment of a circle and they were also discovered about the same time.[8] All these facts, especially as they are referred to in the canonical works, lead us strongly to the presumption that there must have been some special treatises on mathematics composed in the centuries

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1 Sūtra 19, 25, 100. In this work the ellipse is termed *viṣama-cakravāla* in contradistinction to *cakravāla* meaning circle. Compare Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, p. 274.

2 Sūtra 724-7. Here the ellipse is called *parimaṇḍala*.

3 *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, 617. Here also ellipse = *parimaṇḍala*; cf. *Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*, p. 56.

4 See *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, xxxvi, 22; *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, sūtra 144.

5 *Sūtra* 726. The elliptic cylinder is called *ghana parimaṇḍala* (lit., solid ellipse) in contradistinction to *pratara parimaṇḍala* (lit., plane ellipse) which means ellipse.

6 *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, sūtra 725. Buddhaghoṣa describes it as *Kukkutāṇḍa-saṃsthāna* (or an egg-shaped figure) and the *Petavatthu* commentary has *āyatavṛtta* (or elongated circle).

7 *Ibid.*, sūtra 726. In this sūtra is given the minimum number of *odd* or *even* shots which can be arranged to form different geometrical figures. In the case of the ellipse no such distinction is made; it is simply given that the minimum number of shots that can form an ellipse is twenty. On this the commentator Abhayadeva (*c.* 1050) remarks: इह चौजो युग्ममेदौ न स्तः युग्मरूपत्वेनैकरूपत्वात् परिमण्डलस्येति।

8 For these formulæ and further information regarding the Jaina contribution to mathematics, see the author's paper on "The Jaina School of Mathematics" in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*.

preceding the Christian era, which are now lost. We hope future investigations will throw more light on that dark period of the history of Hindu mathematics.

Early Hindu Gaṇita

The subjects treated in the Hindu *gaṇita* of the early renaissance period consisted of the following :[1] *parikarma* ("fundamental operations"), *vyavahāra* ("subjects of treatment"), *rajju* ("rope," meaning "geometry"), *rāśi* ("heap", meaning "mensuration of solid bodies"), *kalāsavarṇa* ("fractions"), *yāvat tāvat* ("as many as", meaning "simple equations"), *varga* ("square", meaning "quadratic equations"), *ghana* ("cube" or "cubic equations"), *varga-varga* (i.e., bi-quadratic equations") and *vikalpa* ("permutations and combinations").[2] It will be found subsequently that the topics included in the Hindu mathematical treatises of later days are almost the same.

The ancient work *curṇī* defines the term *parikarma* as referring to those fundamental operations of mathematics as will befit a student to enter into the remaining and the real part of the science of mathematics.[3] According to it the fundamental operations are sixteen in number.

In the absence of a specific treatise on mathematics, we are not in a position to define further the scope of treatment and the topics for discussion in the Hindu *gaṇita* of the early renaissance period. We, however, find in the *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*[4] that mathematics (*gaṇita*) including permutations and combinations (*bhaṅga*) was then considered to be very subtle (*sūkṣma*). The commentator observes in this connexion that those subjects were considered subtle as their study requires subtle intellect. He further adds that though permutations and combinations are really included in mathematics, they have been mentioned separately on account of their great importance.

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1 *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* 747. This work was composed *c.* 300 B.C. or still earlier.

2 For a fuller interpretation of these terms, reference should be made to the author's paper on the "Jaina School of Mathematics" in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*.

3 Quoted in the Jaina Encyclopædia, *Abhidhāna Rājendra*.

4 Sūtra 716.

Śulva-sūtras and later Hindu Mathematics

Certain writers think that later Hindu mathematics bears no noticeable relation with the *Śulva-sūtras*. Kaye says: "The later Indian mathematicians[1] completely ignored the mathematical contents of the *Śulva-sūtras*. They not only never refer to them but do not even utilise the results given therein. We can go even further and state that no Indian writer earlier than the nineteenth century is known to have referred to the *Śulva-sūtras* as containing anything of mathematical value."[2] This statement has been partly reproduced by Cajori. "None of these geometrical construcions,"[3] says Cajori, "occur in later Hindu works; the latter completely ignore the mathematical contents of the *Śulva-sūtras*." Such an implication is contained in the statement of Smith: "The ritualistic mathematical formulas of the *Śulva-sūtras* now gave place to the mathematics of the stars."[5] The real facts have not been represented by these writers properly and accurately. For the important geometrical principles involved in the various rules of construction and transformation occuring in the *Śulva-sūtras* are: (1) the so-called Pythagorean theorem, (2) the properties of similar figures, (3) the circle-squaring, (4) the construction of a right-angle, (5) application of areas and (5) divison of figures. The first four of these topics enter largely in the later Hindu treatises on astronomy and mathematics.[6] If the latter do not contain the value of π given in the *Śulva-sūtras*, it is simply because they have

1 The reference here is to the Hindu mathematicians flourishing in the period 600-1200 A.C. Kaye, like others, is ignorant of Hindu mathematics anterior to this period.

2 Kaye, *Indian Mathematics*, p. 3; compare also p. 9.

3 The reference is to the geometrical constructions of the *Śulva-sūtras*.

4 Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, pp. 84, 86.

5 Smith, *History of Mathematics*, vol. I, p. 145.

6 The following remark of Whitney may be noted in this connexion: "The main principles, by aid of which the greater portion of all Hindu calculations are made, are, on the one hand, the equality of the square of the hypotenuse in a right-angled triangle to the sum of the squares of the other two sides, and, on the other hand, proportional relation to the corresponding parts of similar triangles." (*Sūrya-siddhānta*, ii. 27 (notes), p. 198).

more accurate ones. Indeed the later Hindu mathematicians never lost their interest in the problem of the squaring of the circle.[1] The method of construction of a right-angle is too well-known. As regards the application of areas, division of geometrical figures and certain other minor operations requiring the application of Pythagorean theorem, it may be observed that they do not appear in the later Hindu works on mathematics in the particular manner in which they occur in the *Śulva-sūtras* because there was no longer any need for them. They were specially required in connexion with the construction of sacrificial altars some of which were indeed very complex. Owing to the rise and influence of Buddhism and Jainism which preached against the Vedic sacrifices during the several centuries about the beginning of the Christian era, Vedic sacrifices were on the wane. So the occasions for the construction of altars requiring high skill and ingenuity on the part of the constructor were few and far between. On the other hand, it should be observed that the Hindu geometry was of extremely practical nature. Hence later Hindu mathematicians did not feel any special necessity to incorporate those constructions and transformations into their works. Moreover it should not be forgotten that later Hindu geometry was not guided by any religious motive. Nevertheless it is not correct to say that the *Śulva-sūtras* became obsolete and were overlooked by all in India. They continued to remain classics with the priestly class, especially with the masters of the *Kalpasūtras* and were followed in practice wherever there were occasions during the succeeding centuries. That peoples interested in them did never disappear will be sufficiently realised from the necessity that arose in the middle ages for writing commentaries on the *Śulva-sūtras*. Special treatises on the construction of sacrificial altars were compiled from them even in the sixteenth century. What seems to me to be rather strange is the fact that the later priest geometricians were so slow to appreciate or almost overlooked the improved results discovered by the mathematicians. The gnomon appears in the later works as before. So far for the geometry of the *Śulva-sūtras*. As for their mathematical contents, *viz.*, the solution of the quadratic equation, operation with surd numbers, approximation to the values of surds, solution of the right-angled triangle,

1 For the achievements of the Hindus in the matter of the circle-squaring, see the writer's paper, "On the Hindu Values of π" (*JASB*, vol. 22, 1926, pp. 25-42).

all of them not only appeared in the later Hindu works but also received further developments. What we miss in them is the consideration of the series for $\sqrt{2}$. The theory of the gnomon plays as important a part in later works as it did in the *Śulva-sūtras*. Indeed there is no Hindu treatise on mathematics available up till now without a section of it being devoted to the treatment of the gnomon.

Grahagaṇita or Jyotiṣa

We have seen how the scope of the science of *gaṇita* has gradually become restricted to arithmetic, algebra, geometry (with mensuration) and trigonometry and how astronomy has become separated and recognised as a distinct science. Nevertheless, *jyotiṣa* does not lose all its relation with the term *gaṇita*. For astronomy is called sometimes *graha-gaṇita* (or "The Science of Calculation of the Planets"). On the other hand, the term *jyotiṣa* is given a wider connotation in the sense that the science of *jyotiṣā* is classified into three branches: *gaṇita* (astronomy proper), *saṃhitā* (astrology in general) and *horā* (individual planetary astrology or nativity calculation). Astronomical observation is always called *dṛk-gaṇita* (or "observational astronomy") and the astronomer, as also the astrologer, is called the *gaṇaka* or *gaṇitajña* (or "the expert in the *gaṇita*"). An expert mathematician also is called *gaṇaka*. He is sometimes called *saṃkhyānācārya* (or "the expert in the science of numbers"). In the early Vedic literature, the astronomer is known as the *nakṣatra-darśa* (or "the star-gazer") or *gaṇaka*.[1] This term must have originated in relation to the *nakṣatra-vidyā* as the name for astronomy, to which we have already referred. The term *nakṣatra-darśa* sometimes refer to the astrologers. In the Buddhist literature we have the name *nakṣatra-pāṭhaka* ("reader of stars") for the astrologers.[2] The modern Hindu science of astronomy (*jyotiṣa*) is classified into two principal branches: the *gaṇita* or the mathematical astronomy and the *gola* or the spherics. To proceed further with the scope and development of *jyotiṣa* will be going beyond the object of the present paper.

Three Classes of Arithmetic

In the earlier Buddhist literature, we find separate mention of three classes of arithmetic; *viz.*, *muḍrā*, *gaṇanā* and *saṃkhyāna*. Follow-

1 *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, xxx, 10, 20; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 5.

2 *Mahāniddesa*, p. 382.

ing a Siṃhalese commentator, Rhys Davids interprets *mudrā* as "counting on the fingers."[1] From the Tibetan source, Schiefner calls it "hand rechnen"; Franke translates it as "finger rechnen." *Gaṇanā* is rendered by Rhys Davids as "counting without using the fingers," meaning "mental arithmetic, pure and simple." All these meanings are quite in agreement with the interpretations of the eminent Buddhist commentator Buddhaghoṣa (*c.* 450 A.C.). But Rhys Davids is not sufficiently clear and precise, perhaps due to his failure to grasp the correct significance, in interpreting *saṃkhyāna* as "summing up large totals." Ancient commentators also are not more clear on this point. *Saṃkhyāna* truly means, we have already stated, arithmetic in general. Here what has undoubtedly been implied by this term is the higher class of arithmetic in contradistinction to the other classes which have been indicated separately. One of the earliest enumerations of these three classes of arithmetic occurs in the *Dīgha Nikāya.*[2] They are also mentioned in the *Vinya Piṭaka,*[3] *Divyāvadāna*[4] and *Milinda-pañha.*[5] Thus as early as the fifth or the sixth century before the Christian era, the Hindus were used to distinguish between three classes of arithmetic: (1) mental arithmetic, pure and simple; (2) arithmetic with the use of the fingers, that is, finger arithmetic; and (3) advanced arithmetic in general. But oftentimes this differentiation was not adhered to, so that arithmetic in general was meant by *gaṇanā, gaṇita* or *saṃkhyāna,*[6]

Pāṭīgaṇita and Dhūlīkarma

In Sanskrit, arithmetic (together with geometry and mensuration) is called *Pāṭīgaṇita* ("The Science of Calculation of the Board") and

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1 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogue of the Buddha*, vol. I, London, 1899, p. 21; *Milinda-pañha*, English translation by Rhys Davids, Oxford, 1890, p. 91, footnote. The Siṃhalese is very explicit; according to him, *mudrā* means "the finger-ring art, so-called from seizing the joints of the fingers, and using them as signs."

2 I, 51. 3 IV, 7.

4 *Divyāvadāna,* edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 3, 26, 48.

5 *Milinda-pañha,* loc. cit., p. 91.

6 For instance see *Jātaka*, I, p. 23; *Visuddhimagga*, p. 278; *Suttanipāta*, verse 677; *Milinda-pañha*, p. 79.

astronomical calculations are sometimes called by the name *dhūlī-karma* ("Dust-work"). Importance of these two terms for the history of Hindu mathematics can never be overstated. The term *dhūlī-karma* is found in the works of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. The origin of the term is referred to the common practice amongst the early astronomers to do the computations on a wooden board covered with a thin layer of dust or sand, figures being written with a style. This practice continued to be in vogue amongst the astronomers even in later times when improved and better materials for writing were introduced. The origin of the term *pāṭīgaṇita* is also believed to be from the same practice, the Sanskrit word *pāṭī* meaning "board." It occurs as early as in the works of Brahmagupta. Thus the terms *pāṭīgaṇita* and *dhūlīkarma* are identical in meanings and they were first coined probably to denote that class of arithmetic for which some kind of writing materials was indispensable, in contra-distinction to mental arithmetic and finger arithmetic. Now looking to Arabia, we find that the treatises dealing with decimal numerals were called *Ilm-hisāb al-takht* or "The Science of Calculation of the Board." The Arabic word *takht* is derived from the Persian word *takhta* meaning the "board." Hence it is quite evident that Arabic *Ilm-hisāb al-takht* is an adoption of the Hindu *pāṭīgaṇita*. In Northern Africa, arithmetic following the Hindu numerals is named *Hisāb al-ghobār* or "The Sience of Calculation on the Dust," the Arabic word *ghobār* meaning "dust" or "sand." So it is clearly adopted from the term *dhūlīkarma*. In the middle ages in Europe, treatises on arithmetic were generally named *Liber Abaci*. Indeed the "abacus" came to mean any kind of arithmetic. This word comes from the Greek *ābax* which is probably derived from the Semitic word *abaq* meaning "dust." So the word "abacus" refers to a table covered with dust or sand. Hence *Liber Abaci* is related to *pāṭī-gaṇita* or *dhūlīkarma*. In this way we find how the influence of Hindu mathematics spread westward to Arabia, Northern Africa and Europe.[1]

Later Hindu Geometry: Kṣetra-gaṇita

Later Hindu geometry consists mainly of certain mensuration formulæ and solution of certain plane rectilinear figures such as triangles

1 For further information on the subject, reference may be made to the writer's paper, "On the Science of Calculation of the Board" in the *American Mathematical Monthly*.

and quadrilaterals of different varieties. In some of these the Hindus undoubtedly showed considerable proficiency and indeed they obtained some remarkable results, e.g., a new proof of the Pythagorean theorem, formulæ for the area and diagonals of an inscribed convex quadrilateral (Brahmagupta's theorems) and rational solution of triangles—right-angled as well as scalene—and cyclic quadrilateral.[1] But on the whole their geometry is more predominated by practical purposes. There were no definitions, no postulates, no axioms, in a word, no scientific treatment of the subject. Whatever of geomety (with mensuration) the Hindus possessed are included within the scope of their *pāṭīgaṇita*, as has been stated before, and are dealt with in the sections on *kṣetra* (plane figures), *khātā* (excavation), *citi* (piles of bricks), *rāśi* (maunds of grain) and *krākacika* (saw). The last four topics are of course pertaini ng to solid figures. Mahāvīra's classification and terminology are more accurate and also happy inasmuch as they clearly express the relation of those subjects to the main body of the *gaṇita*. He calls the first the *kṣetra-gaṇita* and the rest[2] by the name *khātā-gaṇita* or simply *khātā*. Mahāvīra was admittedly guided in this respect by the writings of the early Jaina mathematicians.[3] Following the practice of the ancient priest-geometricians, the latter, it has been pointed out before, called geometry *rajju-gaṇita*. They called the section of a treatise on mathematics devoted to the mensuration of solid bodies more appropriately by the name *rāśi* "heap" that is, "an elevation" in general. In discarding these terms Mahāvīra has simply been influenced by the practice of the later times. Apparently this classification of geometry corresponds to our modern one into plane and solid geometries. It should, however, be noted that *kṣetra-gaṇita* includes solution of rational rectilinear figures which modern plane geometry does not.

Euclid's Elements in India: *Rekhāgaṇita*

It will be very interesting to know in this connection when and how Euclid's *Elements* entered India. It has been stated by the

1 Cf. *Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*.

2 Mahāvīra does not treat of *rāśi*.

3 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, i, 17-19; compare also i, 70. The term *kṣetra-gaṇita* for geometry has been employed before Mahāvīra by Haribhadra in his *Āvaśyaka-sūtra-vṛtti*.

eminent Arabian mathematician and traveller Al-berūnī that while composing his *India* (1030 A.C.), he began translating into Sanskrit verses Euclid's *Elements* (together with Ptolemy's *Almagest*) "being simply guided herein by the desire of spreading science."[1] Whether that translation was at all completed, if not, how much of the *Elements* was translated by him, we do not know. Nor do we know what happened of that translation. There is no trace of any such work in India. Probably that translation never reached the Indian soil. For at the time of composing *India*, Al-berūnī was in his native country Khowarīzm, modern *Khivā*. In 1035 A.C. Al-berūnī compiled a list of his publications and there is no mention of the translation in it.[2] So the most irresistible conclusion will be that the scheme did not mature at all. The next reference to the *Elements* in India, as far as I know,[3] occurs in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* of Abul Fazl (*c.* 1590 A.C.). Here and there this writer has referred to the propositions of the *Elements* in a way which shows his thorough acquaintance with the work.[4] Abul Fazl got his education in India; so he must have learnt Euclid's *Elements* here, of course, in Arabic or Persian translation. Thus we find that the work was known in India in the sixteenth century.

It is said that the king Muhammad Tughlaq (1325 A.C.) was learned in the sciences of physics, logic, astronomy and mathematics. He even studied the Greek philosphy. That king's liberality is said to have attracted to Delhi some of the most learned men of Asia.[5] It is possible that his library might contain books on Euclid's *Elements*. For long before his time, the book had become well known amongst

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1 *Al-beruni's India*, English translation by E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, vol. I, p. 137.

2 This list is published in the Introduction (pp. xl-xlvil) to the Arabic original of Al-berūnī's *Chronology* edited by Edward Sachau (*Chronologie Orientalischer Volker von Alberuni*, Leipzig, 1878).

3 I can frankly confess that I could not devote sufficient time and attention to investigate this ineresting subject. Still I record the materials I have collected in the hope that they will draw the attention of scholars.

4 *Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation by H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta (1891, 1894), vol. II, pp. 415-6; vol. III, p. 24.

5 John Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 410, 411.

the moslem scholars. But all these are speculative and should be taken for what they are worth.

When Euclid's *Elements* entered India, we do not know exactly. But we are almost sure that it remained in the beginning confined to the circle of Moslem scholars in India.

The earliest trace of its influence in a Sanskrit work that I have as yet seen is the *Siddhānta-tattva-viveka* of Kamalākara the court-astronomer of the Emperor Jahangir of Delhi. It is a voluminous treatise on astronomy written in 1658 A. C. In it there are passages which are evidently copied from the *Elements*. For instance, we have the following definition and classification of a line: "Of which there is always the length, and the breadth does not exist, and (which is) very fine. That line should be known by the intelligent as of two kinds; curved and uncurved. Of these the uncurved is called straight...".[1] There are other pieces which, though the resemblance is not so close, can be identified with particular propositions of the *Elements* without much difficulty.[2] On the whole, there is absolutely no noubt in my mind that Kamalākara had seen Euclid's *Elements*. The first complete translation of this work in Sanskrit was made in 1718 A. C. under the title *Rekhāgaṇita* ("Calculation with Lines"), by Samrāṭ Jagannātha, at the command of his patron King Jaya Siṃha of Jaipur.[3] It was rendered from the Arabic translation of Euclid by Nasiruddin al-Tusi (died 1276 A. C.). The *Rekhāgaṇita* contains fifteen *adhyāyas* or Books: Books I-IV and VI are devoted

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1 *Siddhānta-tattva-viveka* of Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara with the commentary (*śeṣavāsanā*) of the author, edited by Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1885, iii, 22. Compare

दैर्घ्यं यस्याः सदैवास्ति विस्तरो नैव विद्यते।

अतिसूक्ष्मा च सा रेखा ज्ञेया बुद्धिमता द्विधा॥ २२

अवक्रा वक्रगा तत्राऽवक्रा तु सरलाभिधा।

2 For instance, see iii, 38, 45, 46, 48, etc. in which there is reference respectively to Euclid, Bk I, Prop. 21; VI, 8; I, 15; I, 19.

3 Jagannātha, *Rekhāgaṇita*, edited by Kamalasankar Pransankar Trivedi, Bombay, 1901. Compare Sudhakara Dvivedi, *Gaṇaka Taraṅgiṇī*, Benares, 1892, pp. 133f.; A Weber, "Die Grieschen in Indien," *Sitz. d. König preus. Akademie d. Wissenschaften z. Berlin*, phil. hist. classe, xxxvii (1890), pp. 922f.

to plane geometry ; Bk. V deals with the laws of proportion which are utilised in Bk. VI ; Bks. VI-IX are purely arithmetical and elucidates the principles of numbers ; Bk. X treats of incommensurable quantities and Bks XI-XIV treat of solid geometry. Jagannātha himself seems to have shown some originality in the matter of proofs especially. For instance, there are 16 alternative proofs of Book I, Prop. 47. In 1727 A.C., i.e., nine years after the composition of the book, one Lokamani made an excellent copy of the manuscript of the *Rekhā-gaṇita* at the command of King Jaya Siṃha and that copy is now in the Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Benares. Another translation of Euclid's *Elements* in Sanskrit is also known under the title *Siddhānta-Cūḍāmaṇi.* It is very closely related to the *Rekhāgaṇita* but is in verse while the other is in prose. The authorship of this translation is unknown.

No Greek Influence on Hindu Mathematics

We are now in a position to examine closely the presumption of those writers who, as has been noted before, believe in Hindu mathematics after the *śulvasūtra* period having been greatly influenced by Greek mathematics. Their theory is mainly based on the following arguments : (1) The existence of commercial and political relations between Alexandria and Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era, (2) the presence of Greek terms and other apparent traces of borrowing in the Hindu astrology, and (3) the supposed Greek influence on Hindu astronomy. From these they make the *a priori* conclusion that scientific ideas must have passed from

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1 Durgadas Lahiri, *Pṛthivīr Itihāsa*, vol. 3, p. 339. For comparison we here give the general enunciation of Prop. 8 of Book I from the two works :

"यस्य त्रिभुजस्य भुजत्रयमन्यत्रिभुजस्य भुजै: समानं भवति तदा तस्य कोणत्रयमपि अन्यत्रिभुजस्य कोणैरवश्यं समानं भविष्यति।"—रेखागणित।

"यस्य त्रिकोणस्य भुजत्रयार्घे-
भुजै: समानं क्रमशोऽन्यकस्य।
त्रिकोणकौ तौ समानरूपौ
स्यातामिति त्वं खलु दर्शयास्य॥"
सिद्धान्तचूड़ामणि।

Alexandria to India. Of course it is not possible to deny the probability of transference of ideas in such circumstances. Moreover there are evidences to show that philosophical and theological ideas of the Hindus influenced Greek thought. But so far as mathematics is concerned, we have not only no specific evidence of transference of Greek mathematical ideas into India but there are also certain solid facts which will stand formidably against any such theory of borrowing.[1]

(1) If Greek contact had given any impetus to the revival of mathematics in India as is supposed by them, its effect would have been felt in the maximum degree in the domain of geometry, a science which the Greeks carried to perfection and in which the Greeks undoubtedly excelled all the other nations of the world. But we have already pointed out that the renaissance of Hindu mathematics affected the least the culture of geometry. Further, Hindu geometry differs very widely from Greek geometry in its scope as well as in its methods of treatment. In short, Greek geometry is a well developed science whereas Hindu geometry is unscientific. The earliest trace of Greek geometry in India is found in the sixteenth century.

(2) A very fundamental characteristic of Greek mathematical theory is the clear distinction between *arithmetic* (the theory of numbers) and *logistic* (the art of calculation). That distinction began before Plato (*c.* 380 B.C.) and continued to be recognised much later. Moreover, the Greek mathematicians gradually concentrated their attention on the development of *arithmetic* in disregard of *logistic*. The Hindu mathematicians, on the other hand, do not make any such distinction in their *gaṇita*. It may be noted that what we now call arithmetic, at least in its elementary parts, was called logistic by the Greeks.

(3) The Greeks had brilliant achievements in the theory of numbers, the classification of numbers, theory of figurate numbers,

1 It has been pointed out elsewhere that a certain term employed by the Greek traveller and mathematician Democritus bears so close a resemblance to a term in the *śulvasūtras* as to suggest borrowing by the former. Schroeder and Bürk also believed that Pythagoras learnt of the well-known property of the right-angled traingle which now generally goes by his name from the Indians (*Hindu Contribution to Mathematics*, pp. 50, 53).

theory of proportion and mean and the theory of irrationals. Amongst the Hindus, the distinction of numbers into even (*yugma*) and odd (*ayugma* or *oja*) appeared as early as the Vedic age (*c.* 3000 B. C.), milleniums before its appearance amongst the Pythagoreans. But they do never carry their classification any further. The theory of figurate numbers is not found amongst the Hindus. Though their mathematicians from Āryabhaṭa (432 A. C.) onwards state how to find the sum of agnates and cubes of numbers[1], they do not connect them with geometrical forms. The Hindus know nothing about the theory of proportion and mean. Though they have discovered and made great use of the Rule of Three, it has no relation with the theory of proportion. The irrational and Pythagorean numbers were discovered by the Hindus in the time of the *śulva-sūtra* (*c.* 800 B. C.) before the Greeks. Thus we find that practically nothing of the Greek theory of numbers came to India. On the other hand, the Hindu achievements in mathematics are chiefly in the domain of what the Greeks called *logistic*.

(4) The Hindu algebra is particularly distinguished from the Greek algebra. Colebrooke, after enumerating the various points of difference between them, comes to the conclusion that: "No such marked identity of the Hindu and Diophantine systems is observed as to demonstrate communication. They are sufficiently distinct to justify the presumption that both might be invented independently of each other."[1]

(5) Above all there is the fundamental difference between the Greek and Hindu mathematical ideas and principles. The normal Greek mind was more *geometrical* than anything else whereas the normal Hindu mind was more *arithmetical* or *analytical*. The Hindus even made algebra of their geometry; their geometrical results are

1 It is highly disputable if the Greeks knew the summation of the series of cubes. It is not found in the works of any Greek writer. There is no reference to it in the works of Greek commentators. It occurs in India in the works of Āryabhaṭa (499 A.C.). Al-Karkhi, a pro-Greek Arabian algebraist of the eleventh century, has given a geometrical demonstration of it much in the Greek fashion. And that has been considered as the sole argument in support of the assumption of its knowledge amongst the Greeks. Heath, *History of Greek Math.*, vol. I, pp. 109, 110. It might be that Al-Karkhi obtained the result from India and devised the proof himself.

often found to have been verified algebraically and illustrative examples that are generally adduced in their treatises on geometry are simply arithmetical. The Greeks, on the other hand, made geometry of algebra and arithmetic and they usually thought in terms of lines and forms instead of concrete numbers. Greek arithmetic was speculative and Hindu arithmetic practical.

Dispassionate consideration of these broad questions of ideals and methods will strongly lead one to doubt and reject all conjectures of communication between Hindu and Greek mathematics. Isolated cases of resemblance, if there be any, cannot be taken as evidence on the point. For in those cases, unless supported and supplemented by other incontrovertible and weighty arguments, the possibility of independent discovery cannot be eliminated. Even priority of discovery cannot logically be made a ground for conjectures of borrowing by the posterior nations. All these important considerations led some of the eminent Indologists, who firmly believe in the Greek influence on Hindu astronomy, to declare the independent origin of Hindu mathematics. Those scholars have firsthand knowledge of the original Hindu treatises on mathematics and as such are more competent to speak with authority than others. Hoernle considers that "the Hindus did not get their elements of the arithmetical science from the Greeks."[2] "I believe", says he, "that it is generally admitted that Indian arithmetic and algebra, at least, are of entirely native origin. While Siddhānta writers like Brahmagupta and his predecessor Āryabhaṭa might have borrowed their astronomical elements from the Greeks or from books founded themselves on Greek science, they took their arithmetic from native Indian sources." After carefully considering "the question whether the whole development of mathematics in India is to be regarded as completely independent, or derived from foreign sources," Thibaut comes to the final conclusion: "The absence of such and other similar proofs[3] is naturally to be taken to a certain extent to indicate the originality of Indians in the domain of

1 Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, p. 409. Compare also *Hindu Contribution to Mathematics.*

2 *Indian Antiquary*, xvii, 1888, p. 34.

3 The reference here is to "a common system of 'half true' theories found simultaneously on both sides e.g. the theory of epicycle in astronomy."

mathematics. To this we might add the other circumstances, viz. that at least in arithmetic, the Indian cannot be regarded as having originated from the Greek in any particular and that in certain higher matters, specially regarding indeterminate analysis, their works are considerably in advance of the Greeks."[1] "Mathematics and Geometry are indigenous Indian sciences," says Professor Winterniz, "and it is highly probable that the system of writing numerical figures now adopted in the whole civilised world was first invented in India. Geometry also, as we find it in the *Śulva-sūtras*, is not influenced by the Greeks and the 'so-called Pythagorean theorem' was known to the authors of the *Śulva-sūtras*."[2] Above all, a great authority on the subject of ancient mathematics like Hermann Hankel believes that the Hindus are the inventors of algebra. "Indeed, if one understands by algebra the application of arithmetical operations to complex magnitudes of all sorts, whether rational or irrational numbers or space-magnitudes, then the learned Brahmins of Hindustan are the real inventors of algebra."[3] There are certain other scholars who would even go so far as to suggest that Hindu mathematics influenced the Greek science. For instance Robbins and Karpinski are of opinion that the early Greek arithmetical science might have been influenced by the Hindus.

Scope of Pāṭīgaṇita

Bhāskara (1150) recognizes eight fundamental operations (*parikarma*) in arithmetic: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, squaring, square root, cubing and cube root. The two operations of duplation (doubling) and mediation (halving) which were considered

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1 G. Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, quoted in extenso by G. N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, 1920, pp. 181ff. This book may be consulted for review of Hellenic influence, supposed and actual, on the different spheres of Hindu culture.

2 Winternitz, *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 78.

3 H. Hankel, *Zur Geschichte der Mathematik in Altentum and Mittelalten*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 195; quoted by Professor Cajori in his *History of Mathematics*, p. 94.

4 D'ooge, Robbins and Karpinski, *Nicomachus of Geresa*, New York, 1926, Part. I, p. 5; compare also p. 11.

fundamental by the Egyptian, Greek, and some Arab and western mathematicians are omitted in the Hindu treatises on mathematics. Śrīdhara (c. 750) and Mahāvīra (850) also give the number eight. But according to Brahmagupta the number is twenty. It is made up of, besides the above eight, and five rules for reduction of fractions, rule of three (direct), inverse rule of three, rule of five, rule of seven, rule of nine, rule of eleven and barter (*bhāṇḍa-pratibhāṇḍa*).

According to Brahmagupta there are eight subjects for treatment (*vyavahāra*) in arithmetic: mixture, progression, plane figure, excavation, stock, saw, maund and shadow. Concurrence (*saṃkramaṇa*) and dissimilar operation (*viṣama-karma*), which are considered by others as topics of discussion for arithmetic has been included by Brahmagupta into algebra.

Topics discussed in Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* are the following : cipher (also discussed in algebra), inversion, supposition, concurrence, dissimilar operation, operation relative to squares, operation relative to multiplicator, rule of three (direct and inverse), rule of five, seven, nine and eleven terms, interest, barter, purchase and sale, alligation, permutations and combinations, progression (arithmetical and geometrical), plane figures, excavation, stocks, saw, maunds of grain, shadow of gnomon, pulverisor, combination. Of these, the topics beginning with inversion up to barter are classed as *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous topics) and the next three topics are classed as *miśraka* (mixture). In this way it comes into line with *Triśatikā* and *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*.

Rule of Three

One thing of Bhāskara deserves special notice. He gives too much importance to the rule of three. He explains : "The rule of three is, indeed, arithmetic."[1] This has been elaborated with the help of a beautiful metaphor : "As by Lord Śrī Nārāyaṇa, who relieves the sufferings of birth and death, who is the only primary cause of the creation of the universe, is pervaded this universe through His own manifestations as worlds, paradises, mountains, rivers, gods, men, demons etc., so are all matters of calculation pervaded by the rule of Three."[2] If it be so,

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1 *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, *golādhyāya*, *praśnādhyāya*, verse 3 : अखिलं त्रैराशिकं पाटी। This observation reappears in the *Līlāvatī* (p. 15).

2 *Līlāvatī*, p. 76.

then what is the need of those multifarious methods and operations? To this, his answer is: "whatever is calculated in algebra or in arithmetic by operations of multiplication and division will be comprehended by the sagacious learned as simply the rule of three. That it has been composed by the sages through the multifarious methods and operations such as miscellaneous rules, etc. is simply with the object of increasing the comprehension of the duller intellects like ourselves, for it was realised by those sages that such differentiations will make the subject easy."[1] On another occasion he observes: "Leaving squaring, square-root, whatever is calculated is certainly variation of the rule of three, nothing else. For increasing the comprehension of the duller intellects like ourselves, what has been written in the various ways by the learned sages having the loving heart of the bird *Cakora*, that has become arithmetic." Similarly great importance was attached to the rule of three in Europe where it was called in the middle ages as "The Golden Rule." Thus Hodder, the popular English arithmetician of the seventeenth century, observes: "The Rule of Three is commonly called, *The Golden Rule*; and indeed it might be so termed; for as Gold transcends all other Mettals, so doth this Rule all others in Arithmetick."[2]

Bījagaṇita as defined

Bhāskara says: "Analysis (*bīja*) is certainly the innate intellect assisted by the various symbols (*varṇa*) which, for the instruction of duller intellect, has been expounded by the ancient sages who enlighten mathematicians as the sun irradiates the lotus; that has now taken the name Algebra (*Bījagaṇita*)."[3] That algebraic analysis requires keen intelligence and sagacity has been observed by him on more than one occasion. "Neither does analysis (*bīja*) consist in symbols," says Bhāskara, "nor are there different kinds

1 *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi, golādhyāya, praśnādhyāya*, verse 4.

2 Smith, *History of Mathematics*, II, p. 486.

3 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 99.

बीजं मतिर्वैविधवर्णसहायनी हि
मन्दावबोधविषये विबुधैर्निजाऽर्थे:।
विस्तारिता गणकतामरसांशुमद्भि
र्या सैव बीजगणिताह्वयतामुपेता॥

of analysis ; sagacity alone is the analysis : for wide is imagination." This remark has been repeated in the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*[1] and in the *Bījagaṇita*.[2] There is an interesting discussion about the importance and usefulness of intelligence in the matter of algebraic analysis. He puts the question to himself: "If (unknown things) are to be discovered by intelligence alone, what is then the need of analysis ?" He then answers himself: "Because intelligence is certainly the real analysis ; symbols (*varṇa*) are its helps. What innate intelligence has been expressed for the duller intellects by the ancient sages who enlighten mathematicians as the sun irradiates the lotus, with the help of the various symbols, has now obtained the name of Algebra (*bījagaṇita*)."[3] From these observations we find what, according to Bhāskara, defines the algebra: it is the science which treats of numbers expressed by symbols.

Distinctive Relation between Arithmetic and Algebra

What makes the distinction between arithmetic and algebra, in the opinion of Bhāskara, will be realised to a certain extent from his especial names for them. His especial name for the former is *Vyakta-gaṇita* ("the Science of Calculation with knowns") and for the latter *Avyakta-gaṇita* ("the Science of Calculation with unknowns"). Hence one distinction lies in the fact that in one case the symbols used are *vyakta*, that is, known and definitely determinate, in the other case they are *avyakta*, that is unknown, indefinite. The relation between these two branches of the science of *gaṇita* is considered by Bhāskara to be this : "The arithmatic of known is based on the arithmetic of unknowns."[4] He has more explicitly and clearly put it thus : "Algebra is similar to arithmetical rules, (but only) appears as if indeterminate (*gūḍha*). It is not indeterminate to the intelligent ; it is not certainly six-fold but many-fold."[5] In the

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1 *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi*, edited by Bapu Deva Śāstrī, *Golādhyāya prashnādhyāya*, verse 5, p. 440. Compare also verse 3—बीजं च विमला मतिः। This reappears in the *Līlāvatī* (p. 15).

2 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 49. Compare also अथवा बुद्धिरेव बीजम्।

नैव वर्णात्मकं बीजं न बीजानि पृथक् पृथक्।
एकमेव मतिर्बीजमनल्पा कल्पना यतः॥

3 *Ibid*, p. 100. 4 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 1—"व्यक्तमव्यक्तबीजं"

5 *Līlāvatī*, p. 15 : पाटीसूचोपमं बीजं गूढमित्यवभासते।
नाखिगूढमसूढानां नैव षोढेत्यनेकधा॥

opening verse of his treatise on algebra, Bhāskara praises the science thus: "I venerate the unapparent computation, which calculators affirm to be the means of comprehension, being expounded by a fit person: for it is the single element of all which is apparent."[1]

The true distinction between arithmetic and algebra, besides the one of the kinds of symbols, has been stated by Bhāskara to be lying in the demonstration. He remarks: "Mathematicians have declared algebra to be computation joined with demonstration: else there would be no difference between arithmetic and algebra."[2] The method of demonstration is said to be always of two kinds: one geometrical (*kṣetra-gata*), the other algebraical (*rāśi-gata*).[3] We do not know who first invented in India the geometrical method of demonstrating the algebraical rules. Bhāskara acknowledges to have received it from ancient teachers.[4]

Scope of Bījagaṇita

Bhāskara recognises six fundamental operations in algebra: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, squaring and extraction of square root. Cubing and extraction of cube root which are included amongst the fundamental operations of arithmetic are excluded here. He first applies these six operations to positive and negative quantities, *i.e.* the laws of signs, zero, monomial, polynomial and surds. Then he treats of *kuṭṭaka* ("pulveriser") and *varga prakṛti* ("affected square") with *cakravāla* ("cyclic method"). The former deals with the complete general solution of the indeterminate equation of the first degree and the others give general solution in rational integers of the so-called Pellian equations.

After elucidating the subjects mentioned above Bhāskara observes; "Thus are spoken the abridged calculations necessary for the *bīja*

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1 Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 150.

उत्पादकं यत् प्रवदन्ति बुद्धेरधिष्ठितं सत्पुरुषेण सांख्याः।
व्यक्तस्य कृत्स्नस्य तदेकबीजमव्यक्तमीशं गणितं च वन्दे ॥ (*Bījagaṇita*, p. 1).

2 Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 272.

उपपात्तयुतं बीजगणितं गणका जगुः।
न चेदेवं विशेषोऽस्ति न पाटीबीजयोर्यतः ॥ (*Bījagaṇita*, p. 127).

3 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 125; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 271.

4 Bījagaṇita, p. 127; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 272.

(analysis); next I shall speak of the *bīja* which is the source of pleasure to the mathematicians."[1] It is noteworthy that the indeterminate equation of the first degree and the Pellian equations are considered to be of fundamental importance in algebra. Indeed they are his chief instruments in certain kinds of his algebraic analysis.[2].

According to Bhāskara, analysis is fourfold :[3] (1) linear equations involving one unknown ; (2) linear equations involving more than one unknown ; (3) equations in one or more unknowns in their second or higher powers (*madhyamāharaṇa*) ; and (4) equations involving product of unknown quantities (*bhāvita*). Konow's classification is slightly different. Accordingly the primary distinction of analysis is twofold : (i) Equation in one unknown and (ii) equation in two or more unknowns. Again, class (i) comprises two subclasses : (1) simple equation and (2) quadratic and higher equations. Class (ii) has three subclasses : (1) simultaneons linear equations. (2) equations involving second and higher powers of the unknowns; and (3) equations involving products of the unknowns.

The scope and topics of algebra are practically the same in the works of all the Hindu mathematicians. One noteworthy feature of the Hindu algebra is that though it contains the complete general solution of the quadratic equation, the cubic and higher equations have received little attention in it. In those cases, Bhāskara suggested to apply the same method as is available for the quadratic, that is, to reduce the cubic equation to a simple equation by taking the cube root of the side containing the unknown after necessary manipulations and to reduce the biquadratic in the same manner to a quadratic. Bhāskara observes that if such reduction is not possible, the solution must be obtained by the calculator's own ingenuity.[4]

Date of Renaissance in Hindu Mathematics

A more direct and conclusive proof of the originality of the Hindus in the matter of the invention of algebra and arithmetic will be furnished by the period of the beginning of the renaissance in their mathematics. We have seen before that those who believe in that renaissance having come in consequence of the supposed transmission

1 *Bījagaṇita*, p. 83

2 For instance see *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87, 89, 99 and 100 (especially) ; Colebrooke, *Hindu Algebra*, p. 245.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 44. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

of Greek astronomy into India, have almost unanimonsly put the time of the latter about 400 A. C. But we shall presently show that the cumulative evidence of all the available materials in this connexion points to a much earlier period *c.* 400 B. C. for the beginning of the renaissance in Hindu mathematics. The distinction of arithmetic into three separate classes, viz., mental arithmetic, finger-arithmetic and higher arithmetic, must have very likely begun to be made in the commencement of that renaissance. The regard for a culture in mathematics as a very noble and paying art must have grown as a result. It has been stated before that reference to that distinction of, and regard for, mathematics is found as early as 500 B.C. in the Buddhist canonical works. Hence the renaissance in Hindu mathematics began in all probability about that period. A more decisive factor is the enumerated list of the topics of mathematics found in an early Jaina canonical works written before 300 B. C. That list, we have seen, contains topics from algebra as well as from arithmetic and geometry (including mensuration). Again the topics included for discussion in the later Hindu treatises on arithmetic have remained practically unchanged. It is only in algebra that we find that certain alteration in the classification of the subjects treated and also in their scope have appeared in the treatises of later days. Now taking the average of the two dates obtained from the Buddhist and the Jaina sources, we easily come to the conclusion that the renaissance in Hindu mathematics commenced from *c.* 400 B. C. This date will be consistent with the time of the discovery of ellipse in India and the revival of Hindu geometry, which, according to evidence from the Buddhist as well as the Jaina sources, occurred in the fifth century before the Christian era. Now this period is anterior, by nearly seven centuries, to the time of Diophantus (*c.* 275 A. C.), the father of Greek Algebra. The evidence of the Bakhshālī mathematics also shows that the Hindu mathematics was independent of the Greek mathematics.[1]

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA

1 Bibhutibhusan Datta, "The Bakhshālī Mathematics," *Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.*, vol. xxi, 1929 (March), pp. 1-60. This work was composed about the beginning of the Christian era.

Ranjit Singh and the North-West Frontier Problem

(Based solely on the records in the Imperial Record Department)

The North-Western Frontier being the Achilles' Heel of India has always been of the utmost concern to the power paramount in India. In view of this fact, a past history of the attempts to solve the North-Western Frontier Problem of India has a living interest. Just before the British took into their hands the solution of this frontier problem it was tackled by Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab. Thus a study of Ranjit's western frontier policy cannot but be interesting and important.

According to Mr. Coatman, the Indian North-Western Frontier problem is made up of four subsidiary problems :

(1) The international problem of the relations between India and Afghanisthan.

(2) The political problem i.e. the problem of the control of the border tribes.

(3) The problem of the military defence of the frontier.

(4) The problem of the administration of the north-west frontier.

The first question therefore that arises in this connection is, whether Ranjit had a mind to conquer Afghanisthan? The arguments in favour of a negative view appear overwhelming. Ranjit had experienced disasters in his first attempt at the conquest of Kashmir owing to the inclemency of the climate and other peculiar local conditions. He no doubt dreaded the operation of the same causes in the event of his invading Kabul. Once in the year 1827, he had a conversation with Wade, the British agent, on the advisability of invading Kabul. About this interview Wade writes, "I proceeded to remark that it would be a very hazardous expedition. The country is a strange one to the Sikhs, intersected by mountains and torrents not easily passable; it would be difficult to maintain his communications and keep his troops supplied—observations in which His Highness at that time expressed his concurrence."[1]

In a similar strain, Ranjit Singh himself once spoke to Wafa Begum,

1 Pol. Proceedings, 31st July, No. 23.

wife of Shah Shuja. Of course with both these Ranjit Singh had reasons to suppress his motives. But what do we actually find? If these considerations had not weighed upon his mind, he would certainly have attempted the conquest of Afghanisthan during the long interval of confusion in Afghan history between the death of Md. Azim Khan and the accession of Dost Muhammad to power. His French officers were too eager to march on Kabul and no less eager were the Sikh Sardars and soldiers, but though he spoke of invading Afghanisthan on occasions just to humour his Sardars and French officers and keep Dost Muhammad on tenderhooks, the statesman within him never got the better of the mere warrior. It was only on one occasion probably that he seriously thought of invading Afghanisthan when Hari Singh Nalwa was killed in a surprise attack by the Afghans. Anger, pride and sorrow for a time overwhelmed him but when he regained his composure he thought no more of it. The opinion of the British Government in this matter should be noted. The Secretary wrote to Burnes: "His Lordship thinks that although it might be hazardous and unprofitable to the Maharaja to seek to retain possession of a country so difficult, yet in the immense resources at his command, in his wealthy treasury and numerous and disciplined army, he has the means of overrunning it and of consummating at least the ruin of its present ruler."[1] Ranjit was not, what he otherwise would have been, the last link in the chain of conquerors like Chengiz Khan, Timur, Nadir and Ahmad Shah. The temptation of pushing his conquests to the Hindukush, of avenging upon the Afghans what the Punjab had suffered from them—all these dreams he brushed away. He did not believe in conquering raids. What he conquered, he consolidated in his own way.

It may be argued against this view that the fact that he joined in the Tripartite Treaty to restore Shah Shuja shows that he was not disinclined to a conquest of Afghanisthan. But he was an unwilling partner in the enterprise. He joined because he knew that the British Government was prepared to undertake the expedition even without him and perhaps he feared that with their phenomenal good luck and their immense resources they might succeed where he did not hope to do. Yet perhaps he cheered his vexed spirit with the hope that the English would yet be baffled[2] and indeed they were.

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1 Pol. Proceedings, 19th May, 1838 No. 76.

2 Cunningham, History of the Sikhs.

Ranjit's north-western conquests have two stages. He conquered Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan but was at first content to rule through the local Muhammadan chieftains who acknowledged his overlordship and paid tribute. He conquered Peshawar but gave it first to Jahandad Khan and then to Yar Muhammad Khan as a feudatory. He conquered Dera Ghazi Khan but gave it to the Nawab of Bahawalpur. He subjugated Dera Ismail Khan, recognising the ruler Hafiz Muhammad Khan as tributory to Lahore. But not long after the disturbances from Syed Ahmad in Peshawar were over, we recognise a change of policy. Dera Ghazi Khan was re-occupied in 1831, Peshawar in 1834; Tak, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan were directly annexed between 1832 and 1836. His territory extended from Mithankot along the right bank of the Indus to the hills of Bajour. From Burnes we learn of the extent of the authority of the Maharaja west of the Indus—"He has no power beyond the plain country. The Derajat is under complete subjection, in Dera Ismail Khan the people are heartily disaffected. In the Eshakhyl territories the chief is now in rebellion. He will agree to pay tribute, as far as 36,000 rupees but not to receive a detachment of Sikhs. Murwat is also in rebellion. From Tak a more certain but varying tribute is levied. From Bunnoo nothing is procurable but by the presence of an army and north of it to the plain of Peshawar the country is entirely dependent."[1]

So far as the problem of the control of the border tribes was concerned, we can guess that Ranjit Singh's policy was not very different from that which was followed by the British Government in the years following the Sikh War. It can be called a "tip and run policy" i.e. when any particular tribe became too aggressive committing too many raids, a military column went into its country, inflicted whatever damage it could and came out again. The mountaineers were kept down by a movable column constantly in the field.

The military arrangements on the North-Western Frontier were calculated to defend the Punjab against an invasion from Afghanisthan.[2] Ranjit did not look beyond Afghanisthan to Russia and stood in no awe of Russian advance. Peshawar was strongly fortified, forts were erected there at Sikham, at Machin ; a line of towers at

1 Pol. Proceedings, 11th September, 1837, No. 39.
2 Pol. Proceedings, 29th August, 1836, No. 32.

intervals of two *Koses* connected that city and Attok. Forts at Attok, Khairabad, Shubkandur, Jahangeria and other places guarded the region. The most important fort in the Hazara region was that of Kushangarh. Hari Singh Nalwa was killed by a surprise attack of the Afghans while building a fort at Jamrud. After his death a new fort was built nearby and was named Fatehgarh. The forts between Torlila and Darband were almost within sight of each other. But the most important part of his plan of defence was connected with the acquisition of Tank, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. According to Burnes he seized Dera Ismail Khan in order to establish a connection along the banks of the Indus with Peshawar. But Wade remarks that the object was far deeper. "The seizure was intended to threaten Dost Muhammad Khan from a new quarter less difficult of access than Peshawar, while at the same time they protected the centre of the Punjab from any invasion of the Afghans when they might be employed in strengthening and consolidating their power in Peshawar."[1] The Governors of the Peshawar region were able but ruthless administrators as Hari Singh Nalwa and Avitabile.

Ranjit, in his civil administration, was concerned mainly with revenue and very little with justice, etc. From the papers of Lachmi Proshad, the Dewan of Avitabile we can collect details about revenue and expenditure of Peshawar in the time of Avitabile.

Peshawar

Revenue-Nanakshahi	...	11,86,709	
Goondas	...	1,74,113	
Total	...	13,60,822	
Deducting ⅛th for 174,113 Goondas	...	21,764	5
		13,39,057	11

Expenditure

Pensioners	...	9,898	
Charitable lands	...	24,939	4
Jageerdars	...	6,20,590	
Salary of Avitabile	...	50,000	
Office Establishment	...	7,087	

1 Pol. Proceedings, 31st August, 1837, No. 69.

Headmen of villages, district officers, judicial expenses			25,849	8
Ramghol Battalion (4834)	...	...	2,86,827	
Police Corps	...	...	51,155	
	Total	...	10,76,345	12
Deducting for Goonda rupees	...	...	2,263	14
			10,74,081	14
Balance in Nanakshahi rupees		...	2,64,975	13

This is exclusive of the expenses of the Kohistanee force of 6000 men, of repairs of public buildings, supplies in the forts, commissions, assignments, etc.

Bannoo Tank—Revenue about 65,000 rupees. The revenue was very often collected *vi et armis*.

Dera Ismail Khan Marwat etc.—Revenue 6,04,686.

A comparison is often made between Ranjit Singh and Hyder Ali. In the Malabar coast region Hyder had something much like the Western Frontier of Ranjit. Physically the Malabar coast was indented, precipitous, full of mountain gorges and magnificent forests. The inhabitants, the Nairs and the Moplahs were much like the Waziris and the Afridis of the North-West frontier. There was very little cultivation. Plundering of peaceful neigbours was a common feature. The Malabar region baffled the military skill, activity and resolution of Hyder. The inhabitants rose frequently in rebellion. Hyder made terrible raids and left monuments of his vengeance, established military posts only to meet with renewed resistance from the junglewallahs. The Malabar coast remained the most vulnerable spot of his kingdom and was reduced rapidly by Hartley in the war with Tipoo. Ranjit only met with a moderate degree of success in the solution of his western frontier problem. So long as the Sikh kingdom lasted, the frontier was defended against Afghanisthan. The border tribes were not of course brought under direct sway but that was not possible under the circumstances and they are still taxing the ingenuity of the British Government. So far as the administration of the conquered territory on the western frontier was concerned, he was not wholly unsuccessful. On the whole Ranjit showed more coolness in his western frontier than Hyder Ali in the Malabar Coast region.

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA

The Doctrine of Kāya in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna

One of the points of difference between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools noticed by the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, viz., that Buddha makes a show of his existence in the three dhātus leads us to an examination of the question of the Kāyas of Buddha as conceived by the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists. Of the Hīnayāna schools, the Sthaviravādins had very little to do with the Kāya conceptions, as Buddha was to them an actual man living in this world like any other human being and subject to all the frailties of a mortal body. Metaphorically they sometimes spoke of Buddha as identical with Dhamma without any metaphysical implication but these remarks gave opportunity to the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāyānists to put forth their theories of Dharmakāya.

The Sarvāstivādins commenced speculating on the kāya of Buddha. but it was the school of the Mahāsāṅghikas that took up the question of kāya in right earnest and paved the way for the speculations of the Mahāyānists,

The early Mahāyānists, whose doctrines are mostly to be found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, along with the school of Nāgārjuna conceived of two kāyas : (i) Rūpa- (or Nirmāṇa-) kāya, which included bodies, gross and subtle, meant for beings in general, and (ii) Dharmakāya, which was used in two senses, one being the body of Dharma (i.e. collection of practices) which makes a being a Buddha, and the other the metaphysical principle underlying the universe—the Reality.

The Yogācāra school distinguished the gross rūpakāya from the subtle rūpakāya, calling the former Rūpa or Nirmāṇa-kāya and the latter Sambhogakāya. The *Laṅkāvatāra*, representing the earliest stage of the Yogācāra conception, calls the Sambhoga-kāya Niṣyanda Buddha or Dharmatā-niṣyanda Buddha (the Buddha produced by the Dharmas). The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* uses the term Sambhogakāya for Niṣyanda Buddha and Svābhāvikakāya for Dharmakāya.[1] In the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā* and the recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Sambhogakāya denotes the subtle body, which the Buddhas adopted for preaching their doctrines to Bodhisattvas,

1 Sūtrā., pp. 45, 188.

and Dharmakāya the body purified by the practice of the bodhipakṣika and other dharmas, which make a Buddha. For the metaphysical Dharmakāya they use the term Svabhāva or Svābhāvikakāya. The *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* retains the conception of the *Kārikā* but adopts a new term, Svasambhogakāya, to denote the Dharmakāya of the *Karikā* and distinguishes the Sambhogakāya by calling it Parasambhogakāya.

Realistic Conception of Buddha in the Nikāyas

In a land where the tendency to deify saints is so strong, it is greatly to the credit of the early Hīnayānists that they were able to retain the human conception of Buddha even a century or two after his actual existence, when the scriptures may be regarded as having been put into a definite shape. They gave expression to their conception of Buddha in the following words, occurring in the Nikāyas: Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā. So imaṃ lokaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṃ pajaṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti. So dhammaṃ deseti ādikalyāṇaṃ, etc. ('The Blessed one is an arahat, a fully awakened one, endowed with knowledge and good conduct, happy, a knower of the world, unsurpassed, a leader able to control men, a teacher of men and gods, the awakened, the blessed. He knows thoroughly the worlds of gods, māras, recluses, brahmins and men, and having known them he makes his knowledge known to others. He preaches the dhamma (doctrines), which is excellent in the beginning, middle and end," etc).[1]

A description like this does not suggest that Buddha was originally more than a man, a mortal. In the cosmology of the Buddhists, the gods of the various heavens, the highest of which is Brahmaloka,[2] are only beings of superior merit and power, but they are inferior, in the matter of spiritual attainments, to the saints or arahats. So in this description the Hīnayānists do not attribute any transcendental or theistic element to Buddha. All they say is that Śākyamuni by pure

1 This passage occurs in many places of the Nikāyas, see, e.g. Dīgha, I, pp. 87-88; cf. Lal. Vis., p. 3; Sad. P., pp. 144, 376.

2 In the Mahāyānic works also, as for instance in the Daśa., it is stated that a Bodhisattva can become a Mahābrahman in the ninth bhūmi if he so wishes.

and simple spiritual culture in this life and as a result of the accumulated merits of his previous lives, reached the highest stage of perfection and attained not only knowledge and power superior to any man or god but also the highest knowledge and power attainable. In the Majjhima Nikāya, Ānanda explains why Buddha should be considered superior to the Arhats as well, although both arrived at the same goal. He says that there is not a single bhikkhu, who can be regarded as endowed with all the qualities in all their forms as possessed by Buddha. Moreover, a Buddha is the originator of the path not existing before, a knower and promulgator of the mārga, which is only followed by the sāvakas.[1]

Nikāya Passages admitting a non-realistic Conception

In the face of such descriptions of Buddha, it would have been difficult for the later Hīnayāna schools to sublimate the human elements in him, had it not been for certain expressions in some of the earlier works of the Piṭaka, which lent themselves to other interpretations. Some of these expressions are :—

(1) 'Yo vo Ānanda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mam' accayena satthā. (Buddha said to Ānanda just before his parinibbāna 'the dhamma and vinaya that have been preached by me will be your teacher after my death.').[2]

The dhamma and vinaya clearly refer to the collection of doctrines and disciplinary rules delivered by Buddha. This is also evident from the conversation of Ānanda with Gopaka-Moggallāna, where the former explains why the monks after Buddha's death should not be considered as without refuge (appaṭisaraṇa). He says that they have now a refuge in Dhamma (dhammapaṭisaraṇa), which, he points out, are the doctrines and disciplinary rules.[3]

(2) Bhagavato' mhi putto oraso mukhato jāto dhammajo dhammanimmito dhammadāyādo iti.[4] Taṃ kissa hetu ? Tathāgatassa h' etam

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1 Majjhima, III, p. 8. 2 Dīgha, II, p. 154; Milinda, p. 99.

3 Majjhima, Gopaka-Moggallāna Sutta (No. 108). Cf. Saddhamma Saṅgaha (JPTS., 1890), ch. x, p. 65 : Buddha says "84,000 dhammakkhandhas have been preached by me in 45 years. I alone only pass away while there are 84,000 dhammakkhandhas which like 84,000 Buddhas (buddha-sadisa) will admonish you."

4 Saṃyutta, II, p. 221; Majjhima, III, p. 29 has the identical

adhivacanaṃ. Dhammakāyo iti pi Brahmakāyo iti pi. Dhammabhūto iti pīti. "Just as a brāhmaṇa would say that he is born of Brahmā, through his mouth—Brahmuno puttā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā—so a Sākyaputtiya-samaṇa may say that he is born of Bhagavā, through his mouth, born of his doctrine, made of his doctrine, etc.[1] Though in this passage Dhamma is equated with Brahmā, the context shows that there is no metaphysical sense in it ; it is only to draw a parallel between a brāhmaṇa and a Sākyaputtiya-samaṇa that Dhammakāya is equated with Brahmakāya.

(3) Vakkali on his death-bed became very eager to see Buddha in person ; so Bhagavā came to him and said "Alaṃ Vakkali kiṃ te pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. Yo kho Vakkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati. Yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati." Just after saying this, Buddha referred to his dhamma of impermanence (anicca). There are in the Nikāyas many passages of this import, which may well be taken as precursors of the later Mahāyānic conceptions and probably formed the basis of their speculations. But the passages when read as they stand do not appear to bear any metaphysical sense. In this passage Buddha refers to his body as *pūtikāya* (body of impure matter), and to lay stress on his doctrines he says that his dhamma should be looked upon with the same awe and reverence by his disciples as they regard his person.[2]

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passage with the addition "no āmisadāyādo" after "dhammadāyādo." For the interpretation of "dhammadāyādo" see *Majjhima*, I, pp. 12f.

1 *Majjhima*, II, p. 84 ; *Dīgha*, III, p. 84 ; *Majjhima*, III, pp. 195, 224 has "Bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇabhūto dhammabhūto".

2 *Saṃyutta*, III, p.120 ; *Majjhima*, I, pp. 190, 191 : Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati. For other references, see Prof. Vallée Poussin's article "Notes sur les Corps du Bouddha" in *Le Muséon*, 1913, pp. 259-290. Compare the remarks in the later Pāli works,—

Saddhamma Saṅgaha (JPTS., 1890), p. 61 :

Yo me passati saddhammaṃ so maṃ passati Vakkali
Apassamāno saddhammaṃ maṃ passe pi na passati.

Milinda, p. 71 : yo dhammaṃ passati so bhagavantaṃ passati, dhammo hi mahārāja bhagavatā desito ti.

Ibid., p. 73 : Dhammakāyena pana kho mahārāja sakkā bhagavā nidassetuṃ, dhammo hi mahārāja bhagavatā desito ti.

(4) The passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,[1] where Buddha says that he is neither a god, nor a gandhabba, nor a man, has been taken by Prof. Masson-Oursel[2] as showing trace of the Mahāyānic kāya conceptions. It is not impossible to read some metaphysical ideas into the passage, though probably the compiler of the Suttas did not mean to convey them. Doṇa brāhmaṇa, noticing the sign of the wheel in the feet of Buddha, enquired of him whether he was a deva, a gandhabba, a yakkha or a mortal. Buddha replied that he was none of these beings as he had got rid of the āsavas (impurities) by the continuance of which one remains a deva, gandhabba, yakkha or mortal. Just as a lotus is born in water, grows in it but remains above and is apart from it, so also Buddha was born in the world, grew up in it but overcame it (abhibhuyya) and lived unaffected by the same. Therefore, he asked the brāhmaṇa not to regard him as anything but Buddha.

There are other passages referring to the miraculous powers of Buddha, *viz.*, his ability to live a kalpa or to assume different forms and perform such other miracles; but it will be noticed that these powers were attributed not to Buddha alone but also to his disciples in general, who had been able to attain the higher stages of sanctification.[3]

Kāya-conceptions of the Theravādins remained unchanged

Even if it be assumed that the Mahāyānic ideas are latent in the above-mentioned expressions though not adequately expressed, the discussion in the *Kathāvatthu* to establish the historical existence of Buddha as against those who denied it, and the manner in which references were made to the events of Buddha's life as depicted in the Nikāyas leaves no vestige of doubt about the opinion of the Theravādins regarding the kāya of Buddha.[4]

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1 *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 38.

2 Prof. Masson-Oursel in his article "Les trois Corps du Bouddha", *J. A.*, 1913, pp. 581ff.

3 See Kośa, II, 10 (also for references in the Nikāyas).

4 K. V., xvii. 1: The Vetulyakas held on the basis of the passage cited above (no. 4) that "it is not right to say that 'the exalted Buddha lived in the world of mankind.' The Theravādins did not agree with them. Buddhaghosa also pointed out how the passage should be interpreted.

Though the terms rūpakāya and dharmakāya found their way into the later Pāli works[1] from Mahāyāna or semi-Mahāyāna works, they did not bring with them any non-realistic sense. Buddhaghosa even as late as the fifth century A.C. refers thus to the kāyas: "yo pi so Bhagavā asīti anuvyañjanapaṭimaṇḍita-dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇa-vicitra-rūpakāyo sabbākāraparisuddha-sīlakkhandhādi-guṇaratana-samiddha-dhammakāyo yasamahatta-puññamahatta.....appaṭipuggalo arahaṃ sammāsambuddho ('that Bhagavā, who is possessed of a beautiful rūpakāya, adorned with eighty minor signs and thirty-two major signs of a great man, and possessed of a dharmakāya purified in every way and glorified by sīla, samādhi, etc.[2], full of splendour and virtue, incomparable and fully awakened').[3]

In short, the early Hīnayānists conceived the Buddha's rūpakāya as that of a human being,[4] and his dhammakāya as the collection of his dhammas, i.e. doctrines and disciplinary rules collectively.

Conception of the Sarvāstivādins

The other school, the Sarvāstivādins, who retained the realistic conception of Buddha, differed a little from the Theravādins. Unfortunately their original Piṭakas in Sanskrit are lost beyond recovery and we have to depend for our information about them on the few fragmentary pieces of their literature discovered in Central Asia, or on the Chinese translations of their Āgamas, in which again very little spade-work has yet been done.[5] Our main source of information at present is the *Abhidharmakośa*, made accessible to us from Chinese by the monumental translation in French by Prof. Vallée

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1 See e.g. *Sad. Saṅ.* (JPTS.) 1890, p. 69:

Sambuddhānaṃ dve kāyā rūpakāyo sirīdharo/
Yo tehi desito dhammo dhammakāyo ti vuccati//

2 The five khandhas referred to here are, sīla, samādhi, paññā, vimutti and vimuttiñāṇadassana. See *Mil.*, p. 98.

3 *Vism.*, p. 234; *Atthasālinī*, p. 13: 'Nimittabuddha'; *Jātaka*, I, p. 84: 'Rūpakāyasirī'.

4 See Prof. Vallée Poussin's *Bouddhisme*, pp. 232f.

5 Dr. Chizen Akanuma (Eastern Buddhist, II, p. 7) quotes some passages from the Chinese Aṅguttara and Saṃyukta Āgamas and shows that the dharmakāya of Buddha denoted the collection of dharmas (teachings).

Poussin. The Kośa, again, it should be noted, is the work of a systematiser and the production of a time much later than that of the Āgamas, to which it bears the same relation as the Visuddhimagga does to the Pāli Piṭakas. As the present state of our knowledge indicates that the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Lalitavistara*[1] originally belonged to this school, though they were recast by the Mahāyānists, we must examine with caution some of the statements found in them regarding the kāya conception.

(*i*) *Divyāvadāna*

There are a few passages in the Divyāvadāna throwing light on the rūpakāya and dharmakāya of Buddha and bearing the identical sense of the Pāli works. On one occasion Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa said that, through the grace of his teacher, he had seen the dharmakāya of Buddha, but as he was anxious to see the rūpakāya, he wanted to go to the place where Buddha was living at the time.[2] Upagupta once said to Māra that he had seen the dharmakāya only and requested him to show him the rūpakāya. Māra thereupon made an image (vigraha) of Buddha replete with all the major and minor signs of great men.[3] In the answer that king Rudrāyaṇa gave to Bimbisāra that "na rājan kṛpaṇo loke dharmakāyena saṃspṛśet" (let not, O King, an irreligious person[4] attain (lit. touch) the dharmakāya), the word "dharmakāya" may bear a metaphysical interpretation but the context does not warrant it.[5] The remark made by Asoka, after Upagupta had pointed out to him the stūpa of Ānanda, makes the sense of dharmakāya quite explicit. It runs thus: 'That body which you all call pure, excellent and made of dharma (dharmātmano dharmamayo) was borne (dhāritaṃ) by him called Viśoka (=Ānanda) and therefore his stūpa deserves great honour. The lamp of dharma, the dispeller of the darkness of afflictions that burnt still among men was due to the power of him, the son of Sugatendra, and therefore, should be worshipped with special reverence.[6]

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1 Winternitz, Geschichte etc., II, p. 194.

2 Divyā., p. 19. 3 Divyā., p. 360.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 560: kṛpaṇa is defined thus:
yas tu dharmavirāgārtham adharme nirato nṛpaḥ/
sa rājan kṛpaṇo jñeyas tamastamaḥparāyaṇaḥ//

5 *Ibid.*, p. 560.

6 Divyā., pp. 396-7. Cf. Przyluski, Asoka, p.408: In connection

There are, however, Avadānas in the Divyāvadāna, which were not without some Mahāyānic tint, for, we read in the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna,[1] as we usually find in the Mahāyānic works, that rays of light issued forth from Buddha's mouth when he smiled, irradiating the beings of heaven and hell. It is noteworthy that the Atthasālinī[2] also speaks of raśmis (rays of light) of six colours issuing out of Buddha's body. It seems that the Mahāyānic ideas were percolating gradually into the rocky soil of the conservative Theravādins.

(*ii*) *Lalitavistara*

The *Lalitavistara* gives us a picture of Buddha more superhuman than human and yet far from the Mahāyānic conceptions of the Sambhogakāya and Dharmakāya, though in the last two chapters it dwells on the doctrine of Tathatā. In the *Lalitavistara* Buddha is deified but there are no traces of the Trikāya conception. It says in many places that Buddha appears in the world of men for *lokānuvartana* (i.e. to follow the ways of the world), which, if he so desired, he could avoid by remaining in one of the heavens and attaining emancipation there. The running account of Buddha's life is interrupted at times,—probably they are afterthoughts of the complier—by dialogues between Buddha and Ānanda, in order to make the treatise appear Mahāyānic and not Hīnayānic. At one place Buddha explains to Ānanda that, unlike human beings, he did not stay in the filth of mother's womb but in a jewel-casket (ratnavyūha)[4] placed in the womb, which was as hard as adamant but soft to the touch like the down of a Kācilindika bird, and that his birth and other events connected with it were all superhuman. At the same time he prophesies that there will be, in the future, men unrestrained in act, thought and speech, ignorant, faithless, proud, believing without deliberation what is heard by them, who will not believe in the superhuman nature of his birth.[5] One can perceive through the poetical exaggerations of

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with the destruction of the law, Mahāmāyā exclaiming "Ceux qui sont nés du Corps de la Loi (dharmakāya), ou sont-ils allés ?

1 Divyā., xxxvii, p. 568. 2 Attha., p. 16.

3 E.g. *Mtu.*, I, pp. 168, 170.

4 *Lal. Vis.*, pp. 88, 105, 106. This formed one of the points of contention of the Mahāsāṅghikas. See Masuda, Early Origin &c. in the Asia Major, vol. II.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 87ff. This goes against the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda conceptions.

the *Lalitavistara* that it has in view the historical Buddha endowed with the major and minor signs—a human being after all, who requires to be reminded by the heavenly musicians of the acts of his past lives and his resolution to become a Buddha and rescue beings from misery, and who needs a stimulus to renounce the world in order to fulfil his resolution.[1] In connection with the offer of houses which was made by the gods to the Bodhisattva when he was in the womb, it is said that in order to please all the gods who offered houses he caused the the appearance of his pregnant mother Māyādevī in each of those houses by means of the Mahāvyūha samādhi. This does not clearly reflect any idea of Nirmāṇakāya—it appears more like some of the miracles mentioned in the Nikāyas. In the last chapter of the *Lalitavistara* where Buddha's attributes are mentioned, he is called the great tree (mahādruma), because he possesses a body of Dharmakāyajñāna (the knowledge of Dharmakāya).[2] As this chapter is very likely a Mahāyānic addition, we may reasonably say that the *Lalitavistara* in its original form as a treatise of the Sarvāstivādins viewed Buddha as a human being with superhuman attributes.

(*iii*) *Abhidharmakoṣa*

We may now consider the writings of Vasubandhu, the great exponent of the Sarvāstivāda school. In his *Abhidharmakośa* he imported a new meaning into the words Dharmakāya and Rūpakāya. In examining the three Śaraṇas, he tried to bring out the real sense of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha in which a Buddhist takes refuge. He said that those who take refuge in Buddha do, in fact, take refuge in the dharmas (qualities) which constitute a Buddha (buddhakāraka), i.e. the dharmas by the acquisition of which a certain person is called a Buddha, or in other words, the dharmas by the acquisition of which a person understands all things. These dharmas are kṣayajñāna (knowledge of the destruction of misery), anutpādajñāna[3] (knowledge

1 The descriptions gave opportunity to the Mahāyānists to invent Upāyakauśalya Pāramitā, the duties of Adhyeṣaṇā, Yācanā, etc.

2 Lal. Vis., p. 428.

3 Kośa, VI, 67 explains that Kṣayajñāna with Anutpādajñāna makes Bodhi. On account of difference among saints in the acquisition of these jnānas, Bodhi is said to be of three kinds: Śrā-

of the further non-origination of misery), and samyagdṛṣṭi (right view) of the Aśaikṣas together with the dharmas attendant on the jñāna, viz. the five pure skandhas. A dharmakāya is formed of these dharmas. In another place, while showing the sameness of the Dharmakāyas of all Buddhas, he explained the Dharmakāya as a series of pure dharmas, or rather a renewal of the psycho-physical organism of the substratum (anāsravadharmasaṃtāna, āśrayaparāvṛtti).[1] The Dharmakāya then signifies a new purified personality or substratum (āśraya), but it is pointed out that such a dharmakāya is possessed also by an arhat.[2] In the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*[3] such a dharmakāya is also attributed to the mother of Śākyamuni or to an advanced upāsaka. Thus we see that the Kośa has two interpretations of the Dharmakāya, one being the qualities adhering to a Buddha and the other the purified personality (āśraya) possessed by him. The Kośa, in fact, replaces the concrete conceptions of the Dharmakāya found in the Nikāyas and the Divyāvadāna by an abstract one. In the last two works the Dharmakāya signified only the doctrines, *viz.*, the Bodhipakkhiya dharmas or Anicca, Dukkha and Anātma, together with the Vinaya rules contained in the Pātimokkha, while to Vasubandhu it meant the qualities adhering to a Buddha as well as the purified personality (āśraya).

Referring to the formulæ of the Śaraṇas, Vasubandhu says that as the physical body (rūpakāya) of Buddha does not uudergo any

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vakabodhi, Pratyekabuddhabodhi and Anuttarasamyaksambodhi. By the above two jñānas one completely abandons ignorance (aśeṣāvidyāprahāṇāt); by the first, one realises the truth that his task is accomplished (i.e. the duḥkha has been realised by him); by the second, one realises that his task is no more to be accomplished, (i.e. the duḥkha has been realised by him and he will not have to labour any more).

The samyagdṛṣṭi of the Aśaikṣas is to see things as they are really, to know truly the general character (sāmānyalakṣaṇa) of dharmas. See Kośa, VI, 50 fn. For a note on the Kṣayajñāna, see Masuda, 'Origin of Schools etc.', in *Asia Major*, vol. II, Fasc. I.

1 Kośa, VII. 34 for the sense of āśraya see *Ibid.*, VIII, 34 fn. Cf. āśraya parśuddhi, Sūtrā, p. 186 l. 1.

2 *Kośa*, IV, 56.

3 Hüber, *Sutrālaṃkāra*, pp. 217, 390 quoted in the Fr. Transl. of the *Kośa*, VII. 32 p. 81.

modification by the acquisition of the quality of Buddha, one should not take refuge in the rūpakāya of Buddha, which is, in fact, the rūpakāya of the Bodhisattva and hence sāsrava (impure). Just as a man would respect a monk for the qualities adhering to him and not for his person, so a Buddhist should take refuge in Buddhatva and not in Buddha the person. In the same way Vasubandhu explains the two other śaraṇas, *viz.*, Dharma and Saṅgha, the former being explained as Nirvāṇa, or the three Truths—Duḥkha, Samudaya and Mārga, or Sukha, Duḥkha and Asukha-aduḥkha—and the latter as the qualities that a saṅgha of monks is expected to possess.[1]

The Vibhāṣā informs us that there are some who believe that to take refuge in Buddha is to take refuge in the body constituted by the head, nape of the neck, belly, back, hands and feet of the Tathāgata. Some say that as the body is born of parents, it is impure (sāsrava) and therefore it should not be a place of refuge. The refuge should be the Aśaikṣa dharmas, which make a Buddha, i.e., the Dharmakāya.[2] Apparently the Vibhāṣā refers in the first case to the earlier Hīnayāna schools and in the second to the Sarvāstivādins and their followers.

Similar Dharmakāya Conception among the Satyasiddhis and the Mahāyānists

The Satyasiddhi school takes almost the same view of the Dharmakāya as the Sarvāstivādins. According to it the Dharmakāya is made of śīla, samādhi, prajñā, vimukti and vimuktijñānadarśana-dharmakāyas. Buddhaghosa, Nāgārjuna and the writer of the *Milinda-pañha* also refer to such a dharmakāya.[3] It means that the body of Buddha was purified by the practices of these five skandhas, and hence it can be called Dharmakāya. But as these purifications are obtained by Arhats also, Harivarman, the founder of the Satyasiddhi school, distinguished the Dharmakāya of Buddha by saying that his dharmakāya consisted not only of the above five purificatory practices but also of ten powers (daśa bala), four proficiencies (vaiśā-

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1 Compare the formulæ of Śaraṇa in the Nikāyas, e.g. *Dīgha*, III, p. 227.

2 *Kośa.*, VI, p. 32; IV, p. 76n.; VIII, p. 34.

3 *Vism.* p. 234; *M. Vr.* (as opinion of non-Mādhyamikas), p. 433; *Mil.*, p. 98.

radya) and the three recollections (smṛtyupasthāna), which the Arhats cannot obtain.[1]

The *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*[2] and the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,[3] important text-books of the Yogācāra school, define the Dharmakāya with a similar sense. They say that the various dharmas, *viz.*, Bodhipakṣikas, Apramāṇas, Vimokṣas, Samāpattis and so forth, constitute Sarvajñatā (omniscience) and Sarvajñatā is the Dharmakāya. It should be noted that the Kārikā and the Prajñāpāramitā use this expression in a sense different from that current in the Mahāyāna texts. It is really the Svasambhogakāya of the later Vijñānavādins.

The Prajñāpāramitās also maintain the conception that Dharmakāya is produced by dharmas, the highest of which is, according to them, the prajñāpāramitā, i.e. the knowledge which helps a person to realise the dharma-śūnyatā. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* takes up the question whether the honour shown to the relics of the Tathāgatakāya is more meritorious than the honour shown to the Prajñāpāramitā, e.g., by making a copy of it. The answer given is that the relics depend on the body purified by the prajñāpāramitā, and therefore it is the source of Buddhas. The source deserves more honour than the remnants of the fruit (i.e. relics of Buddha) produced therefrom, and therefore it is more meritorious to honour the Prajñāpāramitā than the relics.[4] It adds that all teachings of Buddha issue from the Prajñāpāramitā and the Dharmabhāṇakas preserve and propagate them ; so the Dharmabhāṇakas should also be respected. They are protected by the Dharmakāya, the Prajñāpāramitā. *Sarvajñatā* (omniscience) is predominated (paribhāvita) by the prajñāpāramitā ; from *sarvajñatā* issues the body of Tathāgata, the relics of whom are worshipped; hence prajñāpāramitā deserves greater honour.[5]

Hīnayānic speculations: (*a*) *Whether rūpakāya is vipākaja ?*

The Kośa maintains that the rūpakāya of Buddha endowed with the major and minor signs is the result of the excellent karmas of his

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1 Y. Sogen, *Systems, etc.*, pp. 181, 182.

2 *Kārikā*, ch. viii.

3 *Pañcaviṃśati*, (ASB. ms.) l. 224a.

4 *Aṣṭa.*, ch. iv.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 99. It is from this conception that the Prajñāpāramitā is addressed as the mother of Buddhas.

previous lives. According to it, even the Buddhas cannot escape the effects of their karma. The schism created by Devadatta in the saṅgha is attributed to a deed in one of the previous lives of Śākyamuni. The *Vyākhyā* and the *Vibhāṣā* explain that it happened to Śākyamuni only, and not to any other Buddhas, because in one of his former lives he divided by dissension the disciples of an ascetic, possessed of five abhijñās.[1] That the Buddhas enjoy or suffer the effects of karma is also maintained by the *Divyāvadāna*[2] and the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[3] The *Divyāvadāna* refers to a saying of Śākyamuni that even the Jinas themselves are not free from their karmas, while the *Majjhima Nikāya* says that a Tathāgata performs good deeds in his previous lives, and as a result of those he enjoys in the present pure, and pleasant sensations (vedanā) only. Tradition says that when Buddha was hurt by the splinter of stone thrown by Devadatta, he said that ninety-one kalpas ago he had hurt a person by a spear, as the result of which evil deed, he now received a wound.

The *Milindapañha*, however, takes a different view of this matter. Admitting that Devadatta created a schism in the saṅgha, it says that as the schism was not created by any act of Buddha's own and as it was caused by an external influence, it should be said that Buddha as the result of his *karma* had an undivided assembly (abhejjapariso). In a similar way it explains away the wound or the illnesses from which Buddha suffered. First it asserts that Buddha attained omniscience after uprooting all roots of evil (akusalamūlas); so he could not have any more sufferings through *karma*. It then says that apart from *karma* there are other causes like the three humours, seasons, etc. which produce 'vedanā' (feelings). According to it, the wound that Buddha received was due to an 'opakammika' (accidental) cause and his illnesses to causes other than *karma*.

(*b*) *Was Buddha a jarāyuja or upapāduka?*

In order to remove doubt from the minds of the people as to the nature of the birth of so great and meritorious a being as the Bodhisattva in his last existence—a doubt expressed also in the *Lalitavistara*, where a ratnavyūha has been devised for the Bodhisattva's abode in his mother's womb—the Kośa[4] proceeds to show that the

1 *Kośa*, VII. 34, p. 8 fn., 84; IV, 102, p. 212 fn. 2.
2 *Divyā.*, p. 416 3 *Majjhima*, III, p. 227.
4 *Kośa*, III, 9.

Bodhisattvas possess the power of choosing the manner of their birth (upapattivaśitva), and that Śākyamuni chose birth in a uterus (jarāyu) with two objects. One was to benefit the Śākya clan and at the same time not to give opportunity to the people to consider him a magician or a god or a demon, and the other was to leave some relics of his body, by worshipping which men and other beings would go to heaven by thousands, or attain deliverance.

The Mahāsāṅghikas and their followers[1] assert that Śākyamuni was an upapāduka (self-born), and that even his son Rāhula was also an upapāduka, for Bodhisattvas cannot have kāma. They assert that Bodhisattvas are possessed of 'ādhiṣṭhāniki ṛddhi' (i.e. the power of appearing anywhere and in any form), and that by that power Śākyamuni made a seeming show of his existence in the womb of Māyā. They conceived Buddha as *lokottara* (transcendental), and Śākyamuni as only a phantom (Nirmāṇakāya). The transcendental Buddha has a rūpakāya which is limitless, everlasting, free from all sāsrava dharmas. He is always in samādhi,[2] never sleeps or dreams, can know everything in an instant of thought. He knows neither fatigue nor rest, and is ever busy in enlightening sentient beings. His power and his life are limitless. For the benefit of sentient beings he appears at will in any one of the six gatis. Whatever he utters relates to the truth, though people may understand him differently. In short, the Mahāsāṅghikas conceived Buddha as a totally supermundane being with illimitable powers and knowledge, who never desired to attain Nirvāṇa.[3]

Kāya conception at the beginning of Mahāyāna

The Mahāyānists incorporated the Nirmāṇakāya conception of the Mahāsāṅghikas into their Trikāya theory, adding the two other, Sambhogakāya and Dharmakāya, the former approaching the Mahāsāṅghika conception of the transcendental Buddha, while the latter was a new philosophic conception of the Mahāyānists.

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1 Eg. the Vetulyakas (Kathāvatthu).

2 *Cf. Laṅkā.*, p. 240: sadā samāhitāś ca tathāgatāḥ.

3 For details see Masuda's Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools, *Asia Major*, vol. II, fasc. I; Anesaki's article in the E. R. E., sv. Docetism (Buddhist); Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 249-251. See also *Kośa*, III, 9 referring to *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 145, 154.

These new Kāya conceptions, it seems, did not make much of an appeal at the beginning of Mahāyāna. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* tried to erase any lingering impression about the historical existence of Śākyamuni. In the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*[1] we find Maitreya Bodhisattva, assuming the rôle of a sceptic and enquiring how Buddha could, within a short space of forty years after the attainment of Bodhi at Gayā, perform the innumerable duties of a Tathāgata and lead incalculable bodhisattvas to Buddhahood. It appears like the paradox of a man of twenty-five years claiming centenarians as his sons and the latter calling him their father. Similarly Buddha's pointing to Bodhisattvas who had been performing the various duties conducive to Buddhahood for many millions of years as his disciples appears paradoxical. Maitreya says further that in the minds of those Bodhisattvas who recently became Mahāyānists (navayānasamprasthitāḥ) there may be doubts of this nature ; so the Tathāgata should explain the paradox for the welfare of the religion. Buddha then asks his audience thrice to believe his words (avakalpayadhvam abhiśraddadhvaṃ), and says, "It is not to be considered (naiva draṣṭavyam) that Bhagavān Śākyamuni lately leaving his family attained Bodhi at Gayā, I attained sambodhi incalculable ages ago[2], and since then I have been preaching the dharma. All that I have said about the previous Tathāgatas, Dīpaṅkara etc., and their parinirvāṇa were all my own creations. They were only my expedients for imparting the dharma (upāyakauśalyadharmadeśanābhinirhāranirmitāni). All that I have said to the effect that I was young, recently born, left home, and attained Bodhi, was to appeal to a class of people who otherwise would not have been convinced of the excellence of the religion and derive benefits therefrom. But all that I said was not untrue, as the Tathāgatas know what the three dhātus really are ; they know that the dhātus neither are born nor die, neither produce nor non-produce, neither exist nor non-exist ; neither are they the same nor different, and they are neither true nor false. All that the Tathāgatas say is true, but people devoid of right knowledge construe different meanings out of it. Though I have not attained parinirvāṇa, I say that I have attained it. In order to rouse curiosity in the minds of the people and a desire to see Buddha, I say that the appearance of a Buddha is an exceedingly rare event. I made a show of the Nirvāṇa, but did not enter into it, but people with distorted views could not

1 *Sad. P.*, pp. 311ff.

see my real self, and busied themselves with the worship of my relics. But this also produced a good effect, for they thereby became righteous and gave up their passions. From among them I formed my śrāvakasaṅgha, and showed myself at Gṛdhrakūṭa, and explained to them how to attain the agrabodhi."

In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*[1] Ruciraketu and Kauṇḍilya the brāhmaṇa play the rôle of the sceptics. The former enquires why Śākyamuni, who performed so many meritorious deeds, should have such a short span of life as eighty years. The latter seeks a mustard-like relic of Buddha's body to worship and thus go to heaven. Ruciraketu is told by the Buddhas of all lokadhātus that they did not know any man or god who could calculate the length of Śākyamuni's life. They said that it might be possible to count the drops of water in a sea but it would be impossible to ascertain the length of his life. Kauṇḍilya brāhmaṇa, who only feigned ignorance, was told by Litsavikumāra that, just as it is absurd to expect cocoanuts from a rose-apple tree, so it is absurd to expect a relic from the Buddhakāya. The Tathāgatas have no origin, they are ever existing and inconceivable. It is only the Nirmitakāya that is shown by them. How can a body, in which there is no bone or blood, have a dhātu (relic)? Buddhas have only Dharmakāya and there is only the Dharmadhātu.

Nirmāṇakāya

The Mahāyānic texts tried to show, on the one hand, that the Hīnayānists were wrong in their belief that Śākyamuni was really a man of flesh and blood and that relics of his body existed, while on the other hand, they introduced the two conceptions of Nirmāṇakāya and Buddhakāya. Whatever is said to have been done by Śākyamuni is accounted for by these texts as the apparent doings of a phantom of the Buddhakāya, a shadowy image created to follow the ways of the world (lokānuvartana),[2] in order to bring conviction to the hearts of the people that the attainment of Buddhahood was not an impossibility. As the Buddhas possess the knowledge of all that is to be done (kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna),[3] they can take any form they desire for the illumination of the various classes of beings. The Mahāyānic conception of the Nirmāṇakāya is essentially the same as that of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

1 *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (B.T.S. ed.), pp. 4-8. 2 Cf. *Mtu.*, I, pp. 168, 170.
3 One of the four jñānas peculiar to Buddha, see *Mvyut.*, p. 2.

The Prajñāpāramitās in their quaint way refer to the Nirmāṇakāya or Rūpakāya. The *Pañcaviṃśati* says that a bodhisattva after acquiring all the necessary dharmas and practising prajñāpāramitā, becomes Sambuddha. He then renders service to beings of all lokadhātus (worlds) of the ten corners at all times by Nirmāṇamegha (Nirmāṇa-clouds). This is called the Nairmāṇikā-kāya.[1]

From the Chinese sources[2] we are informed that Nāgārjuna in his commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā, called the Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra, speaks of two kāyas, rūpakāya and dharmakāya. The former is the body born of parents, possessing the qualities of sentient beings, and is subject to human frailties. It was born in Kośala while his dharmakāya was born at Rājagṛha. The material body was necessary for "earthly truth." It was for the deliverance of beings that Buddha assumed different bodies, different names, birth-places and ways of emancipation. This interpretation of rūpa- and dharma-kāyas is also followed in the Chinese *Parinirvāṇasūtra* and *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*.[3]

Some of the Yogācāra texts furnish us with the following information regarding the conception of Nirmāṇakāya as prevailing among the Yogācārins :

(i) The *Sūtrālaṅkāra*[4] explains the Nirmāṇakāya to be those forms which are assumed by Buddhas to render service to beings of the various worlds. It generally refers to the human form that Buddha takes in order to make a show of his acquiring the ordinary arts and crafts required by an average man, living a family life and then retiring from it, and ultimately attaining Nirvāṇa by recourse to ascetic practices.

(ii) The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* tells us that the Nirmāṇakāya is meant for Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, Pṛthagjanas (common men) and Bodhisattvas, who are not yet in one of the ten bhūmis. It may appear in all lands whether pure or impure.[5] The Chinese commentaries on the *Siddhi* mention the various ways, in which Buddha can transform his body or another's body or voice, and his or others' mind, to suit his purpose. Not only could he transform himself into Śākya-

1 *Pañcaviṃśati* (Cambr. ms.) 343b.

2 C. Akanuma, E. B., II, pp. 17ff. ; Masuda, *Die Individualistische Idealismus*, etc., p. 60.

3 *E. B.*, II, pp. 21f.

4 *Sūtrā.*, p. 45.

5 Masuda, *Die Individualistische*, etc., p. 60.

muni, or Śāriputra into a young girl, but he could also create an altogether new apparitional body, not, of course, a living, thinking being.[1] Often he assumed the voice of Brahmā or expressed himself through the mouth of Śāriputra or Subhūti, and it was for this reason that we find Śāriputra or Subhūti explaining some of the abstruse Mahāyāna teachings, which they themselves were not expected to understand.[2] The third way in which he could transform his voice was to produce sounds from the sky. His thoughts were supramundane (lokottara) and pure (anāsrava). He could produce in his mind any thought he liked; in fact, he appeared in his Nirmitakāya as Śākyamuni with a mind (citta) suited to the ways of the world. He could also impose his thoughts on the minds of others.

(iii) The *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā* thinks that there are four kāyas, of which the Svābhāvikakāya is real, and the three others, viz., Dharmakāya (= Svasambhogakāya), Sambhogakāya (= Parasambhogakāya) and Nirmāṇakāya are sāṃvṛta (i.e. unreal) which are meant for Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas respectively. According to it. the Nirmāṇakāya was intended for Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, who are not yet in one of the ten bhūmis. It describes the Nirmāṇakāya as a body unsevered from the real kāya; and as the actions performed by it are similarly unsevered from the kāya, they should be regarded as asaṃsāra (transcendental, i.e. not worldly). Then it proceeds to show that the thirty-seven kinds of purificatory actions performed by the Nirmāṇakāya are really the actions of the Dharmakāya. The thirty-seven actions, as explained by it, are the thirty-seven steps through which a Nirmāṇakāya passes after its inception. They are as follows:[3] A Nirmāṇakāya (i) is unmindful of good or bad forms of existence; in other words, takes birth as an animal, human being or god as necessities require—this is called *gatipraśamam*; (ii) practises the four *saṃgrahavastus* (elements of popularity); (iii) enlightens himself about matters opposite and similar, good and evil, by the *śrutamayi* and such other means of knowledge, and then applies himself to the service of others, keeping himself unconcerned (i.e. having no *anunaya*, like a magician (for the things made by him magically); (iv) prac-

1 I have derived this information from Prof. de la Vallée Poussin.

2 See *Aṣṭa.*, pp. 14, 33, 414.

3 *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, p. 604.

tises the six pāramitās purified in three ways *trimaṇḍalaviśuddhi*) ; (v) performs and persuades others to perform, the ten *kuśalakarmapathas* (moral duties) and thus establish all in the path leading to Buddhahood ; (vi) exerts for realising the non-existence in reality of all things ; (vii) comprehends the non-duality of things and the all-pervasiveness of the dharma-dhātu, and so on, until he reaches the Tathāgatabhūmi after realising the absence of difference between things constituted and unconstituted.[1] In short, the *Kārikā* wants to say that the whole course of life of a Bodhisattva, extending through incalculable births, is nothing but the Nirmāṇakāya, a thing not separate from the Dharmakāya, as, in fact, according to the Mahāyāna philosophy, all creations are neither the same as, nor different from, the dharmadhātu.

(iv) The *Laṅkāvatāra* explains the relation of the Nirmāṇakāya to the Dharmakāya in the same way. It states that the Nirmitabuddhas are not produced by actions ; the Tathāgata is neither in them nor outside them (sarve hi nirmitabuddhā na karmaprabhavā na teṣu tathāgato na cānyatra tebhyas tathāgataḥ).[2] It is only when the sons of the Jina realise the visible world to have no existence apart from the *citta* that they obtain the Nirmāṇakāya free from *kriyā* and *saṃskāra*, and endowed with *bala*, *abhijñā* and *vaśitā*.[3] Like the *Siddhi*, it says that the Tathāgatas by creating Nirmāṇakāya perform the various duties of a Tathāgata (Tathāgatakṛtya).[4] It gives also the interesting information that Vajrapāṇi serves as an attendant on the Nirmitanirmāṇabuddhas, and not on the real Buddhas[5] : and that the function of such a Buddha is to preach and explain the characteristics of dāna, śīla, dhyāna, samādhi, citta, prajñā, jñāna, skandha, dhātu, āyatana, vimokṣa, and vijñāna.[6]

Saṃbhogakāya

We have seen that the Rupakāya or Nirmāṇakāya was meant for the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, Pṛthagjanas and Bodhisattvas who were not in one of the ten bhūmis, so another kāya had to be devised, a very subtle kāya, for the benefit of the Bodhisattvas. This is called

1 *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*, (A.S.B. ms.) l. 5b ; also *J. A.*, 1913, pp. 599, 600.
2 *Laṅkā.*, p. 242.
3 *Laṅkā.*, p. 73.
4 Ibid., p. 240.
5 Ibid., p. 242.
6 Ibid., p. 57.

Parasambhogakāya, as distinguished from Svasambhogakāya, a similar subtle body perceived by the Buddhas alone. It is this Parasambhogakāya which plays the role of a preacher of the various Mahāyāna sūtras, the scenes being mostly laid either at Gṛdhrakūṭa, the only place in the three dhātus considered pure and suitable for the appearance of a Sambhogakāya, or in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha, or in one of the heavens.

It will be observed from the description of the appearance of Buddha and his manner of preaching the Sūtras that the Mahāyānists were not yet able to forget or rise above the human conception of the Hīnayānists. They still give Śākyamuni the rôle of the presiding Buddha of the universe, to whom flock reverently with flowers, incense etc. all the Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas and Gṛhapatis of the various lokadhātus of the ten directions, to hear from him the Prajñāpāramitā, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, or the Gaṇḍavyūha. These Bodhisattvas again have their own tutelary Buddhas, who, according to the Mahāyāna metaphysics, possess the same Dharmakāya as Śākyamuni. They also come or are sometimes sent by their Buddhas, with messages of greetings and flowers as tokens of their regard, to Śākyamuni Buddha, whose Buddhakṣetra is at present the Sahā-lokadhātu. Sometimes the descriptions go so far as to say that the Buddhas themselves came to hear discourses from Śākyamuni Buddha, and the concourse of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas became so great that the Sahā-lokadhatu had to be cleared of all oceans, mountains, seas, rivers, and cities, as well as gods, men and other beings. As we read in the Hīnayāna texts that monks used to come to meet Buddha, bringing with them one or two sāmaṇeras, so also we read in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka that on account of insufficiency of space the countless Buddhas could not bring with them more than one or two Bodhisattvas as attendants (upasthāpakas).[1]

Now let us see what was their conception of the Kāya of this Buddha. According to the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*,[2] it is an exceedingly refulgent body, from every pore of which streamed forth countless brilliant rays of light, illuminating the lokadhātus as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. When this body stretched out its tongue, innumerable rays of light

1 *Sad. P.*, pp. 244-245.

2 *Śata.*, pp. 8-29; *Pañcaviṃśati*, pp. 6ff.; For 'Āsecanaka' see Samādhirājasūtra, (B. T. S. ed.), p. 10.

issued forth from it, and on each ray of light was found a lotus of thousand petals on which was seated a Tathāgatavigraha (an image of the Tathāgata, a sort of Nirmāṇakāya), preaching to Bodhisattvas, Gṛhasthas (householders), Pravrajitas (recluses) and others the dharma consisting of the six pāramitās. After a Siṃhavikrīḍita samādhi his body illuminated the trisāhasramahāsahasra lokadhātu just as the bright clear sun or the full-moon illuminates the world. Buddha then shows his *Prakṛtyātmabhāva* (real form) to all the worlds. The several classes of gods as well as the men of the four continents, Jambudvīpa, Aparagodāna etc., see this *Prakṛtyātmabhāva* and think that the Tathāgata is sitting before them and preaching the doctrine. From this body again some rays of light issue forth by which all beings of all lokadhātus see Śākyamuni Buddha preaching the Prajñāpāramitās to his saṅgha of monks and congregation of Bodhisattvas.

Though this conception of the refulgent body of Buddha found currency in the Prajñāpāramitās, the expression Sambhogakāya was still unknown to them. It was usually called by them Prakṛtyātmabhāva (natural body) or Āsecanaka-ātmabhāva (All-diffusing body). As a matter of fact, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is not even aware of the *Prakṛtyātmbhāva* or *Āsecanaka-ātmabhāva*, showing clearly its priority to the other Prajñāpāramitās. It speaks only of Rūpakāya and Dharmakāya[1] and the long glorious description of Buddhakāya, which appears in the *Śata* and *Pañcaviṃśati* as 'nidāna' (introduction) to the text, is totally absent from it. It is only in the recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati* that the expression Sāṃbhogika-kāya was introduced by way of giving a gist of the topic.[2] In it the Sambhoga-kāya is described thus : Bodhisattvas, after attaining bodhi by means of the prajñāpāramitā, take a body endowed with thirty-two major and eighty minor signs with a view to preach the doctrines of Mahāyāna to the bodhisattvas and at the same time to arouse in their minds joy, delight and love for the excellent dharma[3]. The Prajñāpāramitās regarded this refulgent kāya as nirmita (created), and as such they included it in Rūpakāya and did not feel the necessity of introducing the conception of a third kāya, the Sāṃbhogika.

In keeping with this dvikāya theory of the Prajñāpāramitās, Nāgārjuna also did not refer to, or probably was not aware of, the third kāya, the Sāṃbhogika. Both Drs. Akanuma and Masuda could not

1 *Aṣṭa.*, pp. 338, 497, 513.

2 & 3 *Pañcaviṃśati* (A.S.B. ms.) l. 359a : Iti Sāṃbhogika-kāyaḥ.

trace the conception of Sambhogakāya in Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra*. Dr. Akanuma also mentions his disinclination to accept the "Hymns of the Triple Body (Trikāya)" ascribed by the Tibetans to Nāgārjuna as a work of the famous Nāgārjuna.[1] If the *Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna on the Tathāgatakāya[2] be examined, it also becomes apparent that Nāgārjuna was interested in giving an exposition of the real kāya (i.e. Dharmakāya or Svabhāvakāya) only. To him the distinction of Sambhogakāya and Rūpakāya was unimportant, as both of them were unreal.

Thus, we see that up to the time of Nāgārjuna, the conception of Sambhogakāya was not distinguished from that of Rūpa-or Nirmāṇakāya. The *Laṅkāvatāra* presents us first with this conception, calling it Niṣyanda- or Dharmatā-niṣyanda-Buddha, and it seems that the term Sambhogakāya was not yet current. We have seen that in Hīnayāna works also it is pointed out that the super-excellent body of Buddha, endowed with the major and minor signs of great men, was due to the countless meritorious deeds performed by him in his previous lives[3]. The Chinese rendering of Sambhogakāya by *hsing fo*, in which *hsing* means fruit or reward, also indicates that Sambhoga had no other sense than 'vipāka or niṣyanda'. The later Yogācārins called it Parasambhogakāya in order to distinguish it from the other kāya called by them Svasambhoga. Though the Aṣṭasāhasrikā does not distinguish Sambhogakāya from the Nirmāṇakāya, it refers to the super-excellent body of Buddha as the result of his meritorious acts in previous lives.[4] The *Laṅkāvatāra* by using the expression Vipākaja or Vipākastha, shows a stage of transition from the Hīnayānic conception of Vipākaja-kāya to that of Mahāyānic Parasambhogakāya.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* says that the function of the Niṣyanda Buddha is to teach the *parikalpita* (imaginary) and *paratantra* (relatively existent) nature of things to those persons, who weave a net of thought-constructions around themselves being unaware of the dream-like nature of things.[5] This is also the function of Śākyamuni of

1. *Eastern Buddhist*, II, pp. 17ff.
2. *M. Vṛ.*, ch. XXII.
3. *Laṅkā.*, pp. 28, 34 ; see ante, pp. 529-530.
4. *Aṣṭa.*, p. 515. Buddhānāṃ kāyaḥ kāraṇasamutpannaḥ pūrva-karmavipākād utpannaḥ, etc.
5. *Laṅkā.*, p. 57.

the Sahālokadhātu when he imparts the teaching of the Prajñāpāramitās or the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka.[1]

(ii) The *Sūtrālaṁkāra* also does not distinguish Sambhogakāya into Svasambhoga and Parasambhoga. It says that with this body Buddhas enjoy the dharmas and it is different according to the different lokadhātus, implying thereby that a Buddha of each lokadhātu has his own Sambhogakāya which is different from those of other Buddhas of other Buddhakṣetras.[2]

(iii & iv) The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and the *Abhisamayālaṁkārakārikā* tell us that the Sambhogakāya is a very subtle body of Buddha. It is endowed with all the mahāpuruṣa signs and is generally assumed by Buddhas for imparting the higher and metaphysical truths to the advanced bodhisattvas. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*[3] also does not speak of the two forms of Sambhogakāya, to be found in the *Siddhi*.

(v) The *Siddhi* says that there are two Sambhogakāyas called Parasambhogakāya and Svasambhogakāya. The former is seen by bodhisattvas, while the latter is seen by the Buddhas of the various lokadhātus, and not by bodhisattvas. As regards refulgence, illimitability and immeasurability there is no difference between these two kāyas. Both of them have colour and form (varṇa-rūpa-saṃsthāna) as well as sound (śabda). On account of the knowledge of sameness (samatā) obtained by Buddhas, the body is anāsrava (pure). It can appear only in a pure land like the Sukhāvatīvyūha or Gṛdhrakūṭa. The differences between the Para-sambhogakāya and the Sva-sambhogakāya are that the former has the mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas while the latter has not, and that the *citta* of the former is as unreal as that of the Nirmāṇakāya, while the *citta* of the latter is real, and besides, this *citta* possesses the four jñānas, viz., ādarśajñāna (mirror-like knowledge),[4] samatā-jñāna (knowledge of the sameness of all things), pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna (knowledge of distinguishing subject, object and the varieties of things) and kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna (knowledge of doing all that is to be done).[5] The rūpa of both the Sambhogakāyas is exceedingly subtle and expansive without limit, yet it is *sapratigha*

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1 The function of Nirmitabuddha is to teach dāna, śīla etc. see ante, p. 536.

2 Sūtrā., pp. 45-6.

3 Suzuki, *Outlines* etc., p. 257; in the published portion of the Sanskrit text (B. T. S.) this passage does not occur.

4 Cf. *Dīgha.*, II, p. 93: Dhammādāsa.

5 Explained in detail in the *Sūtrā.*, pp. 46ff; *Mvyert.*, 5.

(possessed of the quality of obstruction). Nevertheless the subtle bodies of countless Buddhas are interpenetrable.

The recast version of the *Pañcaviṃśati*[1] refers to the Sambhogakāya, and does not, like the *Kārikā*, distinguish between Dharmakāya (=Svasambhoga) and Parasāṃbhogikakāya, the reason being that in the original version of the *Pañcaviṃśati*, there must have been, as in the other Prajñāpāramitās, the conceptions of only two kāyas, and not of three or four. The *Kārikā*, in fact, supports the *Siddhi* in regard to the conception of kāyas, using only somewhat different names. The conception of the Svasambhogakāya shows a tendency of the Yogācāra school to posit something like the Īśvara of the Upaniṣads behind the phenomenal universe. The Dharmakāya corresponds to the impersonal absolute of the Vedānta, the Brahman, and the Sambhogakāya to the Īśvara when Brahman assumes name and form. Every Buddha, it should however be noted, has his own Sambhogakāya but all Buddhas have one Dharmakāya. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also gives hints to this effect. It says that *abhāva* (absence of anything) is not Tathāgata, and again, as Tathāgata is described as 'Anutpādaanirodha', it has some meaning. It then denotes the Manomayadharmakāya[2]. It cannot be seen by non-Buddhists, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and even Bodhisattvas in one of the first seven bhūmis. Just as different names of one thing or one person like hasta, kara, pāṇi, or, Indra, Śakra, Purandara indicate different aspects of the same thing so also the different names of Śākyamuni Buddha in the Sahālokadhātu, e. g. Svāyambhuva, Nāyaka, Vṛṣabha, Viṣṇu, Īśvara, Pradhāna, Kapila, Soma, Bhāskara, Rāma, Vyāsa ; or, Śūnyatā, Tathatā Bhūtakoṭi, Nirvāṇa,Sarvajña etc. indicate the different aspects of Śākyamuni Buddha[3]. People being subject to the conceptions of two extremes 'is' or 'is not' (dvayāntapatitayā) do not know that Buddha is like a reflection of the moon on water neither appearing nor disappearing. In this passage there is a clear hint that this Manomayadharmakāya, existing in the Sahālokadhātu, is the same as the Svasambhogakāya of the *Siddhi* and the Āsecanaka-ātmabhāva or

1 *Pañcaviṃśati* (A. S. B. ms) l. 359a. Cf. Śikṣā., p. 159 ; Bodhic., pp. 1, 4 ; Mtu., III, pp. 344, 452.

2 For definition of Manomayakāya and its three sub-divisions, see *Laṅkā*., p. 81 ; Suzuki, *E. B*., iv, pp. 284-5.

3 *Laṅkā*., pp. 192-3 ; cf. Daśa., p. 55.

Prakṛtyātmabhāva of the Prajñāpāramitās, and it corresponds to the Upaniṣadic conception of Īśvara.

Dharmakāya

The three Kāyas, of which we have so far spoken, belong strictly to the realm of Saṃvṛti, worldly and transcendental, and as such they were treated as Rūpa or Nirmāṇakāya by the early Mahāyānists, including Nāgārjuna. The only real kāya of Buddha is the Reality as conceived by the Mahāyānists, and is not different from the things or beings of the universe[1]. Though an attempt to define it by the current words and expressions is bound to be not only incorrect but misleading, the Mahāyānic texts tried to give an idea of it as far as the language permitted. The *Kārikā* and the *Siddhi* call it Svābhāvika or Svabhāva kāya. It is, according to them, immeasurable and illimitable. It fills all space. It is the basis of the Sambhoga- and Nirmāṇa-kāyas. It is devoid of all marks (i. e. mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas) and is inexpressible (niṣprapañca). It is possessed of eternal, real and unlimited guṇas. It has neither citta nor rūpa, and again it is not different from them. There is one and only one Dharmakāya. Buddhas may have their individual Sambhogakāyas but they have all one Dharmakāya[2]. It can only be realised within oneself and not described, for that would be like the attempt of the blind man to describe the sun, which he has never seen[3].

It is often questioned whether the conception of Dharmakāya can be traced in the Prajñāpāramitās and the works of Nāgārjuna, and whether the Prajñāpāramitās and works of Nāgārjuna admit of such a reality, or rather preach pure and simple negativism? To put in another way, was it the object of the Prajñāpāramitās and Nāgārjuna's works to point out only the incongruities of the world and worldly knowledge and avoid making any statement about the Reality or the truth?

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and other Prajñāpāramitās, though unrelenting in their negation of every possible statement about the reality, never assert that Tathatā or Śūnyatā or Dharmakāya in its real sense is also non-existing. The statements like 'tathatāvikārā

1 In a Buddhist inscription of Battambang, a stanza in salutation of Buddha brings out this idea. See Le Museon, vol. VII.

2 Cf. Vis. M., p. 508 : Nirvāṇa is one for all Buddhas.

3 Masuda, op. cit., p. 59; Suzuki, *Awakening of Faith*, p. 62.

nirvikārāvikalpā nirvikalpā' (Suchness is immutable, unchangeable, beyond percept and distinctions)[1] show rather a positive conception of the Reality than a purely negative one. In regard to the Dharmakāya also the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* makes similar statements. It says that he who knows that the dharmas, existing in the world or preached by the Tathāgata, have no more existence than things in a dream and, does not enquire whence the Tathāgata comes and where does he go, realises the Tathāgata through Dharmatā.[2] The Buddhakāya, that people speak of, arises through cause and condition like the sound of a flute; it has really no appearance or disappearance. Those who run after the form and voice of the Tathāgata and conceive of his appearance and disappearance is far from the Truth[3]. No further statements than this can be made about the Reality, for that would be again *prapañca*. When the *Aṣṭasahasrikā* asserts that Tathāgata does not exist, it refers to that Tathāgata as conceived by one on reading the Mahāyāna texts. Even the Bodhisattvas, unless and until they reach the tenth bhūmi, cannot extricate themselves from a conception of the Tathāgatakāya, however subtle it may be (e. g. the Svasambhogakāya). They are still under a delusion and it is this delusion that the Prajñāpāramitās endeavour to remove by asserting that there is no Tathāgata.

Nāgārjuna by denying the existence of a so-called Tathāgata does nothing more than what the Prajñāpāramitās endeavour to establish. His point is that, if *bhavasantati* (series of existence) be admitted then the existence of a Tathāgata should also be admitted,[4] for the Tathāgata represents the ultimate state of this *bhavasantati*; it is a

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1 Aṣṭa., p. 507; cf. another passage : yā ca tathāgatatathatā yā vā ca dharma-tathatā ekaivaiṣā tathatādvayādvaidhīkārādvayatathatā na kvacit tathatā na kutaścit tathatā na kasyacit tathatā tataḥ sa tathatādvayādvaidhīkārādvayatathatā. (That which is Tathāgata-tathatā and that which is all-things-tathatā are non-dual, one and the same. Tathatā is neither anywhere nor arises from anywhere, nor belongs to anything, hence as Tathatā does not belong to anybody; it is non-dual and one). For other passages of similar import, see M. Vṛ., ch. xxii.

2 *Aṣṭa.*, p. 514 : te dharmatayā tathāgataṃ prajānāti. Cf. *M. Vṛ.*, p. 448 : dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyāḥ.

3 *Aṣṭa.*, p. 513.

4 *M Vṛ.*, p. 431 : vidyata eva bhavasantatis tathāgatasadbhāvāt.

state attained by a being after a long series of existence. As in reality (paramārthataḥ) there is no bhavasantati, there is also no Tathāgata—that being who is supposed to have become Tathāgata after practising mahākaruṇā and other virtues, and thereby attaining omniscience. If the Tathāgata had really existed, he would either be the same as five skandhas or different from them, or the skandhas would be in him or he in the skandhas, but as he is none of these nor any one of these is he, he cannot have any real existence. By these and other similar arguments Nāgārjuna asserts that there is no Tathāgata. By such denial he only establishes that the Tathāgata as the ultimate state of bhavasantati does not exist.

Candrakīrti, in support of Nāgārjuna's arguments, quotes a passage from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 479), in which Buddha and his dharma are compared to *māyā* or *svapna*, but at the same time he says "we do not assert the non-existence (nāstitva) of the Tathāgata in every way, for then we would be guilty of *apavāda* (denial), and yet being desirous of describing the Tathāgata by means of vyavahāra-satya (conventionally) and by taking recourse to super-impositions (samāropa) we say that he is śūnya or aśūnya, or śūnyāśūnya or naiva śūnyaṃ nāśūnyaṃ. But he who endeavours to realise the true Tathāgata by having recourse to statements and denials will never know him. Candrakīrti in support of this quotes the verses from the *Vajracchedikā*, to which the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* also refers, viz., "he who endeavoured to see me through my form and voice could not see me because

dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyā dharmakāyā hi nāyakāḥ/
dharmatā cāpy avijñeyā na sa śakyā vijānituṃ//

(A buddha is to be seen in the sense of dharmatā (nature of dharmas), for the leaders (of men) have only Dharmakāya. That dharmatā is unknowable (so also is the Tathāgata)[2].

Nāgārjuna concludes his examination of the Tathāgatakāya by identifying Tathāgata with the world (jagat)[3], or nature itself, and asserting that the Tathāgata, whom people or even Bodhisattvas have

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 432. Na hy ekena janmanā śakyam tathāgatatvam anuprāptum.

2 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 448 ; cf, *Aṣṭa.*, pp. 513, 514 ; *Vajra.*, p. 43.

3 Tathāgato yatsvabhāvas tat svabhāvam idaṃ jagat/
Tathāgato niḥsvabhāvo niḥsvabhāvam idaṃ jagat//
M. Vṛ., pp. 448-9.

in view, is only a *bimba* (image) of kuśaladharmas and is not the real Tathatā or Tathāgata[1]. A dialectician like Nāgārjuna cannot go further than this to establish the Reality. It is by denial of the existence of unreal things, including the so-called Tathāgata, that he points towards the Reality—the real Tathāgatakāya, the Dharmakāya[2].

The conception of Dharmakāya was of special interest to the Yogācārins. The Laṅkāvatāra[3] in describing it says that Dharmatā-Buddha is without any substratum (nirālamba) and lies beyond the range of functioning organs of sense, proofs or signs and hence beyond the vision of Śrāvakas, Pratyeka-buddhas or the non-Mahāyānists. It is to be realised within one's own self. The Sūtrālaṅkāra[4] calls it Svābhāvika-dharmakāya. It is one and the same kāya in all Buddhas, very subtle, unknowable and eternal. The *Triṃśikā*[5] explains the Dharmakāya as the transformed āśraya (substratum)—the ālaya-vijñāna—the transformation being effected by knowledge (jñāna) and the suppression of the two evils (dauṣṭhulyas), viz., kleśāvaraṇa and jñeyāvaraṇa. The *Āloka*[6] on the Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā also explains the Dharmakāya in a similar way. According to it, there are two kinds of Dharmakāya, one being the Bodhipakṣika and other dharmas, which are themselves pure and productive of clear knowledge (niṣprapañcajñānātmakā) and the other the transformed āśraya of the same, which is then called Svabhāvakāya. Prof. Stcherbatsky[7] supplies us with nearly the same information that we find in the *Āloka* from some source, which he does not mention. He says that "according to the early Yogācāras the Dharmakāya is divided into Svabhāva-kāya (ño-bo-ñid-sku) and Jñānakāya (ye-śes-kyi-sku), the first is the motionless (nitya) substance of the universe, the second is anitya, i.e. changing, living." Evidently what the Professor means by Jñānakāya is the Dharmakāya, consisting of the Bodhipakṣika and other dharmas, of the *Āloka*. That the Svabhāvakāya is the nityakāya, as pointed

1 *M. Vṛ.*, p. 449.

2 Prapañcayanti ye buddham prapañcātītam avyayaṃ/
Te prapañcahatāḥ sarve na paśyanti Tathāgataṃ//
See also *M. Vṛ.*, p. 534.

3 *Laṅkā.*, pp. 57, 70.

4 *Sūtrā.*, p. 45.

5 *Triṃśikā*, p. 44.

6 *J. A.*, 1913.

7 *Con. of N.*, p. 185n.

out by him, is also supported by the Suvarṇaprabhāsa and other texts[1].

The Chinese commentators on the *Siddhi* say that Dharmakāya is the metaphysical principle of real *citta* and *rūpa* of the Tathāgata. It is the real nature of things, and it can be equated with Tathatā, Dharmadhātu or Tathāgatagarbha.[2]

The goal of Bodhisattvas is to realise the Dharmakāya. Every being has the Dharmakāya, or the Dharmakāya comprises all beings of the world, but beings being blinded by avidyā do not realise this fact. What the Bodhisattva aims at is the removal of this avidyā and the realisation of the fact that he is the same as the Dharmakāya. The *Āloka* on the Kārikā[3] enumerates gradual steps through which a Bodhisattva passes, and points out that the last step of a Bodhisattva is to realise the Dharmakāya (dharmakāyābhisambodhena bhaviṣyati), after which it becomes easy for him to assume any one of the four kāyas. In the *Laṅkāvatāra* we notice that Mahāmati is anxious to know how a Bodhisattva after completion of the ten bhūmis can attain the Tathāgatakāya or Dharmakāya and go to any one of the Buddhakṣetras or heavens. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also describes in rosy colours the prospect of attaining Dharmakāya. It says that a Bodhisattva after attaining the Mahādharmamegha in the ninth bhūmi is adorned with many jewels, and sits on a lotus in a jewelled palace surrounded by other Bodhisattvas of his status. He there comprehends the illusory nature of all things. He is anointed (abhiṣeka) by Vajrapāṇi as a son of Buddha. He then goes beyond the bhūmi of Buddhasutas by realising within himself the dharmanairātmya and confronts the Dharmakāya.[4] The *Triṃśikā* says that just as Vimuktikāya is the goal of the arhats so Dharmakāya is the goal of Bodhisattvas. It shows that as the arhats by getting rid of kleśāvaraṇa obtain a purified kāya so also a Buddha by getting rid of both kleśa- and jñeyāvaraṇas obtains the Dharmakāya,[5]

NALINAKSHA DUTT

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1 Suvarṇaprabhāsa (B. T. S.), p. 8; *Laṅkā.*, p. 78; *Sūtrā.*, p. 46.

2 I have derived this information from Prof. de la Vallée Poussin. In *Laṅkā.* (pp. 77, 78) the Tathāgatagarbha is described as nitya, dhruva, śāśvata, śiva etc. just as the non-Buddhists speak of their great soul as nitya, kartā, nirguṇa, vibhu, avyaya.

3 *J. A.*, 1913.

4 *Laṅkā.*, pp. 51, 70.

5 *Triṃśikā*, p. 44.

MISCELLANY

The Ādipurāna and Brhatkathā

In the March issue of the IHQ, Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah has tried to establish the connection of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* with the *Ādipurāṇa* of Śrī Jinasena, and he doubts the possibility of the Jaina author having taken a work like Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* "as the source of his account of the Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha's life, when lay writers of the Jaina faith like Pampa and Cāmuṇḍarāya mention as the source of their accounts of the life-story of that Tīrthaṅkara, the works of the Jaina priests Kuci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni and Kavi-Parameśvara." And on this very account he presumes that the word 'Bṛhatkathā' used by Jinasena in verse 115 (of his Ādipurāṇa) refers to one of the real or mythical works of Kuci-bhaṭṭāraka, Nandi-muni and Kavi-Parameśvara.

The writer is right in his presumption. For, Śrī Jinasena has clearly mentioned, and paid his obeisance to, the above Jaina authors named last in his *Ādipurāṇa* before the verse No. 115,[1] and his disciple Śrī Guṇabhadra-svāmī, who completed the remaining portion of the *Ādipurāṇa*, makes us infer that Śrī Jinasena based his book on the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara upon the "Gadya-kathā" of Śrī Kavi-Parameśvara :—

कविपरमेश्वरनिगदितगद्यकथामातृकं पुरोश्चरितम् ।
सकलछन्दोलङ्कृतिलक्ष्यं सूक्ष्मार्थगूढ़पदरचनम् ॥ १९ ॥
इत्यादि—उत्तरपुराणप्रशस्तिः ।

Undoubtedly, therefore, Jinasena used the words '*Bṛhatkathā*', '*Guṇāḍhya*,' etc., in order to indicate, through *Śleṣa*, that his source (Kavi Parameśvara's "Gadya-kathā") was similar to the well-known "*Bṛhat kathā*" in many respects and he was aware of its existence.

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1 The *Ādipurāṇa* is not before me and I am writing this from memory. Still I give here a verse of *Ādipurāṇa*, concerned with Kavi-Parameśvara, which I happened to quote in a previous composition :—

"स पूज्यः कविभिर्लोके कवीनां परमेश्वरः ।
वागर्थसंग्रहं कृत्स्नं पुराणं यः समग्रहीत् ॥ ४० ॥"

I take this opportunity to give, also, a few further details about Śrī Jinasena; these appear in his *"Jayadhavalā-ṭīkā"*, a single manuscript copy of which is only extant in the *Bhāṇḍāra* at Śravaṇabelagolā. Jinasenācārya says in it that he belonged to the Pañca-stūpānvaya of the Jaina Saṅgha and names his ancestors as Vīrasena, Āryanandī and Candrasena. These ācāryas belonged, of course, to the Sena-saṅgha of the Digambara-Jaina school and therefore it seems probable that the Pañca-stūpānvaya was a branch of it (i.e., *Sena-Saṅgha*) :—

यस्यपोदीक्षकिरणैर्भव्यां भोजानि बोधयन्।
व्यद्योतिष्ट मुनी...पंचस्तूपान्वयाम्बरे ॥ २० ॥
प्रशिष्यश्चंद्रसेनस्य यः शिष्योप्यार्यनन्दिना।
कुलं गुणं च संतानं स्वगुणैरुदजीज्वलन् ॥ २१ ॥
तस्य शिष्योऽभवच्छ्रीमान् जिनसेन सभिद्वृधाः।
आविद्धावपि यत्कर्णौ विद्वौ ज्ञानशलाकया ॥ २२ ॥[1]

It seems possible that the Sena-saṅgha came to be known by the epithet 'pañca-stūpānvaya' on account of its adherents residing somewhere in the vicinity, or at the locality, of a certain *'Pañca-stūpa'*. I do not know of any such locality in the Kannaḍa country.

Jinasena further informs us that the Goddess *Sarasvatī* was much pleased with his learning.[2] As he was naturally wise, peaceful and vinayī, he succeeded in winning the favour of a good number of *Ācāryas*. His physical structure was weak, yet he was ever busy in performing various kinds of *Tapas*. His deep and ever lasting pursuit of knowledge made the scholars to baptise him as "चमयपिञ्छ". (26-29).

He wrote *"Jaya-dhavalā-ṭīkā"* in mixed Sanskrit, at the time when the 'Gurjara-Narendra' (Amoghavarṣa) was ruling, whom he styles as victorious over the Gupta and the Śaka kings.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

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1 Śrī Vīrasenācārya also mentions this Pañcastūpānvaya :—
"अज्जजणंदिसिस्सेणुज्जकम्मस्स चन्दसेणस्स तह णत्तुवेण पंचथूहण्णयाय भाणुणा सुणिणा ॥ ४ ॥"
Jaina Hitaiṣī, vol. xv, pp. 257-262.

2 यो नातिसुन्दराकारो न चातिचतुरो मुनिः।
तथाप्यनन्यशरणा यं सरस्वत्युपाचरत् ॥ २५ ॥

A Note on the Bharata-vākya

Sanskrit dramas are generally found to end with a benedictory verse which is popularly known as the *bharata-vākya*. A study of the manuscripts and various editions of the works of the extensive dramatic literature in Sanskrit will, however, go to show that in many cases the concluding benedictory verses are not entitled *bharata-vākya* and have not the word *bharata-vākya* prefixed to them. Some very old manuscripts of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*—the immortal work of Kālidāsa—do not have the word. Thus we do not find it at the end of a manuscript of it dated 1494 Ś.E.—the oldest known manuscript of the Bengal recension.[1]

Very few of the editions of the various dramatic works in Sanskrit are found to mention it. Most of the dramas published in the *Kāvyamālā Series* have no reference to it (cf. Nos. 6, 7, 9, 29, 39, 46, 54, 55, 59). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. M. R. Kale do not include the word in their editions of the *Mālatimādhava* and *Uttara-rāma-carita* respectively but note a variant reading occurring before the concluding verses, e.g. तथापोदमस्तु भरतवाक्यम् [Let this be (serve as) the *bharata-vākya*].[2] A similar statement is also found in J. Vidyāsāgara's edition of the *Nāgānanda* of Harṣa.

There are some works again which have no concluding benedictory verse at all, at least of the type of those that are going by the name of *Bharata-vākya*. Among these mention should be made of some works of Bhāsa (e.g. the *Madhyama-vyāyoga*, the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*). The *Bāla-bhārata* of Rājaśekhara, the *Rambhāmañjarī* of the Jaina poet Nayacandra Sūri, the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* of Bodhāyana and the *Satya-Hariścandra* of Rāmacandra also have no such verse. The last of these works again has one remarkable peculiarity that when asked to pray for something (as is done in other works) the hero emphatically refuses to do so.

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1 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. III, pt. iv, p. 299.

2 This mode of putting the word *bharata-vākya* along with the words *tathā=pī=daṃ* without any intermediate pause seems to have been the old practice and the pause may have been used—when we do not know—to identify the *Praśasti* with the *bharata-vākya* which identification, as we shall presently show, was not quite happy.

It seems that originally the *bharata-vākya* did not form part of the drama proper. Thus of the dramas of Bhāsa that have got a concluding benedictory verse entitled *Bharata-vākya* with that very word prefixed to it, it should be noted that there is no introductory line of the type of कि' ते भूयः प्रियमुपकरोमि, तथापीदमस्तु as in other works, connecting it with the story of the drama (Cf. *Pratimā*, *Bālacarita*, *Svapnavāsavadattā*, *Dūta-vākya*). Similar is also the case with the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravarman.

The verse entitled *Bharata-vākya* is curiously found to occur after the concluding benedictory verse in the *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa. A manuscript of the newly published and highly interesting *Bhagavadajjukīyam*[1] has a benedictory verse (noted as a variant in the published edition of the work) after the word निष्क्रान्तौ (exeunt).

None of the works on dramaturgy seem to have any reference to the *bharata-vākya*. The *nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata does not mention it. Nor do the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya, the *Pratāparudra yaśabhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha and the *Nāṭakacandrikā* of Rūpagosvāmin.

They all[2], however, refer to a benedictory verse that should come at the end of a drama. This they call the *Praśasti* or benediction. It is described as an *aṅga* (part) of *nirvahaṇa-sandhi* (concluding section). Bharata defines it thus :—

"नृपदेवप्रशस्तिश्च प्रशस्तिरभिधीयते"

"The benediction of kings and gods is the Praśasti."

It is these verses that now-a-days go by the name of *Bharata-vākya*. As early as the 14th century Śiṅga-bhūpāla in his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) identifies the two. He says (III. 74):—

"भरतैश्चराचराणामाशीराशंसनं प्रशस्तिः स्यात्"

"The wishing of welfare of the world by the actors is the Praśasti."

Rāghava-bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* has also done the same thing. He calls the concluding verse *Bharata-vākya* and has explained it thus :

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1 This is one of the few works in which the Vidūṣaka takes part in the Prologue.

2 *Bharata* (XIX. 98), *Daśarūpaka* (I. 54), *Pratāparudra*° (p. 113 of the Bombay Sanskrit Series ed.), *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI. 137).

"नाटकाभिनयसमाप्तौ सामाजिकेभ्यो नटेनाशीर्दीयते। प्रस्तावनानन्तरं नटवाक्याभावादत्र भरतवाक्यमित्युक्तम्। ... ... अनेन प्रशस्तिनामकमङ्गमुपक्षिप्तम्"

"At the end of the play the actor showers benediction on the audience. Their being no speech of the actor after the Prologue it is called *Bharata-vākya* (speech of the actor).....By this is performed the *aṅga* called *Praśasti*.' This clearly shows that the *bharata-vākya*, as the name implies, was spoken by a member or the members of the dramatic party but not by the hero or any one of the *dramatis personæ* as it seems, from the way in which it is put in the more recent Mss. and ordinary editions, to have become the practice.

The immediately preceding stage before this identification seems to be represented by the introductory statements of the concluding benedictory verses (*Praśasti*) already refered to, e.g. 'Let this serve as the *Bharata-vākya*'. It seems that the practice had already grown up of not having a separate *Bharata-vākya*.

This identification, however, does not seem to be quite satisfactory and this may have been the result of a curious confusion, the subject-matter of the *Praśasti* and the *Bharata-vākya* being the same e.g. benediction. As a matter of fact, however, the *Bharata-vākya* seems to have been an entirely different thing. The poet may not have been, at all, concerned with the *Bharata-vākya* and it did not form part of the drama. A benedictory verse whether or not of the poet's own composition was however sometimes added at the end of the work having no connection with it. It appears, as the name clearly implies, to have been a business of *Bharatas* (members of the dramatic party) to conclude their play with a suitable benediction. This, we know, was also the case with the *Nāndī* (initial benedictory verse) as has been clearly explained by Viśvanātha in his *Śāhityadarpaṇa*.

This supposition will account for the non-mention of a *Bharata-vākya* in works on dramaturgy or of the word in the manuscripts and various editions. This will also explain the absence of any benedictory verse at the end of some dramas as also the absence of introductory lines connecting the benedictory verses with the story of the drama in others.

A confirmation of this supposition is to be found in the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* where the benedictory verse comes when the play has really come to an end and also in the *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa where the *Bharata-vākya* follows another expression of good wish by the hero, which is nothing but the *Praśasti*. The use of each of the *aṅgas* of the different *Sandhis*, however, being not compulsory we have

no benedictory verse (*Praśasti*) at the end of some dramas. And the presence of the *Bharata-vākya* we cannot expect in all cases.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

The Bhāsa Theory Again—A Reply to Prof. Keith

Professor Keith has in his 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' made a reference to the contribution that I have made to the elucidation of the Bhāsa problem. While every student of Sanskrit Literature must be thankful to the learned Professor for the present contribution to the history of Sanskrit Literature, one cannot help feeling that he were, as becomes his high position and noble profession, a bit more courteous towards those who in the interests of truth have to figure as his opponents.[1] The elaborate defence of the Bhāsa theory that he puts forth in his earlier Sanskrit Drama and the curt and categoric remarks occurring in his History of Sanskrit Literature, with which he dismisses those who differ from him on this question, necessitate a reply in the interests of truth and common sense.

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1 Prof. Keith writes in page xiv of his preface: 'It is claimed[a] that in the context of the passage, Rājaçekhara ascribes the authorship of the *Priyadarçikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, and *Nāgānanda* to Bhāsa and, therefore, must be untrustworthy. It is deplorable that this argument should ever have been adduced; the alleged context is plainly and indubitably a recent forgery,[b] and it would be idle to attach any value to other arguments adduced by a critic who has not the capacity to avoid being deceived, and unfortunately deceiving others, by such evidence. It must be, however, admitted that the forgery is so gross and palpable that it was never intended to be taken seriously, and other Indian scholars have been prompt to repudiate it.'

The same page contains the following footnotes:

A 'K. R. Pisharoti, IHQ. i. 105. The same writer makes an error 'of six centuries in Kulaçekhara's date and numerous other serious 'blunders, in which others have followed him, including a complete 'failure to understand the issues as to Prākrit.'

B 'K. G. Sesha Aiyer, IHQ., i. 361; G. Harihar Sāstrī, *ibid.*, 370-8. 'Dr. Sukthankar's acceptance of this foolish and obvious forgery is 'regrettably uncritical, as is his following of Mr. Pisharoti as to the 'Prākrits.'

The statements of Prof. Keith may be analysed thus:

1. The quotation beginning with 'kāraṇaṃ tu kavitvasya na sampanna-kulīnatā' and concluding with 'svapnavāsavadattasya pāvakobhūt na dāhakaḥ', is *plainly* and *indubitably* a forgery which was so *gross* and palpable', etc.

2. Other Indian scholars have been prompt to repudiate it.

3. It is deplorable that his argument should ever have been adduced and accepted by many.

4. Mr. Pisharoti commits a mistake of six centuries regarding the date of Kulaśekhara;

5. and also numerous other serious blunders, in which others have followed him,

6. including a complete failure to understand the issues as to Prākṛt.

This is a serious indictment, and I am constrained to say that the superior European critical spirit of Prof. Keith has for once failed to correctly understand the true issues raised in this controversy.

Taking the first of these points, Prof. Keith is basing himself on the statement of Mr. Iyer, supported by Mr. Śāstrī. Mr. Iyer rests his conclusions on the opinion of the editors of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and *Priyadarśikā* and the information supplied by a Pandit that Sūktimuktāvalī is a recent forgery, made by a South Indian Pandit about forty years ago; in other words, Mr. Iyer's conclusions are based on the *opinion* of scholars and *information* of Pandits. Apart from this the nature of the forgery has not been made clear; it is not clear what Mr. Iyer means, whether a recent Pandit wrote these verses and fathered it on Rājaśekhara or whether he collected the floating verses and compiled them into a work and then fathered it upon Rājaśekhara. If it is the former, a motive has to be assigned for making such a forgery and this has not been done; if it is the latter, it only supports our view. If the Bhasites want to prove their case, this point must be made clear. It is not also clear if Mr. Iyer excludes the last verse when he characterises the passage as a forgery. Even granting it is a forgery, it may only mean that a recent Pandit codified the floating verses; and such a view does not after all materially affect our position. Again, that some Indians repudiated it as a forgery need not be an argument in favour of its being a forgery; for other Indian scholars accepted my view of the same. I can grant that the passage may be a forgery, but I must request the learned professor to give more positive proof

before I can accept the view that it is *plainly* and *indubitably* a forgery. He would surely have induced greater confidence, if indeed he could have given us the correct context from which the particular verse was extracted ; and this neither he nor his followers have yet given us. Consequently, we cannot attach to it any value other than that of an *opinion*.

Now then the position stands like this : it is uncritical to say that one verse alone in a passage is genuine, while the whole of the rest is a forgery. If the context is a forgery, the whole is a forgery, including the last verse, and it must be such so long as the Bhasites are not able to give the context from which Jalhana has quoted the verse. In adducing this passage, our intention has been only to show that the very fundamental position of the Bhasites is not above suspicion and controversy. If, indeed, we could have shown that the passage given by us was genuine, the controversy could never have been carried to this length. Hence, then, to brand the whole as a forgery and to accept one verse alone as genuine does not *plainly* and *indubitably* appeal to us.

From the foregoing it will also be clear that it has not been in the least deplorable that the argument has been adduced. For it has exposed the especial weakness of the fundamental position of the Bhasites, and no wonder that it has been accepted by many.

Coming to the next point of his criticism, as set forth in the analysis given above, Prof. Keith is of opinion that I have committed a serious mistake of six centuries in the date of Kulaśekhara. I plead guilty to the charge of having committed a mistake in dating the royal dramatist, but wish to point out that it is not so bad as six centuries. Further, Prof. Keith also commits an almost equally bad mistake, though, of course, it is no extenuation of my mistake. He might retort that he does not date Kulaśekhara, and then I may reply that the person whom he accepts as his authority, viz., Mm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, commits the mistake. I have already referred to an emendation of a text in Ṭīkā-sarvasva, evidently for the sake of his Bhāsa theory. On this particular subject he says that Vyaṅgya-vyākhyā quotes Daśarūpaka. But, fortunately, the manuscript of the work, which should have been published in extenso, if indeed our editor had any historical aptitude, is still available for reference. The so-called quotation from Daśarūpaka is really a quotation from Nāṭyaśāstra; only this occurs in Daśarūpaka also. From the presence of a verse, therefore, which occurs both in Nāṭyaśāstra and Daśarūpaka, one is

not justified to theorise rashly that this author's contemporary, the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara, should have lived in the 11th and 12th centuries, a fact regarding which even Prof. Keith is not very clear. And indeed it is significant that Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī should not have given the so-called quotation from Daśarūpaka.

So far as we now know, Kerala history has a number of Kulaśekharas who are in some way or other connected with literature and art. There is the Kulaśekhara who founded the temple of Tiruvanci-kuḷam. There is the Kulaśekhara who patronised Prabhākara and founded the Udayatuṅgeśvarapaṇḍita-sabhā at Kumbalam. A third Kulaśekhara we find as the author of the devotional lyric Mukundamāla. A fourth again figures as the founder of the Vaiṣṇavite shrine at Tṛkkulaśekharapuram, a suburb of Cranganore, the ancient imperial capital of the Perumals. A fifth Kulaśekhara greets us as the patron of Vasudeva, the great poet of Yamaka fame, who is the author of Yudhiṣṭiravijaya. And in the dramatist we have the sixth Kulaśekhara. No attempt seems yet to have been made to introduce any scientific discipline into the *Kulaśekhara Problem* in Kerala history and *empty* statements on the subject by Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī,[1] though supported by Prof. Keith, carry no conviction to the average student. It is yet an open question how many Kulaśekharas there actually were, when they lived and what they wrote or did. Of course some desultory attempts have been made and these, because of the nature of the attempt, have not been able to give us anything substantial or historical. I do not know if Prof. Keith is aware that there is such a problem in Kerala history, and if he is not, as I am led to think, he would have been better advised not to rush to such statements and conclusions about the opinions of other people who at least are not strangers to this problem. The eminent professor will be doing a real service, if he will bring to bear his rare research acumen on the unravelling of the problem of Kulaśekharas, which is not the least among the many problems awaiting solution in the history of Kerala. Till this problem is finally solved, it is at once rash and premature to commit to statements on the authority

1 Says Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī: 'From these facts we can infer that etc.' (Vide page 4, Introduction to Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa). But what the facts are he has not said! Such vague statements are not calculated to throw much light on this problem.

of a questionable text of doubtful authenticity advanced by a Pandit who is at least a stranger to our local history.

Leaving alone this tangle for the time being, I shall now try to show that the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara cannot be assigned to a period later than the age of Śrī Śaṅkara. From the statement occurring in the Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa, the poets and dramatists known and popular in Kerala literary circles are Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa and Daṇḍin and that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra are unknown to them. The absence of reference to Bhāsa and the presence of reference to Śūdraka amply bear out the fact that Cārudatta is an adaptation of Mṛcchakaṭika and *not* that the latter is amplified from the former. Further, it is also clear that at the time of Kulaśekhara, the fame of Bhāsa has not reached Kerala. The works, now published under the unwarranted heading, 'Mahākavi Śrī Bhāsapraṇītaṃ', were then quite unknown here, even though we find that these works become very popular later on. It must also be remembered that at the time of Kulaśekhara, the local Sanskrit stage was in a very flourishing condition, and our traditions will have it that it was under the lead of this king that the stage was reformed.

The absence of reference to Bhavabhūti and Śaktibhadra plainly gives us the latest limit to the date of the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara. That it might take time for the fame of Bhavabhūti to travel down to this remote corner of India cannot stand a plausible argument, especially at this period, for with the advent of Śrī Śaṅkara there was a very brisk inter-comunication between Kerala and the rest of India, including even the remote Kashmir. And from the point of view of the Bhasites, if the commentator was familiar with Daśarūpaka, it is strange that his patron was not familiar with Bhavabhūti. Hence *prima facie* we conclude that because Kulaśekhara does not mention Bhavabhūti, he must have lived before Bhavabhūti.

The absence of any reference to Śaktibhadra also necessitates our assigning the royal dramatist to the same age. The one pertinent inference that we may draw from this is that Śaktibhadra was a younger contemporary of Kulaśekhara and was working at his drama at the further end of Kerala. In his Prologue he suggests that he was the first South Indian to write a Sanskrit drama, and himself a Malayali, he could not have implied like this, if Kulaśekhara's dramas were already popular in our stage. If Kulaśekhara lived after the time of Śaktibhadra, then it is rather strange that

the King did not make a reference to him, for in Kerala literary circles Āścarya Cūḍāmaṇi has a popularity scarcely second to Dhanañjaya and Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa. The only possible explanation therefore for reconciling the two positions lies in supposing that the two works were produced almost simultaneously, the author of the one being ignorant of the work of the other. Śaktibhadra, we know, lived to be a disciple of Śri Śaṅkara and we also know that at the time of the great philosopher, the kings of Kerala were Rājarāja and Rājaśekhara. This naturally necessitates the assumption that the dramatist Kulaśekhara lived before the time of Śri Śaṅkara; and to assign him to the middle of the eighth century appears to us a legitimate conclusion.

We have already shown that the so-called quotation from Daśarūpaka is a mis-statement of fact, and this view gains considerable support from the date to which the royal dramatist has to be assigned, on the basis of the internal evidence furnished by the dramas themselves. Prof. Keith does not seem to have studied the texts of Kulaśekhara and Śaktibhadra, nor subjected them to a critical analysis. If he has, one must presume that he was greatly obsessed by the Bhāsa theory.

The next point of his criticism is that I have commited numerous other serious blunders. This is a statement the vagueness of which is equalled, if at all, only by the overweening assumptions of the distinguished professor.

The last of his criticism is that I have failed to understand the issues as to Prākṛt. I have, indeed, my own doubts as to who has failed to do so. To collect words at random from inadequate Nāgari editions prepared by an editor who is ignorant of the manuscript traditions of the land and then to declare laws for the same—this is a procedure that cannot appeal even to our Indian criticial spirit. When the Bhasites talk of the language peculiarity, they do so with reference to the printed texts cooked up for them by the Trivandrum editor, and not with reference to the original manuscripts. It is a procedure that deserves to be condemned and that especially by Prof. Keith who is prepared to assign the value *only* of a manuscript to editions done in India. I do not wish to further dwell upon this topic, but shall conclude with referring the more serious student to my paper on the subject which has appeared in the last issue of the BSOS., London, and leaving him to frame his own conclusions regarding the validity of the language peculiarity as an argument in support of the Bhāsa theory.

I shall not further digress on the topic but shall conclude with the statement that Prof. Keith also sometimes commits mistakes. Says the distinguished professor in page 371 of his Sanskrit Drama: "The Cakyars of Malabar still act Śaktibhadra's Āścaryamañjarī···". A grosser mistake could not have been made on a statement of fact. As a matter of fact, Āścaryamañjarī is a work of Kulaśekhara and *not* of Śaktibhadra ; it is *not* a drama but a prose work ; and the Malabar Cakyārs have *never* been acting it. This very palpable mistake could well have been avoided by a mere reading of the opening pages of the Tapatīsaṃvaraṇaṃ.

I shall not better conclude than with the words of Professor Jarl Charpentier who in another context says as follows: "The counter arguments of Prof. Keith as usual are no arguments at all, as they simply consist in deying evidence without adducing other which proves something to the contrary." These words constitute the essential feature of Prof, Keith's arguments especially with regard to the Bhāsa theory.

K. R. PISHAROTI

Dr. De on the Nāṭyaśāstra *

The review of the Nāṭyaśāstra in the "Calcutta Review" is only a summary of a larger review published by the same writer in the "Indian Historical Quarterly" and contains no new topics.

The Nāṭyaśāstra

A great number of subjects has been brought to bear on the contents of the Nāṭyaśāstra and its commentary. Bharata and the commentator are gifted with extraordinary powers of intellect and learning ranging over all branches of knowledge then known. Their productions have not come down to us intact. They were altered, mutilated and misarranged, and even with all these imperfections their

* This article is an abridgment of a larger one written by the editor of the Nāṭyaśāstra in defence of his position against the attacks of Dr. De in his reviews of the work in this Journal and in the Calcutta Review.

copies are very rare. With these defective copies the editor has to sit at his work and his difficulties may thus be well imagined.

An ideal edition requires that complete photographs of all the copies of the originals with their transliteration should supplement an edition which must be in a consolidated form as some of the best Western publications are. The variants given should be so arranged and so full that every one of the original manuscripts used can be reconstructed without difficulty. Introduction, notes, indexes, and parallel passages are the greatest desiderata. Such an edition is monumental though beyond the range of practicability. Without complete photographs of all the originals no edition is reliable. In illustrating this point some digression may be pardoned. I shall take up at random passages from the "Vakroktijīvita" edited by Dr. S. K. De himself with his *apparatus criticus*, and compare it with the reading on the plam-leaf in Malayalam script from which it was published and then it may be easily judged how far his own edition is defective and unreliable according to his own canons.

Page	Line	Dr. De's reading	Palm-leaf ms. reading
8	15	तथोच्यते	तथा चोच्यते
9	5	ननु	नन्वेवं
73	17	मां स्मरं	मां स्मरः (the meaning of the verse is spoiled by alteration)
74	4	युक्तियुक्ततां	युक्ततां
74	5	यस्य	तस्य
74	14	उत्पादयन्त:	उद्भासयन्त:

These changes are unnecessary and misleading. They have been taken as the text of the author. His edition abounds with many such small unauthorised corrections but a few only are selected at random. Yet he finds fault with alterations that he imagines we have made.

Several editions of the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra were issued by able scholars but none with the commentary till now. The present editor's father wrote a commentary on the text up to the 29th chapter for publication but was not destined to complete it. The editor when he first came across the copies of Abhinava's commentary during his stay in Travancore in 1912 decided to issue the text with the more learned commentary of Abhinava. He began to collect as many copies as possible both of the text and of the commentary but

he could not secure many copies of the commentary. There is a copy of the commentary in the Mahārāja's Library at Trivandrum extending over the first nineteen chapters but it is full of lacunæ which sometimes swallow chapters together. The editor secured two copies, one extending over the first six chapters and the other from the ninth to the thirty-first. Both of them are much damaged but fairly correct without many omissions. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī gave a copy of the palace manuscript to Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā. This copy was also taken on loan by the editor from the late Pandit Govinda Das of Benares. The late Mr. Gopinath Rao secured in Travancore another copy of the commentary (chs.1-19) which was as bad as the Palace copy. Meanwhile the Madras Government organised a research party and the editor had the good fortune to be at its head. In British Malabar we obtained in three places copies of the commentary :—(a) covering chapters 1-19, a fairly good and complete copy, (b) chapters 20-28, (c) chapters 30-32, (d) chapter 6 alone, (e) chapters 19-20, besides a summary of the first six chapters. Later on, after the abolition of the research section, the editor at his own expense made tours in Malabar again and again and was fortunate enough to get copies containing chapters 29 to 37 and chapters 4 to 6. In the Government Manuscripts Library there is one copy containing the chapters 1 to 19 and 20-28 (incomplete) collated with the manuscript of Dr. G. Jhā up to the 19th chapter. Dr. S. K. De had to rely only on Dr. Jhā's copy and that of the Government Oriental Mss. Library. Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī took a copy (9-19) from the editor for collation in order to issue the work in the Trivandrum Series but the difficulties in the fourth chapter turned his energies in other directions, namely Arthaśāstra. Abhinava's commentary is found quoted in many works, notably its sixth chapter, in Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana. That author quotes verbatim for the most part, and in a few places gives summaries of the commentary. Ananta, Jāyasenapati, the commentator on Dattila, Vema and the commentators of the Kāvyaprakāśikā have given extracts from Abhinava's works. Ananta, Nānyadeva, Śāradātanaya in a few places, and Guṇacandra-Rāmacandra have paraphrased in verse and prose some of the arguments of Abhinava. The editor had the good fortune of having been able to consult all these works. There is a close summary of Abhinava's commentary by Pūrṇasarasvatī up to the middle of the sixth chapter. A copy of the sixth chapter alone copied and collated by Deśamangalavāriar, who was

the owner of all the copies of Abhinava's works brought to the Madras Library, was also examined and utilised by the editor. It is superfluous to add that the editor made full use of quotations from Abhinavabhāratī given by the commentators on Locana, such as Nārāyaṇa, Uttuṅgadeva, Dāśarathi, and four anonymous writers.

On the other hand, Dr. De had access to the copies of Dr. Jha and to that in the G. O. Mss. Library. He proceeds to complain that the printed copy is fuller and not mutilated as the imperfect copy of Dr. Jha or the ill-arranged copy of the Government Library. The editor's humble aim was to present a complete copy of the text and commentary in a readable manner without many unintelligible passages and has worked up to this ideal as far as practicable. The great commentator mastered all the *Darśanas* besides every fine art then known and many of the works he criticises or refers to are not available to us. Thus it may be easily imagined how difficult was the task for the editor who pretends to no great scholarship. Dr. De's ideal is beyond achievement in a work like this. He himself could not satisfy his own demands when he published an extract of ten pages from this work and also eighteen pages of Dhvanyāloka and two chapters of Vakrokti.

Dr. De complains that my Introduction contains some statements as to the recensions of Bharata's work without proofs. But the editor promised a full volume of 400 pages containing Introduction, notes and the history of the science on the completion of the text and the commentary. What is now issued is only a part of the work. To give some idea to the reader, some of the conclusions of the editor were merely stated. His statement as to the existence of the two recensions is one among them. If the editor had to maintain his statements by citing authorities he would have had to quote various portions of the text with their variants; but if the whole work is available to the reader, mere page-reference will be sufficient. Dr. De however runs to the conclusion that the statement is baseless.

The points raised by Dr. De can be classified under four heads: 1. The preface. 2. The readings in the text and commentary. 3. Emendations, alterations, etc. 4. Errors in punctuation, etc. With regard to the first objection, the editor was obliged to put off all the evidences and arguments to the extensive Introduction on the completion of his work. Dr. De, therefore, should have expressed his opinion after the publication of the Introduction and the editor would have

altered or abandoned his position if untenable. Regarding the second item as to giving the full number of variants, the best reading was always chosen to suit the commentary and omissions and clerical errors were not inserted as variants to swell the number of pages and confuse the reader. For it cannot be ignored that the copyists when copying the library Mss. from the Malayalam originals and the subsequent ones again from the Library copies committed various mistakes. If the Malayalam original is used, the development of errors in all the subsequent copies cannot take the place of variants. In the text more variants are given, and from the seventh chapter to the end of the work they are quite exhaustive. (3) With reference to the emendations and alterations in the commentary, I have already said that by a judicious use of the material, including the stray quotations, the best reading was restored and if at any place the editor was over-zealous in preferring a certain reading it was always with the perfect conviction that the original must have contained that reading. (4) The errors in printing were freely acknowledged and those of punctuation may occur here and there as the style of the work is very stiff. But the examples pointed out by Dr. De are not cases of error and unhappily betrays hastiness on his part in coming to the conclusion.

Of the various statements in Dr. De's review I shall reproduce below twenty six and try to answer them properly and at the end we shall give side by side the readings and punctuation of certain passages as quoted by him in the Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volume with the corresponding passages from our edition.

1. On page 861 of the Indian Historical Quarterly for December, 1927, Dr. De says,—

> "In the preface the editor claims that the edition has been based upon forty copies of Bharata's text as against only four independent manuscripts available to M. Grosset, two to the editors of the Kāvyamālā, two to Mr. S. G. Mukherjee and one to F. E. Hall. It is somewhat exciting news that such ample material was at his disposal."

Dr. De evidently veils distrust under surprise. Most of the copies available in the Public Libraries were not utilised by the scholars named by him and it is no fault of the editor to have consulted them. They are :

(*a*) Two copies in the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.
(*b*) Two copies in the State library of Bikanir.
(*c*) Two copies in the State library of Baroda.

(*d*) Three copies, one incomplete and two complete, in the Palace Library, Tanjore.

(*e*) One copy in the State library of Pudukota.

(*f*) Two copies in the Adyar Library.

(*g*) Seven complete copies borrowed and brought from Malabar to the Madras Government Library.

(*h*) Six incomplete copies in the same place.

(*i*) Two copies, one complete and another incomplete, in the Mysore Library.

(*j*) One copy lent by his Holiness Jiyyar of Melkote to the Poona Institute.

(*k*) Two copies in the Darbar Library, Nepal.

The editor has the remaining copies with him and used all others excluding those of Nepal and His Holiness' copy. If Dr. De is prepared to accompany the editor he will show him the places where he can gather many more copies.

2. "His edition of the text has not dispensed with the necessity of consulting at every step the earlier editions of Grosset and Kāvyamālā series."

We do not well understand the necessity. Even the most critical editions do not dispense with the necessity of collation with the other copies. Dr. De's edition of the Vakrokti and the Dhvanyāloka do require such collation. Even the editions of Abhijñānaśakuntala, Uttararāmcarita, etc. are not exceptions.

3. "The editor raises two important issues: (1) that there were two recensions of Bharata's text styled by him respectively A (Northern) and B (Southern) and (2) that the B recension is of earlier and A of later origin. His statements about the recensions and the relative priority may be right but the proof is lacking."

The proof cannot be given for the simple reason that the whole text is not before the reader. Any statement or discussion will be only a leap into the dark so far as the reader is concerned. Six instances of essential differences were pointed out. More details regarding this point can be given only when the whole text is before the public. But if the task is put off, as the editor did, to the end, the references can be easily given and then the reader will be in a position to appreciate it or use his own judgment in the matter. There are hundreds of differences between these recensions, and if Dr. De ever cared to compare them he would have discovered the fact.

The nomenclature 'Northern and Southern' is for the sake of differentiation. But most of the manuscripts that give the readings of the A set are found only in the North with the exception of only one manuscript, while those that give B recensions are all found in the South. The Nepal copy which has not been utilised by the editor seems to belong to the B set. It was also stated that the terms Northern and Southern were not happy and they were adopted only for the sake of convenience.

Regarding the second question as to the Southern recension being older, this is the editor's opinion based on the different readings given by Abhinavagupta himself as Śaṅkuka's, e.g. in chapters 15 and 16. Those readings are found only in the B set which has been named Southern.

4. "The value Mr. Kavi attaches to these differences is perhaps too generous and these indications are hardly sufficient for a definite conclusion of such importance."

I humbly request Dr. De to give his own criterion by which different recensions may be distinguished. If chapters differing wholesale, and ślokas by tens and hundreds found in one set and missing in the other, cannot serve the purpose of such a criterion, then of course the editor is wrong.

5. "It is not clear what Mr. Kavi means by the phrase which is quoted just now, and it is to be regretted that he has not given us any clue as to the agreements and differences of each of his many manuscripts with regard to his so-called recensions."

The Almora maunscript generally follows the A set in the order of the chapters and the subject-matter in each chapter; but the ślokas in it, taken individually, bear a close resemblance to those in the B set. To give the agreements and differences between any two manuscripts is really the most critical task. But I draw the attention of Dr. De to our remarks on this point :—

"Bharata's work has undergone such variations at every part of the work that every śloka requires half a printed page to show its variants, whether found or not in every one of the MSS. But we could name only one MS. for a certain reading and not all those which contain it or not. Limitations of time, purse and space prevented us from doing more. We also omitted all the glaring errors of scribes. However, we have not left out any important variant unnoticed and at the

end of the work an appendix containing all the missing variants and those that may be found in the MSS. that may be obtained meanwhile will be included."

Dr. De himself admits that

"this would have enlarged the bulk of the work which is already extensive and involved infinite labour and care in collation, but without such data the editor's uncorroborated statements alone cannot be conclusive".

6. He states that "the earlier commentators Śaṅkuka, Lollaṭa. Udbhaṭa and other commentators have commented upon the B version. If this is the ground for presuming that the B version is older, all that can be said is that it is not proved. For the commentaries of these earlier commentators are no longer available, and Abhinavagupta's scanty and occasional quotations from them do not justify such conclusions".

How can Dr. De say that they are not available and that only the occasional quotations of Abhinava refer to them ?

7. "It is indeed difficult to imagine that a Northern writer like Udbhaṭa (and probably Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka were also Northerners) should have taken the Southern version as genuine".

The set A was called *Northern* because all the copies of that recension except one came to the editor from the North, and the B set Southern because all the copies of that recension came from the South. Why does not Dr. De suppose that all the present Southern copies came from the North which were once used by Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and others ? The editor never said anywhere that the Nāṭyaśāstra or its recensions were produced in the North or South.

8. "Bhoja's following of B recension in his Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa (if it is actually so) is a fact which is not of equal importance, for Bhoja was more or less a compiler and was not always very critical in his compilation".

This is a fling at the great Bhoja who used in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa the readings as we find in the B set. But even for a compiler it is not enough to execute such a task without attainments in Śāstric lore. The words within parentheses "if it was actually so" imply mistrust in the statement of the editor. Dr. De carefully follows the argument of perception (pratyakṣa) of the Buddhists and it is a dangerous dart for it will rebound on his own statements. Bhoja quotes the lines

referred to in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa ch. xii in the enumeration of the second of the *catuṣṣaṣṭi-caturṭayam.*

9. "Some of the differences between the recensions mentioned would rather speak of the priority of A to B".

Dr. De too has not proved it. It is only a theory requiring examination when the whole work is before us.

10. "But what we point out is that on these important points more light should have been thrown, and that questionable statements unsupportable by wealth of facts do not carry any conviction to the critical mind."

The wealth of facts can be had at the end. It is premature to criticise a play when the first act is not over.

11. "It is a matter of regret to him that Abhinavagupta had not the good sense of seeing eye to eye with the learned editor and did not adopt the B version which Mr. Kavi would consider as earlier and genuine".

Dr. De has misunderstood the import of the sentence. Out of the forty copies thirty copies split up the ninth chapter into two and thenceforward differ in the numbering of the chapters while ten of the A set treat it as one continuous chapter. Again the 26th in A is included in the 36th in B. A portion of the 18th in B is included in the 19th of A. Now any person would naturally follow the majority of the copies, and the French editor actually did so. The present editor feels that he is under obligation to be guided by Abhinavagupta whose commentary he is publishing. Of course the other commentator has actually split up the ninth and omitted the 26th of the A set to be taken at the end according to the B set. If that commentary is to be published then the B recension has to be used as text and not that of the A set. Let the editor's statement be taken in proper light.

12. "Mr. Kavi makes the confession that great difficulty was felt in fixing the recensions used by the commentator throughout and it is not clear from Kavi's statement on this point that Abhinavagupta actually follows what he calls a recension".

Here the editor unhappily used the word recension in a much restricted sense and Dr. De is badly confused. The editor, having fixed the recensions of Abhinava in the general division of chapters and of the subject-matter, had difficulty in choosing the various readings in each śloka. Even in the A set, ślokas individually differ in readings as *tathāpi, tathaiva,* etc. He means that how Abhinavagupta actually read each particular śloka could not easily be

ascertained owing to differences even among the MSS. of the A set. For *pratīkas* given by the commentator are regularly found in a certain order in one chapter in one MS. of the A set while in the next chapter they are missing in that MS., but they could be traced in other MSS. of the A set. The fixing of the text will be easy if *pratīkas* are given throughout. If the commentator does not give *pratīkas* for about 40 or 50 ślokas together we are in a fix as to decide what copy we have to follow. This is what the editor sought to say.

13. "We are also informed that we have both the fragments of Bharata and Sadāśiva-Bharata. One would be tempted to ask where and what they are. One wishes that Mr. Kavi would vouchsafe to us further and more precise information and discuss in detail the inter-relation between them. But these questions do not seem to worry him".

The fragments mentioned are with the editor who has devoted a chapter to the discussion on the interrelation of those works with that of Bharata in his extensive Preface. It is very much to be deplored that Dr. De thinks that these questions do not worry the editor.

14. "There is no evidence to show that care has been taken in the collation of the Mss. for the genuine variant readings..... and the readings of the printed editions have been carefully weighed....The *apparatus criticus* is of very slight character... It is most regrettable that the editor pleads limitations of time, purse and space. The editor seems to proceed with perfect complacency and self-assurance and hardly gives an indication of difficulties," etc.

It has been said that the editor did not exhaust the variants, but he has chosen all the best variants which could produce any sense or new interpretation. His time is limited, likewise his purse. How he can present the dreadful chapters 28 to 34 with the poor material in hand is his problem. The editor's friends know well that he has spent all his property and time towards securing old and rare works. But regarding the *apparatus criticus* being disappointing, as the readings to him are unintelligible, it has to be said that a closer study is required of the work for the understanding of the essence of the proud creation of Abhinavagupta, whose commentary cannot present a smooth appearance to the dull or jaundiced vision. In reality the lack of variants is not so deplorable as Dr. De complains. We have been more profuse in places where there is no commentary and have also promised

to supplement the whole work with a large list of variants (vide Preface, page 10).

15 "But what is more serious is that there are considerable paddings and unacknowledged alterations and emendations of the text especially in the commentary portion."

If Dr. De had given an instance, his statement would have been clear. The editor did not make any alterations or emendations on his own responsibility except when they were found in the texts which he preferred to others. What the paddings are is not clear.

16. "A few examples taken from this part of the commentary (ch. vi—*rasa* portion) will, we hope, justify the somewhat severe criticism made above."

If Dr. De had taken a few examples from the fourth chapter and could make out anything from his copy of the commentary construing the proper text and then compared it with our edition his conclusions would have been quite contrary.

17. "It should be pointed out at the outset that Hemacandra in his Kāvyānuśāsana (pp. 57 to 66) has appropriated this portion of the commentary. Mr. Kavi while purporting to give us Abhinava's text has exploited Hemacandra considerably without acknowledging these additions."

The editor has acknowledged his indebtedness to Hemacandra in the Preface. Hemacandra mostly quotes Abhinavagupta verbatim as can be readily seen from a copy of the commentary used for the edition. The copies in the Government Library, Madras, and the copy of Dr. Jha are full of lacunæ and the copyists have not pointed out the marks of omission. Wherever the additions were utilised from Hemacandra to make the commentary more explicit, they were enclosed within parentheses. Abhinava frequently quotes fragments of verses. The editor as far as he could trace them out completed them. Otherwise the reader would have been put to great inconvenience. This completion of all incomplete verses or quotations is found to be absolutely necessary in chapters 4, 6, 28, 31, 32 and 34. Works like those of Dattila, Mataṅga, Kohala are not found in print and the reader will surely be benefited if quotations are completed. Dr. De finds fault with us for such completion of quotations. On p. 280 we could not complete two fragments of Vedic quotations under peculiar printing difficulties; and even Dr. De could not trace them out and says that the passage is unintelligible. The completion of the fragmentary verses is more useful to the reader than filling pages with

scribal errors under the name of variants and acknowledgments. Dr. De points out some instances which he calls emendations of the editor. They are not such at all. He compares his copy of Dr. Jha's copy collated with the Madras Govt. copy both of which are replete with errors of scribes and omissions which are not pointed out as such. For the Madras copy was prepared by the copyists at the commencement of the inflow of the Malabar MSS. when the copyists were not properly trained to decipher the old Malayalam script. The copies were not subsequently collated except with Dr. Jha's copy. The editor utilised 8 copies for the sixth chapter and wherever the readings were unintelligible he determined the proper reading by a close examiniation of the original palm-leaf MS. Dr. De quoted a fragment on *rasa* in the commemoration volume of Sir Asutosh Mukherji which though small contains a large number of blunders including misleading punctuations and mistakes of spelling. If he had access to at least one of the original copies in old Malayalam script he could have avoided the glaring errors frequently accompanied with query marks. We shall give some examples at the end of this article quoting our readings and those in the original. We should consider our task accomplished if the terse and abstruse commentary is made clear and intelligible at least in difficult portions. In fact, we have not made any emendations except on sufficient grounds.

18. In one of his examples of emendations Dr. De says, Mr. Kavi inserted *niviśamānam* in line 26 on page 280 where both J. and M. read *nidhīyamānam.*

One of the editor's copies reads *niviśamānam* and the Madras copy reads *vidhīyamānam.* We do not remember whether Dr. Jha's copy reads *nidhīyamānam.* Which reading is then the best ? The context strictly requires *niviśamānam* which is a significant word amongst the old *śāstric* writers. Even the editors of Hemacandra's work read *niveśamānam. Nidhīyamānam* is a vulgar word. Is it possible that a great work written by a genius like Abhinava should use *nidhīyamāna* for *Niviśamāna* ? Perhaps Dr. De thinks that the form is ungrammatical. We would ask him to refer to Pāṇini's sūtra *'ner-viśaḥ.'*

19. "In the same way the reading *hṛdi* adopted without acknowledgment from Hemacandra on page 279 line 1 is clearly wrong. It should be *druti.* Every student of Sanskrit Alaṅkāra knows that *druti, vistāra* and *vikāśa* are associated with three *guṇas—mādhurya, ojas* and *prasāda*—and this nomenclature is here adopted by Bhaṭṭanāyaka".

We admit that *druti* is a better reading but it is not found in any of our copies. The Madras copy reads *rati*, Hemacandra reads *hṛdi* and our copies read *rati, rīti* and *hṛdi*. Of these *hṛdi* appeared best.

It is true that *druti, vistāra* and *vikāśa* are explicitly associated by Mammaṭa with three *guṇas*. Ānandavardhana combined the function of *druti* with *mādhurya*. Abhinava developed it in his Locana. Bhaṭṭanāyaka used the functions of *druti* etc. with three guṇas of *rajas* etc, according to the Sāṅkhya system of *bhoga*. But let Dr. De cite passages from Bhaṭṭanāyaka wherein he combines the three mental states of *druti* etc. with the kāvyaguṇas *mādhurya* etc. M. R. Ry. Chintamani, M.A. in his article on Bhaṭṭanāyaka in the "Oriental Research" while quoting the same passage also reads *rati* and not *druti*, and Dr. De himself, in his article on *rasa* in the commemoration volume, quotes the passage as *rati, vikāsa*, and *vistāra*.

20. "The wrong division of words or sentences—an error which occurs with a surprising frequency—sometimes indicates that the sense of the passage in question had not been properly considered but that it may have been merely copied as found in the manuscript. The punctuation is not always consistent and sometimes positively misleading."

This statement is followed by five or six instances.

They are however no mistakes at all. In his review he has throughout based his remarks on a close comparison with his fragment on *rasa* published in the Commemoration Volume.

21. Dr. De recommends the use of *Vikramorvaśī* for *Vikramorvaśīya*. But though the former form is found in several works on rhetoric all our Mss. read *Vikramarvaśīya* and there is an omission just before that word and any alteration was thought unwarranted.

22. "Some of the lapses from accuracy give it the appearance of being amateurish."

The editor does acknowledge his work to be amateurish and he challenges the learned Doctor to prepare the press-copy for any one of the following chapters, viz. 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34 and submit it to a conference of competent judges. Then it can be seen whose performance is more amateurish.

23. "The Editor has proposed to add a commentary of his own in the chapters 7 and 8 where Abhinavagupta's cannot be procured. We are not sure how far this would be a desirable procedure."

The commentary was not intended for those who can do without it. The eighth chapter being highly technical, a few friends of the editor induced him to write some notes on the difficult passages and hence he promised to write a running commentary at the end if no other copy of Abhinava's is forthcoming. The editor relies upon the material that he has gathered for the exposition of the subject besides his father's commentary on that section.

24. "We have not yet been able to make out Kampapulakollasanādibhir vikāraiḥ (p. 281 line 6). Is it Kampapulakollāsādir vikāraiḥ ?"

Dr. De corrects *ullukasana* into *ullāsana*. It is regrettable that he subjects himself to the same error that he imagines to find in others. He may refer to p. 331 l. 5 of the text and the commentary of Abhinava underneath *gātrasyordhvam sāhlādam dhūnanam ullukasanam*. Even M. Grosset gives the same correct reading. Śāradātanaya uses it in his Bhāvaprakāśa besides a host of writers.

Dr. De remarks that our punctuation is inconsistent and misleading and that we have passed our copyist's copy without any examination of the subject-matter. There is no basis for this remark. He imagines in others what he himself does. His instances are taken from passages of *rasa-sūtra* which he misunderstood and therefore thinks that our punctuation is wrong. We cite below about forty instances of wrong punctuation found in the extract in the Commemoration Volume along with the corresponding passages from our edition.

Abhinava in discussing the import of the famous *rasa-sūtra* of Bharata first reiterates the interpretations of Lollaṭa and others, exposes the fallacies in them and finally establishes his own theory. Dr. De gives this portion as an extract in the Commemoration Volume. It covers over fourteen pages of our printed text and the page reference is to our edition.

Our reading	Dr. De's reading
अत्र भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतयस्तावदेवं व्याचख्युः.....	अत्र भट्टलोल्लटप्रभृतयस्तावदेवं व्याचख्युः..... ।
इति । चिरन्तनानां चायमेव पक्षः ।	इति चिरन्तनानां चायमेव पक्षः ।

Abhinava's *anuvāda* begins with अत्र and ends with इति in which Lollaṭa's opinion is given. Dr. De begins the next independent sentence with 'iti' ignoring the force of the words "evam vyācakhyuḥ" in the former and *ca* and *ayam* in the latter sentence.

अर्थक्रियापि मिथ्याज्ञानदृष्टा	अर्थक्रियापि मिथ्याज्ञानादृष्टा

"Arthakriyā too can be the result of *bhrānti*" but Dr. De thinks quite the contrary. The copyist might have written 'jñānād dṛṣṭā' and he must have wrongly printed it. If he still clings to 'adṛṣṭā,' let him rightly understand Dharmakīrti's quotation given by us immediately within parentheses and here Bhaṭṭanāyaka refutes Dharmakīrti.

तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं न विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायाः। p. 275, l. 27	तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायः।

The removal of *na* does not make any sense here.

किंच नटः शिक्षावशात् स्वविभावस्मरणात् चित्तवृत्ति-साधारणीभावेन हृदयसंवादात् केवलमनुभवान् प्रदर्शयन् काव्यसमुचितकाकुप्रभृत्युपस्कारेण पठंश्चेष्ट इति p. 277, l. 25	किं च नटः शिक्षावशात् स्वविभावस्मरणाच्चित्तवृत्ति-साधारणीभावेन हृदयसंवादात्केवलमनुभावान् प्रदर्शयन् काव्यसमुचितकाकुप्रभृत्युपसस्कारेण पठंश्चेष्ट इति

The *naṭa* imagines his experiences and does not exibit *anubhāvas* and the word *kāvyam* is the object of *paṭhan*.

प्रत्युत ध्रुवागानतालवैचित्र्या p. 278, l. 1	प्रत्यत ध्रुवगानताल

It ought to be dhruvā. It is either a slip like jabā for japā (p. 276, l. 27) or an error.

तदनुकारेऽपि च क्व नामान्तरम्	तदनुकारे विपचत्वनामान्तरम् (?)

In Malayalam *ka* and *pa* resemble *ta* and *va* respectively. This made Dr. De depend on his copyist and produce the beautiful expression 'vipacatvanāmāntaram' but he has the good sense to put a question mark beside it.

तेन स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः इत्यादौ p. 278, l. 14	तेन स्थायिभावानुरसत्वमित्यादौ

Here this is a quotation from Bharata. Dr. De has not understood the line and introduced *anurasatva*. Does he make any sense out of it ?

तत्किंयदवोचताम् p. 278, l. 17	तत्किं यदवोचताम्

For *kiyat* he puts *kim yat*. What is the construction of *yat* ?

रसोऽनुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोऽनुवेधवैचित्र्यात् हृदि विस्तारविकासलक्षणेन p. 279, l. 1-2	रसोऽनुभवास्मत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोऽनुवेधवैचित्र्यात् बलादतिविकासविस्तारलक्षणेन

Here *druti* would be better as the Doctor now suggests. *Ati* is clearly wrong.

तत्र पूर्वपक्षोऽयं भट्टलोल्लटपक्षानभ्युपगमादेव नाभ्युपगत इति तद्दूषणमनुत्थानोपहतमेव p. 279, l. 3	तत्र पूर्वपक्षोऽयं भट्टलोल्लटपक्षानभ्युपगमादेव नाभ्युपगत इति तद्दूषणमनुत्थानोपगतमेव

Here *upagata* and *upagamya* are wrong. What is the necessity for these emendations of the manuscript ?

रसनेति चेत् p. 279, l. 5 रसेनेति चेत्

It ought to be *rasanā* which is antecedent to *sā*. According to Dr. De's reading what does *sā* refer to ?

सत्वादिगुणानां चाङ्गाङ्गिवैचित्र्यमनन्त' कल्प्यमिति p. 279 l. 7 गुणानां.....मनन्तमकल्प्यमिति

Here *akalpyam iti*, as Dr. De gives, does not convey the sense. The original reads *kalpyam*. Who makes alterations ?

निष्पादनाभिव्यक्तिह्यानभ्युपगमे च नित्यो वा असद्वा रस इति द्वतीया गतिः स्यात् निष्पादनाभिव्यक्तिह्यानभ्युपगमे च नित्यो वा असद्वा रस इति न द्वतीया गतिः स्यात्

Here *na* spoils the intention of the author.

अनुभवेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम् p. 279, l. 20 अनुभावेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम्

Anubhāva for *anubhava* is meaningless ; in the same sense it is used in the verse quoted above this line by the commentator. Why should the original be altered ?

धीः पश्यति आन्तिमवेदयन्ती p. 280, l, 2 धीः पश्यति आन्तिमवेदयन्ति

Avedayantī is a complement of *dhīḥ*. Dr. De simply relied on his copyist.

काव्यार्थान् भावयन्तीति काव्यार्था भावयन्तीति

Here according to Dr. De's reading what is the object of bhāvayanti ? The passage is a quotation from Bharata himself from ch. 7. Abhinava's *siddhānta* begins from this sentence. It seems that Dr. De did not read the text of Nāṭyaśāstra or its commentary before or after this portion.

यथा हि रात्रिमासत, तामग्नी प्रादादित्यादावर्थितादिलक्षितस्याधिकारिणः प्रतिपत्तिमात्रादतितीव्रप्रोचितात् प्रथमप्रवृत्तादनन्तरमधिकैव रात्रौ रासते तामग्नी प्रादाद इत्यादौ अर्थितादिलक्षितस्याधिकारिणः प्रतिपत्तिमात्रादिविद्वत्(?) प्रबोधितात् प्रथमप्रवृत्तादनन्तरमाधिकैव

p. 280, ll. 14, 15

Mātrā and *trivṛt* of the Madras manuscripts gave him some trouble. Were they understood in the Āyurvedic sense of a *purging pill* ? Either the knowledge in the Malayalam script or a little acquaintance with Mīmāṃsā would have suggested to him the right word ; yet he says that we have emended the original. Even the Madras copy gives our reading.

अधिकैवोपात्तकालतिरस्कारिणैवास्ते प्रददातीत्यादि .....यथादर्शनं प्रतिभावनाविधिनियोगादिभाषाभिः p. 280, l. 16, 17 अधिकैवोपात्तकालतिरस्कारिणैवास्ते । प्रददानीत्यादि रूपाः ।.....। यथादर्शनं प्रतिभावनादि विद्वायोगादिभाषाभिः

The fullstop after *āste* is the crowning glory of Dr. De's suggestions. This para being the first argument of Abhinava's theory he says that ideas are transformed from the particular to the general at first of a limited nature ; then the limited generalisation extends into unlimited. The commentator draws an analogy from the *adhikārilakṣaṇa* in Mīmāṃsā. They performed rātri-satra. "He (*Prajāpati*) offered *that* (his own vapā) as an oblation in fire"—such sentences of a mere arthavāda nature of past action entailing on the present adhikārin as a vidhi or niyoga according to Kumārila or Prabhākara respectively. *Āsata* or *prūdāt* taken from the Vedic passages becomes injunction to *adhikārin* transforming into the general sense *āste* or *pradadāti* respectively. Dr. De reads *pradadāni*. This may be a printing mistake but why has he put a full-stop after *āste* ? "A and B can do a piece of work in 3 and 4 days respectively". In this sentence if a fullstop is put immediately after three what would an Englishman say of the author ?

In the same passage *viddhyudyogādi* is Dr. De's reading for *vidhiniyogādi*. He has implicit faith in his copyist. What is the reading of the expression *dhyudyogādi* ? Is *vid* an *upasarga* ? Or does he think that *vidhi* and *udyoga* mean thereby 'duty' and 'appointment' ? The original palm-leaf reads *vidhiniyoga*. Even a novice in Mīmāṃsā knows that the reference is to the two schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara.

मानसी साक्षात्कारात्मिकापरक्षिततत्तद्वाक्योपात्त-कालादिविभागा तावत्प्रतीतिः । p. 280, l. 21

मानसीसाक्षात्कारात्मिका अपरक्षिततत्तद्वाक्योपात्त-कालादिविभागात्प्रतीतिः ।

Here *mānasī* goes with *pratītiḥ*. Dr. De reads it with the next word forming a compound. Then how is its strīliṅga form justifiable ?

भयमेव·····अनालिङ्गितं···विलक्षणं ··· ग्राह्य'... निविश्यमानं...विपरिवर्तमानं...भयानको रसः

भयमेव···अनालिङ्गितम् ।···विलक्षणग्राह्य'···निधीयमानं···रसः ।

p. 280, ll. 23-27

Here Dr. De recommends a full-stop after *anāliṅgitam*. He has not understood what Abhinavagupta says ; *bhayam* goes with *bhayānako rasaḥ* ; *anāliṅgitam, vilakṣaṇam* etc. are epithets to bhaya in its transference from the particular idea to the generalised *rasa* of *bhayānaka*. If one puts a full-stop after *anāliṅgitam* what is the construction of the words *niviśamāna, viparivatamāna* etc. ? They cannot be taken as adverbs ; for the predicate here is only a copula understood.

न विशेषत उल्लिखितः p. 280, l. 28

निर्विशेषत उल्लिखितः

The reading *nirviśeṣataḥ* is copyist's blunder, which Dr. De coolly adopts. Madras copy reads correctly. He copies the mistake from Hemacandra's edition.

एवं परोऽपि p. 280, l. 28 एवमपरोऽपि।

Dr. De recommends that it ought to be *evamaparopi*, meaning thereby that the case is the same with the other *rasas* too. At first sight it seems to be plausible but when we go deeper into the manuscript reading we find it quite correct. But there should be no full-stop after it. He copied it from the edition of Hemacandra's Kāvyānuśāsana.

तत एव न परिमितमेव साधारण्यमपि तु विततं तत एव न परिमितमेव साधारण्यमपि तु विततम्।
व्याप्तिग्रह इव धूमाग्नी...वा। p. 280, l. 28 व्याप्तिग्रह इव धूमाग्नी.....वा।

Here Dr. De recommends a full-stop after *vitatam*. But it is not tenable even in English to put a full-stop between an adverbial clause and the principal sentence whose predicate it modifies.

सुतरां रसपरिपोषाय p. 281, l. 5 सुतरां रसपरितोषाय

Toṣāya is a copyist's slip which Dr. De would not mend.

कम्पपुलकोल्लुकसनादिर्विकारः p. 281, l. 6 कम्पपुलकोल्लासनादि (suggested by Dr. De)

Ullukasana is a new word to Dr. De and he changes it into *ullāsana*, and suggests it to us also. We advise him to peruse page 331, line 17 for its meaning as given by Abhinava himself.

अतएव निस्सामान्योत्कर्षोपदेशव्युत्पत्तिप्रयोजने अत एव निस्सामान्योत्कर्षेऽपि देशव्युत्पत्तिप्रयोजने
नाटकादौ प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयत्वादि नियमेन निरूप्यते। नाटकादौ प्रख्यावस्तुविषयत्वादिनियमेन निरूप्यते।
p. 282, ll. 7-9

Here Dr. De has not understood anything and he simply copies as *utkarṣo'pi*. Abhinava here talks of two things *upadeśa* and *vyutpatti*. What does Dr. De mean by *deśavyutpatti*? Is it a unique creation of countries? What does he intend to say by *prakhyāvastu*? Is it in any way connected with *upākhyā* of the Buddhist śūnyavāda? If *nīyamena* is taken into the compound, what is the subject of *nirupyate*?

प्रतिभासंविद्विश्रान्ति p. 282, l. 21 प्रतिभासंधिविश्रान्ति

Here Dr. De reads *sandhiviśrānti* for *saṃvid-viśrānti*. What does he mean by it? He copied the Trivandrum copy and did not consult the Madras Ms.

उक्तं हि "इश्च' अव्यं चे"ति p. 283, l. 3

This line is taken by Dr. De along with the fifth vighna. But it is *parihāra* for the fourth vighna.

तत्कृतमुपकारसंदर्भं विभ्रतः p. 284, l. 24 तत्कृतमुपकारसंदर्भं बिभ्रतः

Dr. De reads *vibhutamaḥ* for *bibhrataḥ*. This is a peculiar superlative carrying no sense here. The palm-leaf manuscript reads *bibhrataḥ* which goes with the object *sandarbham*.

एवमप्रधानत्वनिरासः ॥ ६ ॥ स्थायिनिरूपणायां 'स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः' इत्यनया···मुनिना क्षतः। तत्र.....p. 285, ll. 4-6	एवमप्रधानतानिरासः स्थायिनिरूपणायाः स्थायिभावात्तसत्त्वमिष्यामः इत्यनया ··· क्षतः। तत्र.....

Here Dr. De thinks that the division or paragraph and consequently a full-stop after *nirāsaḥ* are wrong. Abhinava after dealing with the sixth vighna at length proceeds to the next one namely Saṃśayayoga, i.e. doubt arising as to what *rasa* was meant on account of certain *bhāvas* being common to several rasas. The doubt must be dispelled by giving greater play to bhāvas peculiar to one rasa. To amplify this he begins the argument with a quotation from *Bharata*. Then he proceeds with the course of *saṃśaya* or doubt beginning with the sentence with *tatra*. If Dr. De's punctuation is followed the quotation will have no bearing on the text and *tatra* in the following sentence will have no antecedent. Therefore his criticism is evidently wrong.

बाष्पादिरानन्दाच्चिरोगादि p. 285, l. 9	बाष्पादिरानन्दार्तिरोगादि

The original manuscript reads *akṣiroga*. Dr. De adopts the copyist's error or alters it on his own account. Even the Madras Ms. reads *akṣiroga*. Abhinava gives two examples to each condition.

लौकौत्तरोऽर्थो रस इति तात्पर्ये सूत्रस्य। अयमत्र संक्षेपः—p. 286, l. 27	लौकिकोऽर्थो रस इति तात्पर्यम्। सूत्रस्यायमत्र संक्षेपः

Dr. De takes *sūtrasya* with the next paragraph. *Sūtra* itself is the *saṃkṣepa* of an argument. If it can have another *saṃkṣepa* what shall we call it? It must go with *tātparya* as we have printed it. "*Ayamatra saṅkṣepa*" is a very common expression of the commentators.

महाकवेः कालिदासस्य	महाकवेः कलशकस्य

Our manuscript reads *Kālidāsasya* clearly. *Kalaśaka* is an error of the Madras copyist which he subsequently corrected in collation. Though the verse is not found in any one of his known works it possesses Kālidāsa's unique thought and expression.

तद्वन्नटप्रक्रिया वागादिलक्षितातिस्फुट·····p. 288, ll. 19-20	नाट्योपलक्ष्यादितातिस्फुट·····

What is the meaning of his reading? He has quietly given us the copyist's error.

अर्थो व्यक्तिं वितरति। युते दृश्यान्यनियमादौ ..... नियतदेशकालाद्यस्मदभूत	अर्थो व्युत्पत्तिविमरतियुते (?)नियतं देशकालाद्यस्पष्टनूतन

Here Dr. De reads *vyutpattivimaratiyute* while the original manuscript reads *vyutpattiṃ vitarati*. Dr. De has not understood anything here nor can anybody else from his reading. He reads *aspaṣṭanūtana* for *aspṛṣṭabhūta* of *kāla* and *deśa* missing the main argument.

He abruptly closes his extract in the middle of a clause. We have pointed out only a few such specimens. There are many other errors of this kind in the extract of ten pages.

We may defend Dr. De by saying that the article in the Commemoration Volume had been prepared somewhat hastily but why should he not correct these blunders at least after seeing our publication? His accusation of wrong punctuation and emendations of the commentary without acknowledgment, thus misleading the reader, is applicable only to himself. In his edition of Dhvanyāloka, page 28, line 9 he reads *madhumadana* with the Sanskrit rendering of the prākṛt verse and puts a full-stop after it. This is a mistake. In the *saindhava* language the words *mahu, mahu* mean *mama, mama* (me, me) and also *madhumadana* (Viṣṇu). So there is a pun on these words.[1] Abhinava has explained it.

For his own emendations (see Dhvanyāloka, page 22, lines 3, 4). Here all the manuscripts we have examined including the two he has used read *"śabdāḥ sāṅketikaṃ prāhuḥ vyavahārāya saṃsmṛtāḥ"*; he changes it into *"śabdaṃ sāṅketitaṃ prāhuḥ vyavahārāya...sasmṛtaḥ."* Why should he make this alteration? What is the necessity? By the change he makes the first half an *anuvāda* or *pūrvapakṣa* while the śloka of Dharmakīrti (which is quoted by Abhinava anonymously) nullified the *saṅketa* in *svalakṣaṇa*. Helarāja quotes it as we find in the Locana manuscripts. In fact Abhinava quotes the same verse a second time. If Dr. De had read Locana properly in the previous sections he would have been wiser not to have altered it and thus misunderstood Dharmakīrti, Ānandavardhana and Abhinava.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI

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1 The original is महुमह इति भणन्तउ वल्लइ कालो जनस्स।
तेइ ण देओ जणद्दणु गोअरो होत्ति मणस्स॥
Dr. De's reading मम मम इति भणती व्रजति कालो जनस्य।
तथापि न देवो जनार्दनो गोचरो भवति मनसो मधुमथनः॥
Here the commentator says मधुमथन इति योऽनवरतं भणति etc., but Dr. De puts a full-stop after इति taking मधुमथन along with the gāthā.

REVIEWS

JAIN INSCRIPTIONS, Jaisalmer (with Introduction, Notes, Index of places, etc.). Collected and compiled by Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.[1] Pt. III (with plates), 1929.

Mr. Nahar has done a distinct service to Jinalogy and epigraphy by the publication of the three volumes of Jain Inscriptions, the third volume (under review) bringing the number of inscriptions to 2592 *i.e.* about three thousand. The records published in these volumes, though not generally very old, are important for scholars from more standpoints than one e.g. linguistic, social, religious etc. Here we have records in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Hindi. They cover a variety of subjects not generally met with in epigraphic records. The present volume contains the records of Jaisalmer—a very important stronghold of the Jains.

The Introduction and the sporadic notes are in Hindi. No work in any other Indian vernacular seems to have such a big collection of epigraphic records, The work appears to have been primarily intended for the Jains—a large section of which is Hindi-speaking. It may be that it was for this reason that Mr. Nahar has not thought it necessary to add explanatory notes to passages or terms which, though quite clear to Jains in general and students of Jinalogy, are a bit difficult to others. Even a mere reference to particular sections of his excellent volume *Epitome of Jainism* would have in cases been of great help.

In editing the records he has not always been scientifically faithful to the plates (e.g. No 2531-l. 4, सम्वद्वि—pl. सम्वद्दि ; सौख्य—pl. सौख्य etc.). Nor has he cared to correct in the footnotes the apparent mistakes of the engravers (e.g. No. 2531 l. 4. नः तेषाम् should have been corrected into नस्तेषाम् ; भवेत् मन्दिरे into भवेन्मन्दिरे). Some misprints have also unfortunately crept into the work (e.g. No. 2112, l. 20—सुक्रतिन in place of सुक्रतिनः).

It is true that these defects are more or less due to the almost total

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1 Part II was reviewed in these pages (vol. iv, pp. 792-3) by Dr. P. C. Bagchi who pointed out a few mistakes in the deciphering of the records. Mr. Nahar in a letter to me attributes some of the mistakes to the proof-reader. Some, specially, *Dve kālye* for which Dr. Bagchi suggests *Dvaikalpa*, are, in his opinion, supported by the plates.—Ed.

loss of the eye-sight of Mr. Nahar and he deserves the hearty congratulations of scholars in having been able to bring out such an important work in spite of such a handicap.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL, vol. III. Edited with translation and notes by Nanigopal Majumdar, M.A. Published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal, 1929, pp. i-x+1-200, Crown Octavo, with one Map showing findspots of Inscriptions and 15 Plates.

It is long since the Varendra Research Society took upon itself the important task of collecting and editing the epigraphic records of Bengal. It was proposed that these should be published in three volumes of which the first should contain records of the Pāla period, the second those belonging to the time of the Senas and the third those of the period of the Pāṭhān Sultans. Accordingly the first volume under the title *Gauḍa-lekhamālā* (*Prathama stavaka*) with translation and notes in Bengali was published under the editorship of Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitreya as early as 1319 B. S. (=1912-13 A. C.). The programme seems to have been a bit revised since and the third volume 'containing the inscriptions of the Candras, the Varmans, and of Īśvara-ghoṣa and Dāmodara' has come out. We learn from the Preface of this volume that the Society contemplates the publication of two companion volumes, one dealing with the Gupta and the other with the Pāla inscriptions which will apparently form the first two volumes of the Series. And obviously with a view to secure popularity for the Series the notes etc. will be in English instead of Bengali as before. We heartily welcome this volume which is welcome on more points than one. With the publication of this volume most of the post-Gupta records of Bengal are made accessible in two separate volumes and scholars will be saved the labour of hunting the pages of periodicals not easily available at all times and places.

The learned editor has carefully checked the readings of his predecessors with the help of the original stones or copper plates where available or with their impressions and has been able to find out and correct a good many errors. He has also taken great care in examining the interpretations suggested by previous scholars. His elaborate notes in this connection reflect great credit on him as

he has collected information from various sources. The glossary of terms denoting official titles which forms the 10th appendix of the work is a very important thing.[1] It seeks to bring together all known facts with regard to particular titles. A list of all peculiar words would have been all the more welcome to students of Philology. It must of course be admitted that the editor gives informative notes on such words in the body of the work e.g. *jhāṭa* (p. 83), *nala* (p. 84)[2] etc.

He is quite up to date in giving information seldom omitting even the most recently published things (which have been referred to in the 11th appendix giving additional notes and comments). But a paper in the *Proceedings of the 14th Bengali Literary Conference, Naihāṭī,* 1330 B. S. (pp. 1-8). Similar is also the case with another small paper (I. H. Q.—vol III, p. 186 ff.) which *inter alia* sought to prove the genuineness of the introductory verses of the *Adbhutasāgara* (cf. p. 174, f. n. 1).

Several wrong statements have somehow or other found their way into the book. His statement (at p. 60) that Vijayapura is mentioned in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* as the capital of Vijayasena is not accurate as Dhoyī really represents it as the capital of his patron Lakṣmaṇasena, though, as the name seems to indicate, it might have been first founded by Vijayasena. His statement (p. 132) with regard to the Madanapāḍā copper-plate that it was acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal lacks confirmatory evidence. At least no mention of it is found in the list of copper plates in the Society by Mr. R. D. Banerji (J.A.S.B., vol. VI, 1910, pp. 485ff.). And the present reviewer is making all attempts to acquire it from its present owner in a distant village.

There are some passages and expressions with regard to the interpretations of which the learned editor seems to have been a bit far-fetched or inaccurate.

The equation of *ārambha* with *ālambha* (v. 6. p. 12) and explaining it as sacrificial slaughter seems to be going too far when *krūrārambhe dayāluḥ* could very well be translated as 'kind towards people of cruel acts' or in some such way.

The rendering of *Bāla-Valabhī-bhujaṅga* as 'the serpent of

1 The want of such a glossary though promised in the preface was a keenly felt desideratum in the *Gauḍa-lekhamālā*.

2 It may be pointed out here that this word is still used in some parts of Bengal. At Koṭālipāḍā (Faridpur) it denotes a plot of land (5 cubits × 5 cubits).

Bāla-Valabhī' is not at all happy when the word *bhujaṅga* has got the well known meaning 'paramour' in which sense its use is not at all unusual (e.g. अष्टादशभाषावारविलासिनीभुजङ्ग used in respect of Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*).

The rendering of v. 1 of the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena (p. 50) fails to convey any good sense. The translation of *ratālaya-dīpa-bhāsaḥ* as the 'light of *pudendum muleibre*' is not only far-fetched but inaccurate as it leaves out the word *dīpa* (lamp). The plain meaning 'pleasure-chamber' is sufficient and there is no need of reading an inner meaning into it. As a matter of fact, *ratigṛha* (which is the same as *ratālaya*) is used in that sense in the *Kāmasūtra* and the facts of lamps being used there is clearly referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Kumāra-Sambhava* Canto I (*ataila-pūrāḥ surata-pradīpāḥ*). A closely similar idea is to be met with in the *Vidyāsundara* attributed to Vararuci (the only known manuscript of which is in the possession of Mr. Sailendra Nath Mitra, M.A. of the Calcutta University). I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it here in its entirety. It describes the amours of Vidyā and Sundara. It runs :—

सन्दृष्टे जघनस्थले स्तनयुगे लज्जाभरव्याकुला
बाला सत्कवरीसुपुष्पविलसन्मालाहृते दीपके।
चञ्चद्रत्नसुतेजसा समभवद्दीपोपमेन स्फुटं
दृश्यं कान्तगुणाधिकं स्मितमुखी सन्नाप्तलज्जाभवत् ॥ v. 274.

This verse with some variants is also found to occur in the *vidyā-sundara* (v. 39), as published by Jivananda Vidyāsāgara in his *Kāvya-saṃgraha* (vol. III).

One minor point with regard to orthography may be noted here. It is true that in some of the modern vernaculars of India two distinct letters ड and ड़ and their corresponding aspirates ढ and ढ़ are used with a slight difference in the pronunciation of the sounds with or without dots below them. But this difference is not met with in old manuscripts and epigraphic records. Hence the use of dots below ड and ढ (cf. p. 21, ll. 40, 43 ; p. 74 ll. 38, 39, 46, 48 ; p. 111 ll. 19, 31, 32 ; etc.) in the transcription of records of the 11th and 12th centuries is unwarranted by the paleography of the records and smacks of a bit of anachronism.

Lastly, the warmest thanks of all students of the history of Bengal are due to Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., of the Dighapatiya Raj—both a scholar and a patron of learning—for his munificence in providing the entire cost of this costly and very important publication.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. x, pts. i, ii

B. BHATTACHARYA.—*A Peep into the Later Buddhism.* The author describes some features of the Vajrayāna Buddhism and shows that Tāntrikism, specially the Tāntrik deities like Tārā and Chinnamastā, have been evolved from a later form of Buddhism called Vajrayāna.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India.*

SUKUMAR SEN.—*The Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose.*

AMBUJ NATH BANERJI.—*Studies in Economics of Ancient India.* This deals with the nature and scope of *Vārttā*, its relation with other sciences as also the students and teachers of this science in ancient India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Sanskrit Literature of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal.* This is an account of the literary output of the followers of Caitanya in different branches of Sanskrit literature—philosophy, rituals, kāvya, poetics and grammar.

N. H. PURANDARE.—*A few Thoughts on Semantics.*

P. V. KANE.—*Bhavadāsa and Śabarasvāmin.* This note shows that Bhavadāsa wrote a commentary on Purvamīmāṃsā and preceded Śabarasvāmin.

Asia Major, vol. v, fasc. 2

Die Überlieferung des Ältern buddhistischen Schrifttums (Handing down of the ancient Buddhist scriptures) by F. Weller.

The writer enters into a detailed discussion about the probable time of compilation of the Piṭakas and summarises his conclusions as follows :

The present text of the Dīgha Nikāya presupposes the existence of manuscripts, which had their origin in India. It is a written translation from texts which were composed in Māgadhī.

The information that the whole of the Pāli canon with commentaries was handed down orally up to the period of Vaṭṭagāmani

and was for the first time written down in Ceylon during the rule of Vaṭṭagāmani cannot be accepted as historical truth.

The account of the Councils, so far as Suttapiṭaka is concerned, is younger than the Dīgha Nikāya, which was handed down by the members of one sect, and therefore it is historically of no value.

It has not yet been disproved that the Dīgha Nikāya originated in pre-Christian era.

As the indigenous traditions about the canon are of a comparatively later date, researches in this field must be carried on by a comparative study of the various traditions. Researches with the Pāli canon alone will not be fruitful.

Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, vol. iii, no. 1

N. SUBBA RAU.—*Deva Rāja Waḍeyar of Mysore.*

S. CHANDRASEKARA SASTRY.—*Hayasaḷa Administration.*

Indian Antiquary, July, 1929

BIREN BONNERJEA.—*Materials for the Study of Garo Ethnology.*

A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN.—*Vedānta and Christian Parallels.* The writer compares the Vedāntic conception of the relation between Word and God with the Johannian utterance in the Bible, viz. "Word was God", and to him "the taking of man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin etc. is reminiscent of the (Hindu) doctrine of Avatāras."

RICHARD C. TEMPLE.—*Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the Kathā-saritsāgara.*

Ibid., September, 1929

R. R. HALDER.—*An Inscription of the Time of Allaṭa of Mewar.* This inscription re-edited here records the construction in 953 A.C. of a temple of Viṣṇu in his Varāha form and mentions the names of some prominent persons in the state of the ruling Guhila king Allaṭa.

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.—*A Note on Śvetāmbar and Digambar Sects.* The author of this note advocates the earlier origin of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jains, and believes that 'the assignment of a distinctly inferior status to woman by denying her the possibility of

full spiritual emancipation' and such other narrow dogmas propagated by some of the followers of Mahāvīra led to schisms and ultimately to the establishment of a new order called Digambaras.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*Note on Ṭeṇṭā-karāla.* It has been shown here that the word *ṭeṇṭā-karāla* occurs in various works, in some of them in a slightly different form, in the sense of a gambling place and that even 'good' women have been referred to in the *Karpūramañjarī* (circa 900 A. C.) as playing at dice.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol, III, pt. 1

M. HIRIANNA.—*The Saṣṭitantra and Vārṣagaṇya.* The author derives evidential support from the *Jayamaṅgalā* for the view that *Saṣṭitantra* is the name of treatises by Pañcaśikha and not by Vārṣagaṇya, consisting of 60 sections and postulating 60 principles, and opines that Kapila himself might have been the original author of this work which was later on amplified by Pañcaśikha.

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*More about the Age and Life of Śrimad Appayya Dīkṣita.* Historical, epigraphical, traditional and literary evidences have been adduced corroborating 1520-1593 as date for Appayya Dikṣita.

D. T. TATACHARYA.—*Definition of Poetry or Kāvya.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1929

GUISEPPE TUCCI.—*Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga (Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarkaśāstras).* An account of the pre-Diṅnāga logical works preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations and also known from quotations and allusions found in works like Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārtika* and Vācaspati's *Nyāyavārtika-tātparyaṭikā* has been given here.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Text of the Buddhacarita, cantos ix-xiv,* 32. Notes have been written on the text of this portion of the Buddhacarita in the light of the Tibetan translation of the work edited by Dr. Weller.

JWALA PRASAD.—*The Philosophical Significance of Ṛgveda,* x, 129, 5 *and Verses of Allied Nature.* This Ṛgvedic verse called by many scholars "a puzzle" and left unexplained has been interpreted here as describing the universe as a sacrifice, or as warp and woof, or again, as both.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. III, pts. 2, 3 & 4

G. RAMADAS.—*Santa Bomvāli copper-plate Grant of Nandavarmā—a Review.*

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO.—*The Evolution of the Brahminical Hierarchy in Ancient India.*

M. RAMARAO.—*Some Interesting Facts about the Kakatiyas.*

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI.—*Analysis of the Agni Purāṇa.*

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO.—*History of Rajahmundry.*

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.—*Siṃhūpura Copper-plate Grant of Kadamba King of Dharmakhedi.*

L. P. PANDEYA.—*Two unassigned Coins of Balpur.*

R. SUBBARAO.—*Madras Museum Plates of Indravarmadeva.*

LAKSHINARAYAN HARISCHANDRA JAGADEB.—*Aṭṭagaḍa Mahāliṅgeśvara Rock Inscription.*

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI.—*Literary Gleanings.* Various Sanskrit works on Music produced during the last thousand years in different parts of India have been named and in some cases described in the present instalment of this continued article.

LAKSHINARAYAN HARISCHANDRA JAGADEB.—*Stone Pillar Inscription of Ratnamaṇi Devī at Mukhaliṅgam.*

R. SUBBAR RAO.—*Correspondence between the East India Company and the Kandregula Family in the Eighteenth Century.*

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Kommu-chikkala Plates of Anavatu Reddi dated Ś. S. 1344.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, July, 1929

H. KRISHNA SASTRI.—*Archaeology in Mysore.*

M. H. RAMA SHARMA.—*Studies in Vijayanagara History.* 'Crynamata' mentioned by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz has been identified in this portion of the "Studies" with Kumāra Rāmana Kuinmaṭa of to-day.

K. KRISHNAMACHARYA.—*Some Poses from Amaruka.* A few extracts from the *Century* of Amaruka depicting 'the finer phases of Śṛṅgāra' have been discussed here.

Rūpam, April-July, 1929

ORDHENDU COOMAR GANGOLY.—*A Group of Buddhist Sculptures from Siam.*

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Buddhist Reliefs from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvatī.*

AJIT GHOSE.—*Miniatures of a Newly-Discovered Buddhist Palm-leaf Manuscript from Bengal.*

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.—*Notes on the Above Mss.*

A. N. GANGOLY.—*A Moghul Miniature from the Lahore Museum.*

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.—*The Gods of Northern Buddhism.*

Zeitschrift fuer Buddhismus, viii, 1928 (four parts).

Saṃyutta-Nikāya—translated into German by Prof. W. Geiger. This volume contains translations of BK. I (31-81); BK II, and BK. III (1-14).

Der Weg zur Reinheit (Visuddhimagga)—translated into German by Bhikkhu Nyanatiloka. (This volume contains translation of pp. 1-57 of the Pali text).

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha—translated into German by Ernst L. Hoffmann. This volume contains translation of Chs. II-IV. The translator has added an Appendix in which the various divisions and sub-divisions of philosophical and psychological terms have been arranged in a tabular form.

Das Leibesproblem in der buddhistischen Pālilyrik by W. Wüst. The object of the writer is to show that a detailed study of problems like the Kāya-problem can throw light on the chronology of Buddhist texts.

Gespräche buddhistischer Mönche (Dialogues of Buddhist Monks) by Badsar B. Baradijn (translated from Russian into German by Gertrud Bufe and W. A. Unkrig). The Tibetan original (16 leaves) of this work, called "*zlos-gar-gyi bstan-bcos-yaṅ-dag-lam-du-bkri-bai-rol-rtsed-ces-bya-ba* (*i.e.* a Dramatic work, a poetical play, which leads the way to truth), was written between 1762 and 1828. It contains the conversation of four Buddhist monks, an Indian called Prajñā, a Tibetan Śes-rab, a Mongolian Bilik and a Chinese Ts'e-dpe each speaking on the religious themes in his own mother tongue. The translator has added notes on important Tibetan words.

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By Dr. N. Dutt, M.A., PH.D., D.LIT.

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Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire

II

2. *Khāravela*

In a cave on the Khandagiri hill near Bhuvanesvar in Orissa known as the Hāthigumphā (elephant cave) the short history of the first thirteen years of the reign of a king of Kaliṅga named Khāravela is found engraved in Brāhmī characters. In this document, unique in its kind, it is said that in the eighth year of his reign Khāravela invaded Magadha and laid seige to Rājagṛha, and that four years later, he captured the royal palace (at Pāṭaliputra) and made the Rājā of the Magadhas fall at his feet. Most of the writers[1] on the Śuṅga period are of opinion that Khāravela was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, and it was Puṣyamitra who or whose deputy was besieged at Rājagṛha and who himself fell at the feet of Khāravela four years later. Two such disasters appear to me irreconcilable with Puṣyamitra's known achievements and reputation. Therefore the arguments of scholars like Messrs. Rapson, Jayaswal and Sten Konow who recognise Khāravela as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra demand careful scrutiny. Professor Rapson writes :—

"Even the fundamental question whether the inscription is dated or not is still in dispute. Some scholars contend

1 A notable exception is H. Roy Chaudhuri, *Pol. His.*, pp. 199-201.

that a passage in the sixteenth line can only be interpreted to mean that the inscription was engraved in the 165th year of the Maurya kings, or of the Maurya king, while others deny the existence of any such date. The discussion of problems of this kind does not fall within the scope of the present work, but it may be pointed out here that the acceptance of the supposed date would seem to involve no chronological impossibilities, and that, in any case, the inscription probably belongs to about the middle of the second century B.C. With this hypothetical chronology other indications of date seem to agree."[1]

As we have seen above, the acceptance of the supposed date in the inscription, that is to say, recognition of Khāravela as contemporary of Puṣyamitra, does involve chronological impossibilities. But as preconceived notions take long to die out, it is still necessary to discuss whether there is a date in the Maurya era in the Hāthigumphā inscription. The passage in question in line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription is thus read and translated by different authorities :—

Bhagavanlal Indraji—*panaṃtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja-Muriyakāle vocine ca coyaṭha agasatikutariyaṃ cupādayati*

"And (the victorious and illustrious king Khāravela) does (this) in the one hundred and sixty-fifth year of the time of the Maurya kings after one hundred and sixty-four years had passed away."

Fleet[2]—*vochine ca coyaṭṭhaṃ aṃga-sattik-aṃtariyaṃ c=upādayati*

"And he produces, causes to come forth (i.e., revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Aṅgas."

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal[3]—*ghaṃṭālaktocatare ca veḍūri-*

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 534-35.

2 *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 827.

3 *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IV, 1918, pp. 393-395 ; corrections, Ibid., vol. XIII, pp. 235-236.

yagabhe thaṃbhe patiṭhāpayati pānatariya śata-sahasehi Muriyakalaṃ vochiṃnaṃ (neṃ ?) ca co-yaṭhi (or-thī) aṃga-satikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati

"On the lower roofed terrace (i.e., in the verandah) he establishes columns inlaid with beryl and with bells attached at the cost of 75 hundred-thousand (paṇas). The four-fold (for the fourth) Aṅga-Saptika of 64 sections lost in the time of the Maurya (king) he restores."

Dr. F. W. Thomas[1]—*panaṃtariya (ṃ ?) sa.....raja (?) muriyakāle vochine (naṃ ?) ca.....agasa (si ?) tikaṃtariyaṃ upādayati*

"And a.....of five antaras (cells, *antara gṛha* ?) which had been left unfinished (destroyed ?) during the time of the Maurya kings, he erects with.....and a full hundred (eighty, asiti ?) cells."

Dr. Sten Konow[2]—*cature ca veḍuriyagabhe tha (ṃ) bhe patiṭh (ā)-payati panatariyasacasahite*

"And he causes four pillars to be erected, studded with beryl, and accompanied (inscribed) with the noble truths taught (by the Jina)."

rājamuriyakālavochiṃnaṃ ca coyaṭhiaga satikaṃta-riyṃ upādayati

"He restores the sixty-four section Aṅga, that had become obsolete at the time of the Maurya king, included in a saptika."

Dr. Sten Konow here sees a reference to the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition that in the reign of Candragupta Maurya the Saṅgha assembled at Pāṭaliputra to collect the fragments of the sacred lore. The assembled monks succeeded in bringing together eleven Aṅgas, but the twelfth, the Dṛṣṭi-vāda, could not be recovered. As according to tradition Dṛṣṭivāda is said to have been partly known to later authors, Dr. Konow holds that the text restored by Khāravela is

1 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1922, p. 84.

2 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 19.

the Parikamma, the first part of Dṛṣṭivāda, which is a sattika or saptika, i.e., a treatise comprising seven chapters. "*Coyaṭhiaga* would represent a Sanskrit *catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅga*, an Aṅga consisting of sixty-four sections. We are told in later texts that the Parikamma comprised eighty-three such subdivisions. If I am right in thinking that the Hāthigumphā inscription contains a reference to that text, we must infer that only sixty-four were included in the recension restored by Khāravela."[1]

From the plaster cast of the Hāthigumphā inscription in the Indian Museum, I read line 16 thus:—.....*paṭālake catare veḍūriya gabhe thaṃbhe paṭithāpayati panatariya*..... [*Mu*]*riyakāle vochine ca coyathi-agasatikaṃtariyaṃ upādayati*

The cast shows that four or five letters before [*Mu*]*riyakāle* are totally defaced. Therefore Bhagavanlal Indraji's *saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja* and Mr. Jayaswal's *satasahasehi* are more or less conjectural. *Rāja-Muriya* is also a strange form. In line 1 of the Hāthigumphā inscription we have *Cheta* or *Cheti-rāja* instead of *rāja-cheta*; in line 6, *Nanda-rāja* instead of *rāja-Nanda*; and in line 8 *Yavana-rā*[*ja*] instead of *rāja-Yavana*. Therefore Dr. Sten Konow's restoration of *rāja* is unjustifiable. *Panatariya* I should take in the sense of "having five intervals or entrances," and as referring to a hall with six pillars. Leaving *paṭālake* out of consideration like Dr. Sten Konow, I shall translate the first sentence thus :—

"On the courtyard he caused to be erected (six) pillars inlaid with beryl (i.e., a pillared hall or corridor) leaving five entrances....."

Fleet's recognition of *vochine* in the next sentence as a Jaina technical term meaning "loss of text," accepted by Sten Konow and Jayaswal, appears to me reasonable. Another Jaina technical term that occurs in this sentence is

1 *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 21.

satikaṃtariyaṃ, 'seven inter-Jina periods.' The following extract from the *Vyavaccheda adhikāra* of the Bhagavatī Sūtra (XX, 8) of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon seems to throw some light on the passage:—

e e su naṃ bhaṃte ! tevīsāe Jinaṃtaresu kassa kahiṃ Kāliyasuyassa vocchede pannatte ? Goyama !

e e su naṃ tevīsāe Jinaṃtaresu purimapacchimaesu aṭṭhasu Jinaṃtaresu ettha naṃ Kāliyasuyassa avocchede pannatte, majjhimaesu sattasu Jinaṃtaresu ettha naṃ Kāliyasuyassa vocchede pannate savvatthavi naṃ vocchinne Diṭṭhivāe.

"O Reverend one, in these (successive) twenty-three intervening periods between the (twenty-four) Jinas when was the (eleventh Aṅga called) Kālikaśruta lost ? O Gautama, in these twenty-three inter-Jina periods, in the first eight and in the last eight inter-Jina periods, the Kālikaśruta was in existence. But in the medial seven inter-Jina periods the Kālikaśruta was lost. Dṛṣṭivāda was lost in all the inter-Jina periods."

Sten Konow takes *satika*, Prākṛt *sattika*, Sanskrit *saptika*, in the sense of a treatise comprising seven chapters. It appears to me more reasonable to take *satikaṃtariyaṃ* as meaning, 'belonging to *sattasu Jinaṃtaresu*, the (medial) 'seven inter-Jina periods' and thus translate the second sentence of line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription :—

"He restores the sixty-four section aṅga of the seven inter-Jina periods (i.e., first lost in the medial seven inter-Jina periods) that was (again) lost in the Maurya period."

This "sixty-four section Aṅga of the seven inter-Jina periods" should be identified with the Kālikaśruta that disappeared in the seven medial inter-Jina periods. According to the scholiast of the Bhagavatī Kālikaśruta is the eleventh Aṅga of the Jaina canon (*Kāliyasuyassa ekādasāṅgirūpasya*). This eleventh Aṅga is better known as the Vipākaśruta. The existing Vipākaśruta of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon contains legends on the reward of the good and evil deeds

and consists of two parts (*śrutakaṇḍhas*) of ten chapters (*ajjhayanas*) each.[1] Sakalakīrti, a Digambara author, states in his Tatvārthasāradīpaka that the eleventh Aṅga, Vipākaśruta, deals with the good and evil actions of men and has 18,400,000 words.[2] The texts of the Digambara canon are now lost. The *Aṅga* consisting of 64 chapters that, according to the Hāthigumphā inscription, was lost in the medial seven inter-Jina periods, was probably the extensive Digambara recension of the eleventh Aṅga, or rather, the original eleventh Aṅga which was the common source of both the Svetāmbara and the Digambara recensions, for the definite separation of the two sections of the Jaina community did not take place till the end of the first century A.D.[3]

Line 16 of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, so far as it can be made out, means that in the thirteenth year (?) of his reign, Khāravela caused the erection of a pillared hall or corridor with five entrances (i.e., six pillars) in the courtyard, and the restoration (compilation) of the eleventh Aṅga of the Jaina canon that became obsolete in the Maurya period.

Dr. Sten Konow and Mr. Jayaswal do not recognise a date in the Maurya era in line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription, but they arrive at very nearly the same date from the supposed occurrence of the name of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, in line 8 and of Puṣyamitra (Bṛhaspatimitra) in line 12. The passage in question in line 8 is thus read :—

Bhagavanlal—

Rājagahanapaṃ pīdāpayati etinaṃ ca kaṃmapadānapanādena savata senavāhane vipamucitu Madhuraṃ apayāto navame ca.....

1 Weber, "Sacred Literature of the Jains," *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 26.

2 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84*, p. 107.

3 Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26, p. 179.

Jayaswal—

Rājagaham upapīḍāpayati (;) *etinā ca kaṃmapadāna-saṃnādena saṃbita-sena-vāhano vipamuṃcitum Madhuraṃ apayāto yavanarāja Dimita* (or-*ti*).

"On account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour the Greek king Demetrius drawing in his army and transport retreated to abandon Mathura".[1]

Dr. Sten Konow considers Jayaswal's reading of the last two words "absolutely certain" and thus reads and translates the passage :—

Rājagahaṃ upapīḍāpayati etinā ca Kaṃmupadana-panādena sabadhe senavāhane vipamucitu Madhuraṃ apayāto yavanarājā [*Di*]*ma*[*ta*].

"Laid siege to Ṛājagṛiha, and through the uproar occasioned by the action the Yavana king Demetrius went off to Mathura in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble."[2]

Dr. Sten Konow accepts Mr. Jayaswal's identification of *Dimata* with Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus, and thus proceeds to reconstruct the first phase of the Indo-Bactrian history :—

"Demetrius was, according to Strabo, the son of the Bactrian king Euthydemus, and Bactria was the starting point for the conquests through which he became, as he is called by Justin, the king of the Indians. During the absence on his Indian expedition, the rival prince Eucratides made himself master of Bactria and later on defeated Demetrius. If we compare the account of these events with the statement contained in Khāravela's inscription, we shall find a general agreement among them. Demetrius had pushed eastwards beyond Mathura, probably with a view of waging war against Magadha. Rumours now reached him about what was going on in Bactria, where Eucratides had ousted his governors, and

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 227-229.

2 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 27.

at the same time he learnt about Khāravela's operations against Rājagṛha. There was danger in front of him, and his base in Bactria was unsafe. He accordingly retraced his steps towards Mathura in order to open operations against Eucratides and relieve his generals (*sabādhe senavāhane vipamu[ṃ]citu[ṃ]*]."[1]

Mr. Jayaswal has described his difficulties before he could make out Dimita or Dimiti. In a cast of the Hāthigumphā Inscription taken by Mr. Caddy in the year 1894 and deposited in the Indian Museum I can trace *Yavana-rā* with some difficulty but see no chisel mark after *rā*. The name of an Indo-Greek king must have followed *Yavana-rā* [*ja*] and it might as well have been Dimita as any other name. But even if we admit for argument's sake that Dimiti or Demetrius was engraved here, what evidence is there to show that this Demetrius can be no other than the son and successor of Euthydemus of Bactria ? This evidence is apparently to be found in line 12 which is thus read by Mr. Jayaswal :—

Magadhānaṃ ca vipulaṃ bhayaṃ janeto hathī Sugaṃgiyaṃ pāyayati Māgadhaṃ ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ(Cunningham, *vahasatisita* ; Bhagavanlal, *vahupatisātisā*) *pāde vaṃdāpayati.*

Dr. Sten Konow writes, "At all events, *Sugaṃgā* or *Sugaṃgī* is certainly the ancient Maurya palace in Pāṭaliputra, which is called *Sugāṅga* in the Mudrārākṣasa. The operations mentioned in l. 12 were accordingly directed against Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Magadha empire. Bahasatimita, i.e., Sanskrit Bṛhaspatimitra, was therefore the king of Magadha in Khāravela's days, and I agree with Mr. Jayaswal that he must be the same person who is known under the name of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, though I am not able to add much to the learned author's argument in favour of this view."[2]

1 *Acta Orientalia*, vol. I, p. 28. 2 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 29.

The reading Bahasatimita is doubtful, for *h* has an *u* stroke below, and the next letter is indistinct. But even if the reading is provisionally accepted, it is difficult to endorse the identification of Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) with Puṣyamitra. Mr. Jayaswal[1] first identifies Bahasatimitra, Rājā of the Magadhas, who fell at the feet of Khāravela, with Rājā Gopāliputra Bahasatimitra mentioned in the Pabhosa Inscription[2] No. 1 and with Bahasatimitra of the copper coins found at Kosam near Pabhosa and also at Ramnagar (Ahicchatra-Adhichatra) in Rohilkhand.[3] This Pabhosa Inscription records the excavation of a cave by Āṣāḍhasena, maternal uncle of *rājan* Bahasatimitra, in the 10th year of Udāka (restored by Mr. Jayaswal as Odraka). As the inscription is dated in the reign of Udāka (Odraka), it is rightly assumed that he held imperial position. But it is not quite correct to say that no territory is specified for Rājan Bahasatimitra. As already pointed out by Professor Rapson,[4] the way in which Bahasatimitra's name is mentioned in the beginning of the inscription clearly indicates that Pabhosa was included in his dominion and that he was the reigning Rājā at the time of the inscription. So Rājā Bahasatimitra of the Pabhosa Inscription No. 1 cannot be identified with a predecessor of Udāka (Odraka) on the imperial throne. Mr. Jayaswal also identifies Agnimitra of the copper coins so far found at Ramnagar and certain other sites in Rohilkhand with the Śuṅga king Agnimitra, son and successor of Puṣyamitra, but no notice is taken of the weighty arguments adduced by numismatists against this

1 K. P. Jayaswal, "A further note on the Hathigumpha Inscription," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, 1917, pp. 473-479.

2 A. Führer, "Pabhosa inscriptions," *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 242.

3 Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 243 and note 18.

4 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 525.

identification.[1] No coin of Agnimitra or Bahasatimitra has yet been found either in Magadha (South Bihar) or Eastern Mālava (Vidiśā). So it is premature to conclude that the coins of Agnimitra found in Rohilkhand only and the coins of Bahasatimitra found at Kosam were issued by kings bearing same names who ruled from Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā. But even if this is conceded, the next difficulty is the want of definite proof that Bahasatimitra was the immediate predecessor of Agnimitra. Mr. Jayaswal finds this proof in epigraphic tests. He writes:—

"The *i* stroke in the legend of Agnimitra is wavy and curved, which is a sure sign of lateness, while in that of Bahasati it agrees with the older style owing to which Cunningham missed it and read the legend as *Bahasatamitra*. My friend, Mr. Bhandarkar, has detected another index. He kindly writes to me that the *ta* is also later in Agnimitra's coins."[2]

Any difference in the form of characters used in the coin legends of father and son should rather be considered as tests of contemporary varieties than as positive evidence of priority and posteriority. According to the Purāṇic chronology relied on by Mr. Jayaswal, Agnimitra survived the death of Puṣyamitra and reigned for 8 years only. So practically they were contemporaries. The hook-shaped sign of medial *i* found in the legends of the Pāñcāla coins of Agnimitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra and Phalgunimitra is a decorative feature and cannot be recognised as a test of age. The form of medial *i* used in the coin of Bahasatimitra is the usual one found in the inscription of the Kuśānas and the Guptas. The *ha* and *sa* in the legend of the coins of Baha-

1 Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 80; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassbury, 1897, p. 13; V. A. Smith, *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 184.

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, 1917, p. 477.

satimitra have perfectly equalised vertical lines and the *sa* is of the same type as the *sa* in the inscriptions of the Mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa. On palæographic grounds, therefore, Bahasatimitra of the Kosam coins should be assigned to the end of the first century B. C. and not to the first half of the second century B. C.

Another argument used by Mr. Jayaswal in support of his identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra is that both Bṛhaspati and Puṣya are, according to the Sanskrit usage, identical,[1] i.e. synonymous. Puṣya is the name of the sixth lunar asterism and Bṛhaspati is the planet Jupiter. Even if we admit that Bṛhaspati was also identified by the ancient Hindus with Puṣya, that does not justify the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra any more than the denotation of the same god by the terms Skanda and Kumāra justifies the identification of Skandagupta with Kumāragupta.

As we have already seen (p. 590), according to Dr. Sten Konow the identification of the Yavana-rāja of the Hāthigumphā Inscription with Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, rests on general agreement between the account of the Greek writers that during the absence of Demetrius from Bactria Eucratides revolted and made himself master of Bactria and later on defeated him (Demetrius), and the statement in the Hāthigumphā Inscription that the uproar caused by Khāravela's siege of Rājagṛha made an unnamed Yavana-rāja, or a Yavana-rāja Demetrius of unknown parentage, abandon his invasion of Magadha to help the garrison of Mathura. The Greek account of the revolt of Eucratides as summed up by Dr. Sten Konow shows that the hostile activities of the rebel were confined to Bactria, and he could not have created any trouble for the generals of Demetrius at Mathura. So it is impossible to link the rising of Eucratides in Bactria with the Hāthigumphā version of the retreat of the Yavana-rāja to relieve the garrison of Mathura.

1 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 478 and note.

Mr. Jayaswal's translation of line 8 of the Hāthigumphā Inscriptiou differs from that of Dr. Sten Konow. Mr. Jayaswal does not find in this passage any hint of Demetrius's retreat to Mathura to relieve the garrison, but renders it thus : "The Greek king Demet(rios) drawing in his army and transport retreated to abandon Mathura." Khāravela's siege of Rājagṛha might dissuade Demetrius from invading Magadha to avoid a struggle with the powerful king of Kaliṅga ; but why should it lead him to abandon even Mathura it is very difficult to make out. The Hāthigumphā account of the retreat of the Yavana-rāja, and the Greek account of the revolt of Eucratides and Demetrius' return from India to face him, refer to two different events separated as we shall see below, by a long interval of time.

The chronological impossibllities involved in these identifications become still more apparent when attempt is made to reconstruct the history of Magadha from 175 to 170 B.C. on their basis. If Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, retired from India to face Eucratides when Khāravela laid siege to Rājagṛha, the latter event must have happened in the year 175 (Jayaswal) or 174 (Sten Konow) B. C. As this year corresponds to the eighth year of Khāravela's reign, he must have ascended the throne of Kaliṅga in 183 or 182 B. C. With Khāravela's siege of Rājagṛha, the revolt of Eucratides in Bactria and the retreat of Demetrius, Messrs. Sten Konow and Jayaswal link two other events, the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by Demetrius and a horse sacrifice (the first horse sacrifice according to Mr. Jayaswal) of Puṣyamitra. As we have already seen, Patañjali's statements in the Mahābhāṣya clearly indicate that the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana (i.e. the Yavana king) and the horse-sacrifice of Puṣyamitra were not, strictly speaking, contemporaneous events. Though it may not be difficult to reconcile the retreat of Demetrius with Puṣyamitra's horse-sacrifice intended to celebrate his triumph over his enemies, it is impossible, for reasons stated

before (p. 587), to conceive a siege of Rājagṛha by a king of Orissa when the ceremony was in progress at Pāṭalīputra. It is far more reasonable, therefore, to asume that Khāravela led his expedition to Magadha, not in the reign of Puṣyamitra when the Suṅga power was at its height, but in the declining stage of that power, say, some time in the first half of the first century B.C., and the crushing blows that he dealt to the tottering empire hastened its fall. Palæographic considerations based on the comparison of the form of the letters of the other Brāhmī inscriptions, of which the dates are approximately known, point to a similar conclusion.

3. *Palæography*

In fixing the date of Khāravela some writers still stick to Bühler's classification of the early Śuṅga alphabet, and others declare palæographic tests as valueless for the purpose. To the first category belongs Prof. Rapson who writes :—

"Epigraphic considerations show that the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela and the Nānāghāt Insctiption of Nāganikā, the queen of Sātakarṇi, belong to the same period as the Nasik Inscription of Kṛṣṇa. Even, therefore, if it must be undated, there is still reason to believe that Khāravela may have been contemporary with Sātakarṇi in the first half of the second century B.C.[1]

In the foot-note Professor Rapson refers to Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* p. 39. Bühler places the Hāthigumphā Inscription on the one hand and the Nanaghat inscription of Nāganikā on the other in the same chronological group *on other than epigraphical considerations.* He writes, "Khāravela's Inscription must have been incised between B.C. 157 and 147, as the king's thirteenth year is said to correspond to the year 165 of 'the time of the Muriya (Maurya) kings', and it fixes also the time of the Nanaghat Inscription. For according to line 4, Khāravela assisted in

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 535.

the second year of his reign a western king called Sātakaṇi. This Sātakaṇi probably is identical with the first Andhra prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas, whose inscribed image is found in the Nanaghat cave. Hence the date of the large inscription, which was incised during the regency of Sātakarṇi's widow Nāganikā, cannot be much later than B.C. 150."[1]

If, ignoring the supposed date in the Hāthigumphā Inscription, we compare the characters of this inscription (called H below) with those of the Nanaghat inscriptions of queen Nāganikā (called N) we note the following points of difference[2] :—

(1) A very prominent decorative feature, a small knob or nail-head at the top of the main vertical of the letters (called Serif by Bühler) is very rare (practically absent) in N, but quite common in H.

(2) The *ka* in N. has the shape of a Roman Cross with the horizontal line equal to the vertical line, whereas the same letter in H. has the shape of a Greek Cross or a dagger with a horizontal line that is invariably smaller than the vertical line.

The lower part of the *cha* in N. has the shape of a circle bisected by the vertical line ; in H. the lower part of *cha* consists of a pair of loops touching each other and the whole letter has the shape of a butterfly.

(4) In N. the lower part of *ta* is angular in form ; in H. the lower part of *ta* is semi-circular.

1 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXIII, App., p. 39.

2 This comparison is based, not only on a study of the published facsimiles of the Nanaghat (*Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. V, Plate II) and Hāthigumphā (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, Plate facing p. 472 ; *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, Plates attached to p. 22) inscriptions, but also on a careful examination of the original paper impressions of both taken by Mr. R. D. Banerji, when Superintendent of Archæology, Western Circle, and lent to me by the Director General of Archæology in India.

(5) The longer (right) vertical line of *bha* in N. is not straight, but slightly bent, as in *bhas* in the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of the time of Antialcidas; in H. the *bha* has invariably a straight vertical line to the left.

These differences indicate that the characters of the Nanaghat inscriptions on the one hand and those of the Hāthigumphā inscription on the other should be classed as two different varieties of the Brāhmī script. The Nanaghat script agrees with the Brāhmī legends on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon,[1] and the Besnagar Inscription[2] of the time of Antialcidas,—documents that may be assigned to the second century B.C. with tolerable certainty,—in those very particulars in which it differs from the script used in the Hāthigumphā inscription. The alphabet of the Nanaghat inscriptions belongs to the class I have elsewhere designated as the early Śuṅga script while the alphabet of the Hāthigumphā inscription represents the later Śuṅga script.[3] It may be argued that the types of Brāhmī alphabet used in the Besnagar inscription, the Nanaghat inscriptions and the Hāthigumphā inscription, occurring so far apart, may as well be recognised as contemporaneous local variations as successive variations. But at Sāñchī and Barhut we find the two types of writing side by side. The alphabet of the inscriptions on the main ground rail of Stūpa I and on the ground rail II at Sāñchī is of the early Śuṅga type with plain vertical lines, whereas the alphabet of the inscriptions on the gateways of Stūpa I (including the one containing the name of Sātakarṇi) and on the remains of the railing of Stūpa

1 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Plate I, 12; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, Plate II, 1 and 2.

2 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1, Plate II.

3 "Notes on Sanchi inscriptions," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XI, 1925, pp. 76-77; *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 1.*

at Sāñchī is of the knob-headed Hāthigumphā type.[1] ilarly most of the inscriptions on the railing of hut now in the Indian Museum are of the early Śuṅga), but Dhanabhūti's Inscription on a pillar of the away and votive inscriptions on two other rail pillars of the knob-headed type. So the difference between e two types of Brāhmī cannot be rightly attributed the difference of locality only. The knob or nail-head top of the main vertical line of the letters is a feature is always found in decidedly later inscriptions all over a, such as the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā lāsa) and Western India, and of the later Andhra kings d in the cave-temples of Western India and on the es of Amarāvatī. Therefore the presence of the knob-led verticals in the Hāthigumphā and other inscriptions ates that these records belong to a later age than the hmī inscriptions with plain verticals. Recently fortune placed in our hands a Brāhmī inscription which may ssigned to about the middle of the first century B.C. with rable certainty on independent grounds and therefore the abet of this inscription may be safely recognised as a onological landmark in the history of the Brāhmī script.

4. *The sixth of Puṣyamitra*

This dateable Brāhmī inscription is the Śuṅga inscription Ayodhyā first published by Babu Jagannathdas Ratnakar the Nāgarī Pracārini Patrikā, vol. V, p. 100. It has ce then been dealt with by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal more an once.[2] The name of the donor at the end of line 1 of he Ayodhyā Inscription has, I believe, been correctly res-

1 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1, Plates III-VI.

2 K. P. Jayaswal, "An inscription of the Śuṅga dynasty," *Modern Review*, October, 1924, pp. 430-2; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. X, pp. 202-208; *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 247-249.

tored by Mr. Jayaswal as Dhanadeva. The only doubtful word in the record is *dharmarājñā* in line 2. Messrs. Jagannathdas and Jayaswal in his first paper took it as an epithet of the donor Dhanadeva. Mr. Jayaswal's proposed emendation Dharmarājñī (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIII, p. 247) is untenable. The sign of Medial *i* of Brāhmī *ja* is an upward stroke attached to the top-most horizontal line of the letter as in *ji* of *yājinah* in line 1 of the inscription. The same stroke, when attached to the middle horizontal line of *ja* stands for *ā*. We have such a stroke attached to the *j* of *jñ*. Mr. Jayaswal seems to mean that what looks like the sign of *ā* attached to the middle line of *j* is really the sign *i* at the top of the vertical line of *ñ*. But *ñ* is the subscript of the conjunct *jñ* and the sign of *i* cannot be attached to the subscript like the sign of *ñ*. Dharmarājñā as an epithet of the donor, the lord of Kosala, yields good sense, and, therefore, no emendation is called for. In the Hāthigumphā inscription Mahārāja Khāravela, Lord of Kaliṅga, is called Dharmarāja; and in the Malavalli pillar inscription Sivakhadavamman, *rājan* of the Kadambas, is styled Dhammamahārājādhirāja.[1]

There are two very ambiguous words in this short record. One of these is *ketana* in line 2. According to the Sanskrit lexicons *ketana* means either "house" or "flag-staff." Mr. Jayaswal takes the word in the sense of a statue house or flagstaff to serve as a funeral monument, but does not cite any authority in support of his interpretation. The stone bearing the inscription is a slab and not a fragment of a pillar. So the monument [*ketana*] could not have been a flagstaff. The only known ancient funeral monument in Eastern India is the *stūpa* which is nowhere called *ketana*. As the donor calls himself 'lord of Kośala' and 'Dharmajāja' in the inscription, it is very probable that his father was not alive at the

1 Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X, Appendix), No. 1196.

time. So, if *ketana* was not a funeral monument, it must have been a shrine where either something belonging to Phalgudeva's person, such as his sandal or his image, was deposited for worship. In the Rāmāyaṇa (II, 112f.) it is stated that when Rāma refused to return from exile to Ayodhyā to occupy the throne, his younger brother Bharata took a pair of Rāma's sandals, installed them on the vacant throne of Ayodhyā, and ruled the kingdom on behalf of these symbols till Rāma's return. Did the *ketana* enshrine the sandals of Phalgudeva that were being worshipped by the citizens of Ayodhya? In the Śuṅga period India was in close contact with the Hellenistic world and borrowed considerable elements of Hellenistic culture. In the Hellenistic world the kings were officially recognised as gods. Antiochus I deified his father Seleucus as Zeus Nikator. Antiochus II perhaps officially became a god during life, and "from his reign there seems to have been an official worship of the dynasty, including the living king, located in the capitals of the satrapies but with local variations of form."[1] The erection of a stone building is not necessary for the usual Indian *śrāddha* or ancestor worship. The *ketana* was probably intended for public worship. It, therefore, seems to me that Dhanadeva, following the example of the Greks, inaugurated the public worship of his deceased father Phalgudeva, who must have sat on the throne of Kośala before him, by erecting a *ketana* or shrine for him.

Another ambiguous term in the inscription is *ṣaṣṭhena* in the phrase, *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena*, "by the sixth of Puṣyamitra," which has given rise to some controversy.[2]

1 W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, London, 1927, p. 50.

2 Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, "Textual Notes on the newly-discoverd Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā," *Modern Review*, January, 1925, pp. 59-60; N. K. Bhattasali and A. Banerji-Sastri, "The New Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā," *Modern Review*, February, 1925, pp. 202-203; N. G. Majumdar, "A Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, vol. VIII, pp. 160-163.

Mr. Jayaswal translates this phrase, "the sixth son of Puṣyamitra," and cites in support of this interpretation Mallinātha's explanation of *pañcamaṃ Takṣakasya* in Raghuvaṃśa XVI, 88 as *Takṣakasya pañcamaṃ putram*, "the fifth son of Takṣaka." But two other commentators, Dinakara and Vallabha, explain the phrase as "the grandson's grandson or fifth in descent from Takṣaka."[1] So it is evident that the scholiasts of the Raghuvaṃsa were uncertain about the meaning of the term. The uncertainty arises from the fact that nowhere in the extant literature are either the five sons of Takṣaka with Kumuda as the youngest, or five ancestors of Kumuda up to Takṣaka, find mention.[2] Unless we adopt Mr. Jayaswal's uncalled for emendation, *dharmarājñī-pituḥ*, his interpretation of *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena* (the sixth son of Puṣyamitra) involves the recognition of Phalgudeva, father of Dhanadeva, as an alias of Puṣyamitra. But the use of two different names for the same person in two different lines of a short record consisting of two lines only is inconceivable. We, therefore, have to explain "sixth of Puṣyamitra" in the sense of "sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra" and recognise Dhanadeva as the grandson of the great-grandson of Puṣyamitra. The use of ordinal number in the sense of descent is common in archaic Sanskrit. In Mahābhārata I, 76, 3183, King Janamejaya is made to say :—

Yayātiḥ pūrvajo' smākaṃ daśamo yaḥ Prajāpateḥ

"Yayāti, who is tenth of (or from) Prajāpati, is our ancestor."

We learn from the genealogy of the Aila family given in the Mahābhārata (I, 75) and other texts that Yayāti was tenth in descent from Prajāpati through Māricī, Kaśyapa,

1 *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa, edited by S. P. Pandit, Bombay, 1897, p. 496 and Notes, p. 151.

2 J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, London, 1926. See references to Kumuda from the Index.

Vivasvant, Manu, Ila (or Ilā), Purūravas, Āyu and Nahuṣa. In the Mahābhārata XII, 59, 112 it is said of King Pṛthu :—

ātmanoṣṭama ityeva śrutir-eṣā parā nṛṣu

"This best Śruti (Vedic text) is (known) among men that (Pṛthu is) eighth from Viṣṇu."

The genealogy given in the Mahābhārata X, 59 (88-93) shows that Pṛthu was eighth in descent from Viṣṇu through Virajas, Kīrtimat, Kardama, Anaṅga, Ativala and Veṇa. Again in the Mahābhārata XII, 351, 4 it is said of Vyāsa[1] :—

pitāmah=ādyaṃ pravadanti ṣaṣṭham

"Who (Vyāsa) is said to be sixth in descent from the originator of Brahmā (i.e. Nārāyaṇa)."

This difficult *pāda* of a stanza is explained in the same section of the epic (XII, 351). Janamejaya misunderstands *ṣaṣṭham* and asks the narrator, Vaiśampāyana, "O best of Brahmans, you have already given me an account of the ancestory (of Vyāsa). Vaśiṣṭha's son (was) Śaktri ; Śaktri's son (was) Parāsara ; Parasara's son was the ascetic Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana. Again you call him the son of Nārāyaṇa." Vaiśampāyana in reply narrates an old legend (*ākhyāna*). At the time of the seventh creation Nārāyaṇa created Brahmā called Pitāmaha (grandfather) from his navel. In the cycle of Manu, son of Vivasvant, Vaśiṣṭha came into being as one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, son of Parāsara, was the great-grandson of Vaśiṣṭha and, therefore, sixth in descent from Nārāyaṇa, the *ādi* or source of Brahmā, the Grandfather. When more sons than one are named side by side, it may be necessary to distinguish one from the other by using the original number. Even then, as Patañjali points out in the Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini I,1, 21), "When there are many sons, this is the way of speaking : "This is my eldest (son), this is my middlemost (son), this

1 In P. C. Ray and M. N. Dutt's English versions, XII, 350 ; but see *Mahābhārata*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1837, XII, 351.

is my youngest (son)."[1] But when only one son is named, it is unnecessary to do so. So if the donor of the Ayodhyā nscription had been a son of Puṣyamitra, he would have simply designated himself *Puṣyamitrasya putreṇa Kausikiputreṇa*, as in a Pabhosa inscription[2] the donor Āṣāḍhasena is designated *Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaihidarīputreṇa*, and in the Bharhut gateway inscription[3] Dhaṇabhūti is called *Āgarajusa putreṇa Vāchiputreṇa*. Therefore we have to interpret *Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena* as "sixth in descent from Puṣyamitra" and recognise in Dhanadeva a grandson's great-grandson of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

Adopting 148 B.C. as the year of Puṣyamitra's death, and allowing 25 years for each intervening generation, we obtain 50 B.C. as the date of Dhanadeva's inscription. It is not possible to fix the date of any other record of the Śuṅga period even within such limits. The characters of this inscription may, therefore, be taken as tests for recognising later Śuṅga inscriptions assignable to the first century B.C. The most notable features of the alphabet of this inscription are :—

(1) A knob or nail-head at the top of the main vertical line of each letter.

(2) A tendency to equalise the upper vertical lines of *pa*, *ya*, *ṣa*, *sa*. The upper vertical lines of these letters are completely equalised in the Brahmī inscriptions of the Mahakṣatrapa Śoḍāśa and of the Kushan kings.

(3) Use of the archaic *da* as compared to the advanced *da* used in the inscriptions of Śoḍāśa.

(4) Use of *ra* represented by straight vertical line without the curve at the lower end as in the *ra* of the inscriptions of Śoḍāśa and of the Kushan kings.

1 *bahuṣu putreshv-etad-upapannaṃ bhavati ayaṃ me jyeṣeṭho 'yaṃ madhyamo' yaṃ kaniyāniti*

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 243.

3 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, I, p. 21, no. 26.

(5) Use of angular forms of *ja*, *pha*, *ma*, *la* and *ṣa*.

In the knob-headed variety of Brāhmī, though the equalisation of the upper verticals is a test of age, the angular form does not seem to be so ; for in the votive inscriptions on the old railing of Bodh-Gaya[1] we come across angular forms of the above-named letters along with unequalised upper verticals. Apart from other evidences dealt with above, on the analogy of the alphabet of the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva the alphabet of the Hathigumpha inscription has to be assigned to the later Śuṅga period in the first century B.C. The history of the later Śuṅgas enables us to fix the dates of Khāravela's invasions of Magadha with greater definiteness.

5. *The decline and fall of the Śuṅga Empire*

The Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas contain lists of the Śuṅga kings who succeeded Puṣyamitra. The names in these lists vary considerably. Pargiter has prepared the following list by combining them :—[2]

2. Agnimitra (son of Puṣyamitra) will be king 8 years.
3. Vasujyeṣṭha.....will be king 7 years.
4. Vasumitra (son of Vasujyeṣṭha) will be king 10 years.
5. Andhraka (son of 4) will be king 3 years.
6. Pulindaka... .....will be king 3 years.
7. Ghoṣa (son of 6) will be king 3 years.
8. Vajramitra.....will be king 9 years.
9. Bhāgavata.....will be king 32 years.
10. Devabhūmi (son of 9) will be king 10 years.

Agnimitra is named both by the Purāṇas and the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa. As, according to Kalidāsa, Agnimitra's son Vasumitra was old enough to be placed in charge of the guards of the sacrificial horse by Puṣyamitra,

1 Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Plate X.

2 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 70.

Agnimitra must have succeeded his father when he was advanced in years and there is nothing abnormal about his short reign of 8 years. He was probably succeeded by his eldest son Vasujyeṣṭha. Vasumitra, who succeeded Vasujyeṣṭha, is Vasujyeṣṭha's brother and not his son if we are to believe Kalidāsa, Bāṇa writes in the Harṣacarita, "Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, being overfond of drama, was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and with a scimitar shorn, like a lotus stock, of his head."[1] It is usually assumed that this Sumitra is the same as Vasumitra, the fourth Śuṅga king. The tragic end of Sumitra or Vasumitra indicates that there were dissensions in the imperial family, which must have paved the way for the decline of the empire. The next name in the list is given in four different ways in the four Purāṇas: Vāyu has *Andhraka*, Matsya *Antaka*, Viṣṇu *Ārdraka*, Brahmāṇḍa *Bhadra* and Bhāgavata *Bhadraka*. Two of the ten manuscripts of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa examined by Pargiter, *b* and *h*, have *Odruka* instead of the form *Ārdraka*. As we have already seen, one of the Pabhosa cave inscriptions (Lüders' List, 904) is dated in the tenth year of a king whose name is rightly read by Lüders as *Udāka*. Mr. Jayaswal restores this name as *Odraka* and further considers *Odruka*, found in a few only of the manuscripts of Viṣṇu Purāṇa, *Andhraka* of the Vāyu, *Bhadra* of the Brahmāṇḍa and *Bhadraka* of the Bhāgavata as variants.[2] Prof. Rapson finds no other difficulty in accepting these suggestions than that while the Odraka (Udāka) of the Pabhosa inscription reigned at least 10 years, the authorities examined by Pargiter assign to Andhraka (or Bhadraka or Antaka) a reign of 2 or 7 years only, and proposes to get over it by assuming "that an error has crept into the text of the Puraṇas."[3] The question to be considered in connec-

1 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. III, pp. 473-475.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 521.

tion with the Purāṇic accounts of the successors of Puṣyamitra is not, whether an error has crept in here or there, but quite the other way,—whether there is anything that is free from error. If the fifth Śuṅga king whose name is given by the different Purāṇas in such different forms as Bhadra, Bhadraka, Ārdaka, Andhraka, Antaka, has to be identified with any king mentioned in the epigraphic records of the Śuṅga period he should be identified with king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, in the fourteenth year of whose reign the Yavana ambassador Heliodorus installed a Garuḍa pillar of Vāsudeva at Vidiśā, Besnagar (Lüders' List, 669). Assuming that the Purāṇic figures relating to the duration of the reigns of the second, third and fourth Śuṅga kings are approximately correct, the accession of Bhadra or Bhāgabhadra should have to be assigned to about 123 B.C. and the date of the Besnagar pillar inscription to about 107 B.C., a date which may fall within the reign of Antialcidas, successor of Heliocles. Professor Rapson proposes to identify Bhāgabhadra with Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga king according to the Purāṇic list, and writes, "The name of this Śuṅga king appears as Bhāgavata on a fragment of another column which was found at Bhilsa, but which is supposed to have been taken there from Besnagar. The inscription was engraved when the king was reigning in his twelvth year."[1] Bhilsa is within two miles of modern Besnagar. It is incredible that a king who is called Bhāgavata in an inscription of the 12th year of his reign could be designated by a radically different name like Bhāgabhadra two years later in an inscription on a pillar installed in the same city. Whoever the Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas may prove to be, Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata mentioned in two different Brāhmī inscriptions found at Besnagar and Bhilsa respectively must be treated as two different persons. It does not, however, seem to me quite reasonable to seek to identify Bhāgabhadra and

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 522.

Bhāgavata, who might have belonged to the Vidiśā branch of the Śuṅga family rather than to the Pāṭalīputra branch, with any king named in the Purāṇic list. After the assassination of Sumitra or Vasumitra some of the provincial generals probably refused to recognise the usurper, and the viceroy of Vidiśā might have been one of the number. The Bharhut gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti is placed in the time "when the Śuṅgas are ruling" (*suganaṃ raje*) instead of being dated in the regnal year of any particular sovereign like the two Besnagar pillar inscpriptions. So it may be inferred that when this inscription in knob-headed letters of the later Śuṅga period was engraved, the Śuṅga empire had no recognised head, but was transformed into a loose federation of principalities ruled by princes of the Śuṅga family.

The Śuṅga king Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas was succeeded by his son Devabhūmi who reigned only for 10 years. "The minister Vāsudeva," we are told in the Purāṇa, "forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king Devabhūmi because of his youth, will become king among the Śuṅgas (or will become the Śuṅga king)." Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita gives this somewhat different account of the overthrow of the Śuṅga king Devabhūti who is usually identified with Devabhūmi. "In a frenzy of passion the over-libidinous Śuṅga was at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhūti's slave-woman disguised as a queen."[1] Vāsudeva was a Kāṇva Brāhmin. The four Kāṇvāyana kings beginning with Vāsudeva ruled for 45 years. Then "the Andhra Siśuka (or Sindhuka) with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain the earth."[2] The Purāṇic statement that the Kāṇva Vāsudeva "will become king among the Śuṅgas" or "will become the Śuṅga king", read along with

1 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

2 Pargiter, *op cit.*, p. 71.

the statement that the Andhra Siśuka "will destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas", seem to me to indicate that Devabhūmi, or Devabhūti, ruler of Magadha, was the nominal head of the Śuṅga federation. Vāsudeva Kāṇva usurped that position by assassinating him, but probably did not interfere with the other Śuṅga principalities. Whatever the date of Vāsudeva Kāṇva, it was the almost simultaneous attacks of the Andhra king Sātakarṇi from the south, and of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, from the south-east, that led to the break up of the Śuṅga empire. In the Hāthigumphā inscription (line 4) it is said that in the second year of his reign Khāravela sent an expedition to the west without taking heed (*achitayitā*) of Sātakarṇi. The country to the west of Orissa was known as the Dakṣiṇa (southern) Kosala or Chedi (Central Provinces). Sātakarṇi was evidently engaged in subduing Vidarbha (Berar) and Mālava, and presumably had also an eye on the neighbouring Dakṣiṇa Kosala when Khāravela forestalled him by sending an expedition thither. An inscription on the southern gateway of the Stūpa I of Sāñchī tells us :—

"This is the gift of Ānaṁda, son of Vāsiṭhi (Vāsiṣṭhī), and the superintendent of the worksbop of king Siri-Sātakaṇi."

The Brāhmī characters used in this short epigraph agree with the characters of the Hāthigumphā inscription in those particulars in which the latter differ from the alphabet of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions. I have, therefore, identified this Siri-Sātakaṇi of this Sāñchī inscription and Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription with the sixth Andhra king of the Purāṇic list, Sātakarṇi II, who is said to have reigned for 56 years.[1] This votive inscription on the magnificent south gate of the great stūpa of Sāñchī, which

1 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, I, p. 8, Plate vi, No. 1; Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 13.

is only five miles to the west of Besnagar, ancient Vidiśā, seems to me to indicate that the Śuṅga capital in Mālava was then in possession of Sātakarṇi II.

Six years later, in the eighth year of his reign, as we have already seen, Khāravela first invaded Magadha and laid siege to Rājagṛha. What was the direct result of this siege we do not know. But it had an important indirect result; it induced the Yavana king to give up his expedition against Magadha and hasten to the assistance of the garrison at Mathurā. No Indo-Greek coin has yet been discovered at or about Mathura, and there is no other evidence to show that any Indo-Greek king ever held possession of that city. The Yavana-rāja mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription must have been a Greek refugee from the Eastern Punjab who was forced to seek shelter in the Madhyadeśa (Middle country of Northern India) by the Śaka conqueror Maues. I should, therefore, venture to put down the accession of Khāravela to about 80 B.C. and the siege of Rājagṛha to 72 B.C. Khāravela dealt the decisive blow to the Śuṅga empire four years later (B.C. 68) when he entered the imperial capital (Pāṭalīputra) in triumph and made the king of Magadha fall at his feet. Among the other principalities of the Śuṅga empire, Mathurā and Mālava were conquered by the Śaka-Parthians about the middle of the first century B.C. The Śuṅga principalities of Pañchāla and Kośala evidently survived for more than a century and a half till they were overthrown by the Kushāns.[1]

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

1 For the coins of the kings of Ayodhyā (Kośala) and Pañchāla see V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-151, 186-188.

The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kauṭilīya

II

Gaṇikādhyakṣa.

The Superintendent of Courtezans had to perform diverse duties which may be roughly summed up as concerning the (1) appointment of female attendents for the king and his household, their leave, dismissal, transfer to other government departments such as the store-house and the royal kitchen ; (2) the application of the law regulating the treatment of courtezans, and the rights and liabilities between them on the one hand, and their relatives, paramours, or other people on the other ; (3) the supervision of the training of the courtezans and their children as also the training of female slaves and actresses in music, dancing, painting, etc. under teachers obtaining grants from the State ; (4) the collection of license fees from the singers, dancers etc. and information from the courtezans regarding their incomes and visitors ; and (5) the supply of competent courtezans for detecting foreign spies.

The nature of the duties outlined above shows that the *Gaṇikādhyakṣa* had to work in co-ordination with the *Samāhartṛ*, the Superintendent of the Store-house and such other officials. It is not clearly stated that he is subordinate to the *Samāhartṛ*, though in the class of taxes relating to *Durga*, the license fees realized from the public women are included. This points to the fact that the revenue collected by the Superintendent of Courtezans is made over to the *Samāhartṛ*. The Superintendent has also to come into frequent contact with the department under the *Antarvaṃsika* (the Superintendent of the Ladies' Apartments) but there is no ground for inferring that the one was subordinate to the other.

The duties of the *Nāvadhyakṣa* were very onerous. He had to supervise the proper realization of dues of various kinds for the use of boats and ships belonging to the sovereign in oceans, lakes, rivers etc. for transport from one place to another, for fording, pearl-fishing and so forth. The imposition called *Klpta* had to be paid by the people of villages on the sea-shore or on the banks of rivers, the *naukāhāṭaka* by fishermen amounting to one-sixth of their haul of fishes, the *śulka* by merchants landing in port towns, the *yātrāvetana* (sailing fee) by the passengers on board the king's ships, the *tara* by people fording a river and so forth. The *ātivāhika* (conveyance cess) and the *vartanī* (a cess on beasts) were also realized. The freights for the transport of goods or live-stock across rivers were fixed e.g. 4 *māṣas* were charged for a camel or a buffalo, 5 *māṣas* for a small cart; for big rivers the freights were double the amounts. The *Nāvadhyakṣa* had to work properly the huge machinery by which these charges were realised.

Nāvadhyakṣa.

The manning of ships and boats all over the places under the charge of the Superintendent with *śāsakas* (captains), *niyāmakas* (steersmen), *dātraraśmigrāhakas* (sailors with sickles and ropes) and *utsecakas* (sailors for baling out water), the repair of these vessels as well as the enforcement of the regulations as to the time and place for crossing rivers, entrance of foreign merchants into the country, arrests of suspects, concessions made to particular classes of persons in respect of ferry fees and so forth made the duties of the official very heavy indeed.

It was also the duty of the head of this department to see that the rules in force in a commercial town as also the customs prevailing there were obeyed by the passengers and the crew manning the ships that touched there. He was authorized to destroy the pirate ships. The vessels that violated the rules or customs of the commercial town as well as those that belonged to an enemy's country could

also be similarly dealt with. The weather-beaten ships had to be shown kindly treatment while those that reached the harbour with their merchandise spoilt by water were exempted from the payment of toll.

The nature of the connection of the department under the *Nāvadhyakṣa* with the military department is nowhere explained. In one passage (*K.*, VII, 10) a reference has been made to the comparative insecurity of a fort surrounded by a river because it can be approached by the assailing army in various ways, one of which is by a bridge of boats. As there is no mention of the existence of boats and ships belonging exculsively to the military department for use for military purposes, it is inferrable that the *Nāvadhyakṣa* supplied the requisite vessels to the department when needed.

As details about the three departments under the three officers *Go'dhyakṣa*, *Aśvādhyakṣa*, and *Hastyadhyakṣa* have already been given in my *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, I need only point out here the connection of these with the other departments, if any. The first two departments had an obvious link with the department under the Superintendent of Grazing Grounds (*Vivītādhyakṣa*) whose duty was to open, preserve, and improve pastures and keep them secure for grazing by the appointment of hunters (*lubdhakas*) with packs of hounds watching thieves and enemies and warding off dangers from wild animals.[1] The military department had a close connection with all the three departments because the cattle needed for the commissariat and the horses and elephants required by that department in times of peace or war were supplied by them. The animals disabled by war were returned to them for maintenance. To make the horses and elephants fit for military purposes, there was provision for imparting to them adequate training by expert trainers. To cater to the needs of the sovereign and his household

Go'dhyakṣa Aśvādhyakṣa and Hastyadhyakṣa.

1 *K.*, II, 34.

throughout the year including ceremonial occasions was one of the most important duties of the Superintendents. The supply of stores for these departments has been mentioned as made from the Store-house (*koṣṭhāgāra*) and the Treasure-house (*kośāgara*)[1] indicating the close connection subsisting among the departments.

The Superintendent of Elephants had, in addition to his duty in connection with the internal arrangements in the elephant stables and the training of the animals, to look to the preservation of elephant-forests. To carry on this portion of the work, there was the *Nāgavanādhyakṣa*, the Superintendent of the Elephant Forests, assisted by the *Nāgavanapālas*, the keepers of these forests. The officers were acquainted with the limits of the forests under their charge, and could, when necessary, point out the paths leading into and out of these tracts. They used to capture elephants for the sovereign, aided by a special set of men designated as (1) *Hastipaka* (driver),

(2) *Padapāśika* (slipper of nooses round the legs of the animals)

(3) *Saimika* (boundary guard)

(4) *Pārikarmika* (servant for miscellaneous works)

(5) *Anīkastha* (trainer), and

(6) *Vanacaraka* (forest-roamer).[2]

Rathādhyakṣa.

The Superintendent of Chariots, like the four Superintendents whose functions have been described above, had to perform duties, important both from the civil and the military standpoint. The chariots were the principal means of conveyance of the rich and the middle class people while they constituted one of the four principal divisions of the ancient Hindu army. The fate of many a battle fought on the Indian soil, and consequently, of many a kingdom or empire within the Indian continent, depended, to a great extent, upon the *Rathā-*

1 *Studies in A. H. Polity*, p. 51. 2 *K.*, II, ch. 2.

dhyakṣa's skill in combining in these vehicles lightness of built and strength of structure in due proportion. The chariots build by him were of several sizes and types. Seven different sizes are mentioned for chariots with a height of 10 puruṣas (10 ft.), the width ranging from 6 to 12 feet. Six kinds of chariots for different purposes are also enumerated viz. *Devaratha* (for the idols), *Puṣparatha* (for festive occasions), *Sāṅgrāmika* (for war), *Pāriyāṇika* (for travel), *Parapurābhiyānika* (for attack upon the citadel of an enemy), and *Vainayika* (for use during the period of training).

The *Rathādhyakṣa* was also entrusted with the duty of having the charioteers trained in the use of weapons, control of the horses drawing the vehicle, and such other technicalities essential to their military education.[1]

Patyadhyakṣa.

The Superintendent in charge of Infantry looked after its various classes taking note of their strength or weakness. He had to keep an eye on the armies of the allies, inimical States, and the democracies in order that he might understand the position of his own master and report it to his superior for the adoption of the necessary steps. It was his duty to supervise that the soldiers under him were being regularly drilled, and taught their duties as also the various modes of fighting adapted to the different kinds of battle-fields or to the peculiar circumstances that beset them.[2]

Senāpati.

The Commander-in-Chief[3] supervised the organization and efficiency of all the four divisions of the army viz., the horse, elephant, and chariot corps and the infantry. As already pointed out, the departments under the four Superintendents *Go'dhyakṣa*, *Aśvādhyakṣa*, *Hastyadhyakṣa* and *Rathādhyakṣa* had an

1 *K.*, II, ch. 33. 2 *Ibid.*

3 The term *Senāpati* is also used to denote a military officer of a much lower rank. Ten soldiers were under a *Padika*, ten *Padikas* under a *Senāpati* and ten *Senāpatis* under a *Nāyaka*. *K.*, X, ch. 6, p. 377.

intimate connection with the military department. It is not expressly stated that the three officers were directly under the *Senāpati* so far as their military duties were concerned. Assuming that it was not so the departments in the military aspects of their workings had to minister to the needs of the military department and to carry out the directions of the Commander-in-Chief communicated to them directly or otherwise. Hence, the subordinate position of the heads of the four departments in their relation to the Commander-in-Chief in actual working, if not formally, can well be inferred.[1]

The Commander-in-Chief had to be, it is needlss to mention, well-grounded in the use of all kinds of weapons and the conduct of all kinds of fighting. Endowed with administrative capacity, he must see that the daily duties are being fulfilled by all the four divisions of the army. Generally speaking, he must have the capacity to choose suitable sites for battle, suitable times for starting on a march and commencing a fight ; to keep the necessary information about the army of the enemy, to cause a breach in the enemy-camp, to break up the enemy's army and destroy the weak divisions, to storm the citadel, and to maintain the solidarity and morale of his own army inspite of the attempts of the opponents to the contrary.[2]

That the military defence of the State from both the internal and external enemies received a share of attention commensurate with its importance may be inferred among other evidences from the number of times it recurs in the king's routine of daily duties. It is allotted a portion of the period from 6 to 7-30 A. M., the period from 3 P. M. to 3-30 P.M. (for the inspection of horses, elephants, chariots, and infantry) and a portion of the time from 4-30 P.M. to 6 P.M. (for consultation with the Commander-in-Chief).[3] The

1 *K.*, II, ch. 33. 2 *K.*, II, ch. 33, p. 140.
3 *K.*, I, ch. 19.

first time-division was frequently occupied by the inspection of the military skill displayed by the cadets receiving training for the four divisions of the army under the supervision of the Commander-in-Chief, and by the soldiers belonging to the horse, elephant, and chariot corps.[1]

The disciplinary rule mentioned by Megasthenes in connection with the military department, viz., 'There were royal stables for horses and elephants, and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and the horses and elephants to the stables' is borne out by the *Kauṭilīya*. The horses and elephants have to be returned to the departments under the Superintendent of Horses and the Superintendent of Elephants as the case may be, as it was these departments that supplied the animals for military purposes. The arms bearing the king's mark had also to be made over to the armoury under the *Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa* as the cadets or soldiers could not move about with them without a special permission. The weapons damaged through improper handling or lost, an account of which was kept in the department, had to be made good.

Mudrādhyakṣa.

There was a check upon the movement of people into and from the kingdom by means of the issue of passports from the office or agents of the Superintendent in charge of same for the nominal value of one māṣā for a pass. While it gave the government agents an opportunity of scrutinizing the men going out and coming in, it also served by the imposition of the charge to augment the State revenue. The omission to take a pass or the use of a counterfeit pass was visited with fines.[2]

Vivītādhyakṣa.

The checking of passport for ingress and egress of people carried out under the Superintendent of Passports had also to be done by the officers of the department under the Superintendent of Pastures when

1 *K.*, V, ch. 3, p. 249. 2 *K.*, II, ch. 34.

the people who are to hold the passports stray away into the places within the jurisdiction of those officers.

The duties of the Superintendent of Pastures lay in opening grazing grounds in wild tracts by denuding them of wild animals, sinking wells and constructing reservoirs of water and embankments, and laying out gardens and orchards. The forests under his supervision had to be reconnoitred by hunters attached to his department taking with them packs of hounds for assistance in watching thieves and enemies, and warding off danger. The hunters had recourse to the following means for calling in the aid of king's men or others from afar :

(1) Blowing conch-shells and beating drums from concealed positions.

(2) Remaining concealed on trees or mountains and sending information.

(3) Riding away on swift horses etc.

(4) Flying carrier-pigeons of the royal household with marks attached to them. Their return to the royal palace with the necessary information secured the desired assistance.

(5) Indication of danger by lighting a series of beacon fires.

It was also the duty of the Superintendent to sell by utilizing or converting into a source of income what remained of the yield of the timber and elephant forests after utilization of same by the Superintendent of Forest Store-house and the Superintendent of Elephants, and realize the following cesses or charges viz, *vartanī* (for the maintenance of paths in forests), *cororakṣaṇa* (for the provision for keeping away thieves) *sārthātivāhya* (for the escort of traders through forests), and *gorakṣya* (for the protection of cattle, or as Bhaṭṭasvāmin explains, agriculture generally).[1]

Nāgaraka.

The officer in charge of a town was called *Nāgaraka*. His duties may be classified as follows :—

1 *K.*, II, 34.

(1) The functions performed by him in connection with the census operations and the land survey have been delineated elsewhere.[1] Suffice it to say that the town was for the purpose of these works divided into four quarters and in each of them was placed an officer called *Sthānika* supervising in his turn a number of subordinates, viz., the *Gopas*, each of whom took charge of collecting the necessary items of information from a certain number of households. The caste, *gotra*, name, occupation of both men and women, and their income and expenditure were the principal points that had to be ascertained. The difficulty of keeping account of travellers and non-residents coming to the town for a short stay was obviated by the regulation that the heads of charitable institutions and households must send the required information to the registering bureau at the proper time.

The work of cadastral survey was entrusted to the very same set of officers as above. The demarcation of boundaries of villages, numbering and classification of plots of land as cultivated, uncultivated, plain and upland, dry and wet, and so forth, and keeping accounts of temples, places of pilgrimage, feeding houses, cremation grounds, storages of water for travellers, pasture grounds, irrigation works etc. formed the special charge of these Government servants with the Nāgaraka at their head if the said items related to a town.

(2) The *Nāgaraka* had to see that the regulations against the breaking out of fire were duly observed by the residents of the town. The lighting of fire in houses was prohibited in summer during the hottest portions of the day (the second and third *yāma* during the day time) unless cooking was done in the open air outside. The owners of houses had to be equipped with these instruments for extinguishing fire as quickly as possible : (i) five water pots, (ii) a water vessel (*kumbha*), (iii) a water tub made of

1 *Studies in A. H. Polity*, pp. 111f.

wood and kept at the door of a house, (iv) a ladder, (v) an axe to cut beams etc., (vi) a winnowing basket to blow away smoke, (vii) a hook to remove the burning pieces of wood, (viii) ropes and such other things, (ix) a basket for taking away articles from the store-room etc., and (x) a leather bag for the same purpose as the preceding.

During summer, thatched roofs made of straw and such other materials were removed. Those whose avocation required them to work by fire, such as blacksmiths, had to live in a particular locality. The owners of houses had to sleep in summer nights near the doors of their premises in order that they might quickly respond to a call for help in case fire broke out. Thousands of vessels full of water had to be kept in rows in the big roads and at their crossings, at the gates of the town and in buildings belonging to the State. An omission to run to give help to extinguish fire was a crime. The incendiaries were severely dealt with.[1]

The reason for the adoption of all these elaborate precautions lay in the fact, as pointed out elsewhere,[2] that timber was profusely used in the construction of buildings in those days in and near Magadha.

(3) The enforcement of the regulations concerning the conservancy and sanitation of the town was also entrusted to this official. The throwing of dirt and refuse into the street, the accumulation of mire in it owing to the negligence of the owners of premises, the commission of nuisances in sacred places, reservoirs of water, temples, and State-buildings, throwing of carcasses of animals and corpses of human beings into any place within the town, the transport of dead bodies through roads and gates other than those prescribed for the purpose, and their burial or cremation outside the burial grounds or crematoriums were visited with penalties.

(4) The maintenance of peace and order in the town

1 *K.*, II, ch. 36.

2 *Studies in A. H. Polity*, pp. 100, 102.

rested on the *Nāgaraka*. The movement of people from one place to another within the town or outside it in its immediate vicinity without a lamp was prohibited every night between $2\frac{2}{5}$ hours (6 nālikās) after nightfall and the same number of hours before dawn. The offence was visited with a higher fine if it was committed by the side of the royal palace or during the two middle quarters of the night. Exceptions were made in favour of persons proceeding to attend to child-birth, carrying a corpse to the cremation ground, going to assemble at a place in answer to a trumpet call by the Nāgaraka, proceeding to witness a show, or running to extinguish a fire. The physicians, and persons holding passes were also exempted; the people, who by their demeanour or disguise, or by the possession of weapons in their person gave rise to suspicion were examined or arrested. The Superintendent was to report to the king the ill omens noticed by him during the night. Many omens were believed to be of evil import to the king or the kingdom and this was sought to be counteracted by appropriate rites.

The Superintendent was to keep under a strict supervision the policemen in the performance of their duties, and their derelictions of duties, specially those in their conduct to the fair sex, were visited with penalties ranging even to death.

The articles lost or left behind by people through oversight were kept by him in safe custody.

It was open to the wayfarers to catch hold of persons who appeared to them by their conduct or external appearance to be of suspicious character, and bring them to the police. Searches were made probably through policemen in disguise in deserted houses, workshops, grogshops, gambling houses, shops of sellers of cooked rice and flesh, and abodes of heretics for the arrest of suspicious characters.

The release of prisoners from the jail in the town on festive or memorable occasions or for uniformly good conduct

in the jail was made under the immediate supervision of the jailer (*Bandhanāgārādhyakṣa*). The insertion of the details regarding jail-delivery in the delineation of the duties of the Nāgaraka very probably implies that the responsibility of supervision was shared by him and the Nāgaraka.[1]

The Department of Espionage

This department occupied a very important place in the administration of a State in ancient India. It was divided into two sections, viz., the one corresponding to the Secret Intelligence Department of a modern State, and the other to the department of secret emissaries, whose services are needed for the Military Department, and the Department for Foreign Affairs.

Two sections of Gūḍhapuruṣas ; the classes under each section.

The following five classes of *gūḍhapuruṣas* (spies) come under the first section : 1. *Kāpaṭika*, 2. *Udāsthita*, 3. *Gṛhapatika*, 4. *Vaidehaka*, and 5. *Tāpasa*. According to the *Kauṭilīya*, *Kāpaṭika* is a disguised disciple, bold and competent to get at the core of the minds of people with whom he deals. The next four designations denote a recluse, a householder, a trader, and an ascetic (lit. a practiser of religious austerities) respectively.

Those classes that fall under the other section are: 1. *Satrin*, 2. *Tīkṣṇa*, 3. *Rasada*, and 4. *Bhikṣukī*.[2] 'Satrin' literally means 'one in disguise'. The *Satrins* had to learn fortune-telling, legerdemain, the *dharmaśāstras*, the science of interpreting the cries of birds, etc. The *Tīkṣṇas* (lit. rough, fiery, or audacious) had to be brave, able to face wild animals without caring for their own safety. The *Rasadas* were indolent, crooked,devoid of any tender feeling for even their friends and relations, and able, as the name implies, to administer poison. The *Bhikṣukīs* were female mendicants, who could have access to the women's apartments of the householders, where the spies of the other sex could not enter.

1 *K.*, II, ch. 36. 2 *K.*, I, chs. 11, 12.

The salaries given to *Saṃsthas* were higher than those to the *Sañcāras*.[1] The former are called the *Saṃsthas* because their work requires that they should station themselves in a particular place for some time, while the latter are designated as *Sañcāras* because they have to roam about for the performance of their duties. In addition to this difference, there is one other, inferred from an examination of the instances of works done by the two classes, viz., that the *Saṃsthas* are, as a rule, required to do duties that do not directly involve acts of a violent nature, while the *Sañcāras* are to commit acts of violence or cause them to be committed, if necessary, e.g., murder, arson, looting. Thus the *Saṃsthas* may well be called secret informants, and the *Sañcāras* secret agents. Hence, this nomenclature will be followed later on. Though the duties were different, the two classes had frequently to work in unison, each class doing its portion of the work in co-ordination with the other. Though the designations of the spies have been evidently given them either on account of the disguises put on, the qualities regarded as essential to their functions, or the nature of the duties performed by them, the set of spies mentioned first is, according to the text, divided into only five classes. There is however no limit to the disguises under which the spies have to work, and in fact the *Kauṭilīya* mentions many more than five, as for instance, a spy may be disguised as hump-backed, dwarfish, deaf, dumb, and blind, or as a dancer, a singer, or a performer on musical instruments. These assumed appearances, however, do not add to the number of the divisions of the 'secret informants,' viz., five. The 'secret agents' again are divided into four classes though the disguises used by them vary according to circumstances.

Differences between the two classes.

[1] *K.*, V, ch. 3.

The duties of the spies may be classified as :

A. To carry out the instruction of the king or any official or officials authorized by him to test the character of probationers for posts in any of the Government departments by putting temptations in their way. The nature of the temptations (*upadhā*) varied according to the qualifications needed for discharging the duties of the post for which a particular probationer was a candidate. These tests were (a) *dharmopadhā*, (b) *arthopadhā*, (c) *kāmopadhā*, and (d) *bhayopadhā*, relating to religion, wealth, love, and fear respectively.[1] Illustrations will make the meaning clear. A priest is ostensibly insulted or dismissed by the king for not complying with his instruction to officiate at a religious rite performed by an outcast. He sends the *satrins* under disguises to the officials to be tested, inciting them to join him in a conspiracy against the unrighteous king. Those that agree to the proposal are found wanting under the test. This is the religious test.[2]

Proposals may be thus made by ostensibly dismissed army officers, or women (really spies) having access into the royal household pointing out the prospect of acquiring wealth by attempting the life of the king, or throwing out the hope of getting one of the ladies of the king's harem entangled in love.[3] These are the *arthopadhā* and *kāmopadhā* respectively. Those candidates, who are successful in all the tests, are eligible for being appointed as *mantrins* : those that pass the religious tests may be selected for posts in the law-courts. The overcoming of monetary allurements proves men fit for service in the State departments under Samāhartṛ etc. where money is handled on a large scale. The successful resistance to amatory allurements proves the capacity for performing duties in places where women reside. The application of the *upadhā* named last is the means for

1 *K.*, I, ch. 10.
2 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 10.
3 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 10.

selecting those, the nature of whose services requires their presence near the king. Those who failed in all the tests could be engaged in the departments where only physical labour was needed such as the mines and forests.[1]

B. To watch the purity of the official conduct of the heads of the various departments and their subordinates. The stationing of spies to watch the *tīrthas* is mentioned in several old Sanskrit works.[2] The eighteen *tīrthas* exhaust,[3] roughly at least, the whole sphere of work of a State and meet its indispensable requirements providing for the deliberation of State questions and assistance to the sovereign, both secular and spiritual, for his personal safety and convenience, for the administration of justice in the country, for its internal peace and external security, for the collection of State-dues and their application, and lastly for the supply of material needs of the people by the exploitation of its natural resources, by manufactures, commerce and industries.[4] The information gathered regarding the *tīrthas* is sufficient for ordinary purposes to show the inner workings of a State and the direction of its policy.

The collection of information as to what was going on in the neighbouring kingdoms, e.g., in the states within a king's *maṇḍala* such as *śatru* (enemy), *mitra* (friend), *udāsīna* (the state possessing the greatest strength within the *maṇḍala*) and *madhyama* (the state possessing medium strength within the *maṇḍala*),[5] was a necessity, as other-

1 *K.*, I, ch. 10.

2 See *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 84-86.

3 They are: (1) *Mantrin*, (2) *Purohita*, (3) *Senāpati*, (4) *Yuvarāja*, (5) *Dauvārika*, (6) *Antarvaṃśika*, (7) *Prāśāstṛ*, (8) *Samāhartṛ*, (9) *Sannidhātṛ*, (10) *Pradeṣṭṛ*, (11) *Nāyaka*, (12) *Pauravyāvahārika*, (13) *Kārmāntika*, (14) *Mantriparişadadhyakṣa*. (15) *Daṇḍapāla*, (16) *Durgapāla*, (17) *Antapāla* and (18) *Āṭavika*.

4 *Aspects etc.*, p. 86

5 For an explanation of the terms *udāsīna* and *madhyama* see my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, p. 13. Kauṭilya has

wise a king and his highest officials could never keep themselves apprised of the doings and the policy of the other states, and thus try to make their own position secure by being pre-warned. Hence spies were appointed to watch secretly and report about the workings of the various departments of the surrounding states and about the doings of their authorities. It is superfluous to point out the importance of the supply of important items of correct information about the developments in the administration of the neighbouring states, for the fickle changes in the inter-state atmosphere in those days could have brought about a ruinous storm at any moment; and to have been thus forewarned was to have been forearmed. A convenient and probably cheaper method of having reports from other kingdoms through spies was by appointing what were called the *ubhayavetanas*.[1] They were in the pay of the State engaging their services as spies, while at the same time they secured jobs in the departments of the other State whence they wanted to collect information, receiving salaries for their labour from that State.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] and the *Mahābhārata*,[3] the first three *tīrthas* viz., *mantrin*, *purohita*, and *yuvarāja* are excluded from the observation of the spies engaged by a king within his own kingdom, while they are not excluded by him so far as other States are concerned. Three spies unknown to one another are allotted, according to the texts, to each *tīrtha* in order that their independent reports may check one another, and suggest the necessity of a further verification before action in case of their mutual disagreement. This is also the procedure mentioned in the *Kauṭilīya*[4]: *trayāṇām eka-*

evaṃ śatrau ca mitre ca madhyame cāvapec carān,
udāsīne ca teṣāṃ ca tīrtheṣv aṣṭādaśasv api. *K.*, I, ch. 12.

Cf. K., VII, ch. 13—kṛtsne ca maṇḍale nityaṃ dūtān gūḍhāṃś ca vāsayet.

1 *K.*, I, ch. 2. 2 II, 100, 36. 3 II, 5, 38. 4 *K.*, I, ch. 12.

vākye sampratyayaḥ (confidence is to be placed in the reports in case of their unanimity). The limitation of the number of spies to three is not however found in the *Kauṭilīya*.

C. To watch the citizens who are disaffected in the king's own dominion as also those who are for or against him in the neighbouring states in order that, when necessary, the disaffected may be won over by conciliation or gifts, or kept in check through dissension among themselves or recourse to violence. The loyal may have their attitude towards him strengthened by honours and rewards, and the influence of hostile kings secretly operating to alienate the subjects may be kept in abeyance or nullified by prompt and adequate measures.[1] In short, their duty is to watch the *kṛtyas* and *akṛtyas* in the king's own dominion as also in the neighbouring ones (*svaviṣaye* and *paraviṣaye*), and take the necessary actions. Those people who in a State are susceptible to persuasion by the spies from other dominions have been classified in the *Kauṭilīya*[2] as (1) the angry (*kruddhavarga*), (2) the alarmed (*bhītavarga*), (3) the greedy (*lubdhavarga*) and (4) the proud (*mānivarga*). The nature of the individuals or the circumstances by reason of which they are classed under one head or another are detailed by way of illustration in the *Kauṭilīya* and the methods calculated to be successful in the efforts to win them over have also been suggested.

D. To collect certain items of information in connection with the maintenance of statistics required for keeping the census records and the land records up to date. The details about the census operations and the cadastral survey have been described elsewhere.[3] Suffice it to say that the information collected by the spies in disguises was meant first to

1 *K.*, I, chs. 13, 14. 2 *K.*, I, ch. 14.

3 *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. 106-114; See also *K.*, chs. 35, 36.

check the correctness of that collected by the *Sthānikas* and *Gopas* under the immediate supervision of the *Pradeṣṭṛs* and the final direction of the *Samāhartṛ*. Secondly, certain additional items of inquiry were entrusted to the spies exclusively, and these items supplemented the information embodied in the records by the previous means. These operations covered the towns as well as villages.

E. To prevent spies deputed by other States from carrying on their work within the dominion, and to cause their arrest.[1] It is found from the traditional daily routine of the king's duties[2] that three periods are set apart for attention to work in connection with the department of espionage viz. a portion of the time 12 to 1-30 P.M. is devoted to understanding the secret reports from spies written in cryptic characters,[3] 6 to 7 P.M. to interview with the spies (gūḍhapuruṣas), and a portion of the period from 3 A.M. to 4-30 A.M to sending out spies on their errands. It is evident therefore that the king came into direct contact with the spies and set them to their secret works himself, watching from day to day the progress made by them. But the work of the espionage department is so vast that it is not possible for the king to accomplish the whole of it unaided. The assistance of the *mantrin* and *purohita* is mentioned[4] in connection with the testing of the officials described already. The *Samāhartṛ* was entrusted with the power to direct the spies employed for helping up the census operations and cadastral survey. The *Nāgaraka* was authorized to direct the spies for similar works within the town. The *Samāhartṛ* had also to set the spies on the Adhyakṣas (heads of depart-

1 *K.*, I, ch. 12. 2 *Ibid.*, I, ch. 19.

3 Cāraguhyabodhanīyāni ca budhyeta.—*K.*, I, ch. 12. Cf. Samjñālipi used for sending messages to the espionage bureau. *K.*, I. ch. 12.

4 'Mantripurohitasakaḥ.....saucayet'.—*K.*, I, ch. 10.

ments) to ascertain their honesty.[1] The *Samāhartṛ* was entrusted with the maintenance of discipline in all the departments as indicated by Book IV, ch. 9 (*Sarvādhikaraṇarakṣaṇam*). In this chapter various departments and their heads have been expressly mentioned. Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri in his commentary on a passage in *K.*, I, ch. 12, p. 20 (re. the stationing of spies to watch the 18 *tīrthas*) states that the *Sañcāras* were directed by the king himself, because only the term 'rājā' has been used in it without any reference to assistance from any of his officials, while the *Saṃsthas* were set in motion by the king aided by the officials. This cannot, I think, be made a basis of difference between the two sets of spies, for a reference to the multifarious works that they had to do both in times of peace and war will show that the issuing of instructions from the king alone and the supervision of the results of their labours could not possibly be effected by one man without imparing or ruining efficiency. Moreover, the mention of the term 'rājā' only in the passage referred to does not conclusively indicate that assistance from the officials has been meant to be excluded. Book IV, ch. 9, in which the Samāhartṛ has been mentioned as the authority who possesses delegation of power to check the actions of the heads of the various departments and their subordinates ends with the śloka:

evam arthacarān pūrvaṃ rājā daṇḍena śodhayet,
śodhayeyuś ca śuddhās te paurajānapadān damaiḥ.

Here 'rājā' has been mentioned as correcting the officials, though the actual work is being done by the Samāhartṛ and his assistants. Hence, the reference to the king alone does not imply that he has to do

1 Evaṃ samāhartṛpradiṣṭās tāpasavyañjanāḥ karṣakagorakṣavaidehakānām adhyakṣāṇāṃ ca śaucāśaucaṃ vidyuḥ.—*K.*, II, ch. 35, p. 143. T. Ganapati Sastri takes 'adhyakṣāṇām' to mean 'gopādināṃ' which is inconsistent. The heads of departments are meant. The reasons have been given above.

the work personally, and that what he does not do himself cannot be described as being done by him in a general statement. Hence, though it is mentioned as the king's duty to send spies to watch the eighteen *tīrthas* (includiug the heads of departments), it is not inconsistent if the *Samāhartṛ* is regarded as entrusted with the authority to depute the *sañcāras* (secret agents) for the purpose. The *Samāhartṛ* actually directs the *Satrins* (a class of secret agents) as indicated in Book IV, ch. 4. A glance at the numerous ramifications of the activities of the spies will show what a large field had to be covered by their operations specially in times of war. Sometimes, as for instance during the siege of a fortress, both the secret informants and the secret agents had to be given prompt directions and this could have been done only by men on the spot and not by the king who may be at a place far distant from the field of action.

An idea of the nature of the works that the spies were expected to do can be had from a short account of same in the various fields of action within and outside the State during peace and war. This account is, of course, meant to supplement what has been already said about their duties.

To bring offenders within the clutches of justice, spies (satrins, etc.) were employed in the villages as well as in the government departments for the detection of enemies. The offenders are said to be of thirteen kinds, though only a few classes are mentioned, such as makers of counterfeit coins, people lowering the quality of gold by mixing alloy with same and trying to pass it off as pure gold, persons agreeing to give false evidence, administrators of justice taking illegal gratifications, persons administering poison, and so forth.[1] Spies pretending to have supernatural powers asso-

Spies in connection with the law courts.

[1] *K.*, IV, 4 (gūḍhājīvināṃ rakṣā).

ciate with the suspected persons such as adulterers and robbers and have them brought to book while ostensively helping to carrying out their criminal intentions.[1] For the detection of persons suspected to have committed crimes, persons of the same character, harlots, persons with a persuasive tongue, story-tellers, and inn-keepers are employed to watch them and elicit information.[2]

Spies in connection with the *Yogavṛttam.*

Extremely severe steps were taken in secret against the persons or officials hostile to the king personally or to both the king and the kingdom. The secret agents killed, or brought about the death of these people in situations created by their wire-pulling from a distance. The brother of a seditious official, for instance, may be incited by a *Satrin* to put forward his claim for inheritance and have the property from him. The claimant may lie at the door of the house or elsewhere when a *Tīkṣṇa* may murder him and cry out 'Alas,[3] the claimant for inheritance has been murdered by his brother.' Thus the recalcitrant brother may be implicated in a murder case and punished.[4] A spy may, as a physician, undertake to cure a seditious person, who may be made to believe that the illness from which he is suffering is likely to be fatal, and put him to death by poisoning him through medicines and diet.[5] The measures suggested in the chapter *Koṣābhisaṃharaṇa* for the replenishment of the Government treasury in times of financial difficulties are of several kinds, viz., (1) the realization of larger amounts in the shape of Government dues from the cultivators, tradesmen, and herdsmen. The raising of demands by the State may in some cases be accompanied with the giving of facilities by the king, e.g., the supply of grain and cattle to those that

1 *K.*, IV, 5 (siddhavyañjanairmāṇavaprakāśanam).
2 *K.*, IV, 6.
3 See *K.*, V, ch. 1 for the various examples.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*

colonize waste lands; (2) the collection of donations from citizens stimulating, through spies posing as donors, their desire to surpass one another in the amounts paid by them; honours were also conferred by the king upon the donors; (3) the realization of sums from the people through spies playing upon the religious credulity or superstitions of the people; (4) the pooling of the properties belonging to the deities in the towns and the countryside under the management of the *devatādhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Temples) and the utilization of same, and (5) the cheating and even murdering of the seditious and the wicked through spies, and the appropriation of the properties thus acquired. The examples are numerous. One may be cited here: A spy in the guise of a tradesman becomes the partner of a rich trader. As soon as a large sum of money is to hand from the sale-proceeds, deposits etc. he causes himself to be robbed of same. That the consequences of these measures might, when misapplied, prove ruinous to the king himself was realized, and hence a warning has been given that they should in no case be applied to people other than the wicked and the seditious (*evaṃ dūṣyeṣv adhārmikeṣu ca varteta netareṣu*).[1]

Spies disguised as traders might sell on credit articles (belonging to the State) for use by the military men going out on a military tour on condition that when they return they will have to pay double the quantity borrowed. Thus the king is likely to receive back a large portion of what he pays as wages to the soldiers.

Spies in connection with the 'six courses of action' (ṣāḍguṇya).

A detailed knowledge of the neighbouring States (within the *maṇḍala*) of a king was necessary to enable him to carry on negotiations with one or more of them regarding particular transactions without being circumvented. A satisfactory conclusion of a *bhūmisandhi* (agreement for acquisition of land) or *mitrasandhi* (acquisition of an ally) in a

1 *K.*, V, ch. 2 (Kośābhisaṃharaṇa).

saṃhitaprayāṇa (combined expedition) requires a thorough knowledge of the objects from among which to choose viz., lands or allies.[1] An estimate of the strength of a State (by a king or his mantrin) in comparison with any other State or States with which it may have to come into conflict, presupposes, according to the process prescribed in the *Kauṭilīya*, a detailed knowledge of the merits and demerits of each of the seven elements of sovereignty.[2] To remain equipped with such information at all times requires an agency through which it can be had regularly, and this agency is none other than the system of espionage carried on in the neighbouring states, to which reference has already been made. Of course, the envoy, or the personal knowledge of the king and the mantrin could have supplemented this means of collecting information.

The services of spies (*ubhayavetana*) were utilized in efforts to cause a split in the combination of several kings against one.[3] The assistance of spies in various disguises has been mentioned as necessary for a prince kept as a hostage for effecting his escape from the custody of a Daṇḍopanāyin king.[4]

The means suggested for removing difficulties in the rear of a king while he is thinking of marching against an enemy involve the use of the services of *satrins* for causing dissensions among the people, causing troubles in the rear or doing away with them by violent methods.[5] To avert dangers arising from enemies outside the State combining with one another or carrying on concerted action against the king with the local people, and from a few people of a place within the State combining with others in another part of same, the assistance of *satrins* and *tīkṣṇas* resorting at times to violent means is requisitioned.[6]

The services of spies in connection with the *abhiyāsyatkarma* (the duties of an invader).

1 & 2 See *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India.*

3 *K.*, VII, ch. 14.

4 *Ibid.*, VII, ch. 17.

5 *Ibid.*, IX, ch. 3.

6 *Ibid.*, IX, chs. 5 and 6.

When a war is about to take place or is continuing, the spies (*satrins*) in company with astrologers and others declare with the object of infusing greater enthusiasm into the minds of the soldiers that their operations will be successful and those of the enemy will be a failure.[1] Spies were also employed to harass the enemy by setting fire to camps, by communicating to the enemy through envoys who are really secret agents such false information as the revolt of a section of his subjects in his dominion by inciting the seditious subjects of the enemy into active hostilities towards him, and so forth.[2]

The work of spies during a war.

When a very powerful king attacks a weak one in spite of the latter's offer of *sandhi* on terms not accepted by the former, recourse is had by the latter to all sorts of secret means, fair or foul. The king has to depend in a large measure for the execution of these means upon the secret agents. The delineation of these methods forms the subject-matter of the five chapters in Book XII (*ābalīyasa*) of the *Kauṭilīya*. They involve a profuse use of acts of violence committed by the spies. Attempts are made to take full advantage of the weaknesses of the inimical king and his officials. When they come within the meshes of various kinds cast by the secret agents, they are made away with, or brought under control. One or two typical examples will give a clear idea of the nature of the steps taken : The leaders of the enemy's army may be tempted by women sent to them for the purpose, and in their attempts to have them, they quarrel with one another. Those defeated in the achievement of their object are persuaded to leave their opponents and turn over to the side of the king whose spies have brought about the quarrel.[3] Instances of the murder of army officers and partisans of the inimical king, the alienation of officials and sub-

The averting of dangers from a very powerful king through measures carried out largely by the spies.

1 *K.*, ch. 3. 2 *Ibid.*, ch. 6. 3 *Ibid.*, XII, ch. 2.

jects from him through bribes and honours, and the persuasion of the enemy's rear-enemy (*pārṣṇigrāha*) to attack the former are given in Book XII, ch. 3. Some measures involving an extensive use of fire and poison in various covert ways are described in the next chapter of the *Kauṭilīya*. All these examples are only suggestive, as action has to be taken according to the circumstances of the moment. Breaches and obstructions in the means of communication and transport at the disposal of the enemy are a principal objective of the secret workers who also try to slay the king by various contrivances or in critical situations. The next chapter (*K.*, XII, 5) describes how the king can be surreptitiously injured, killed, or captured in places where he may come for worship or other works. The remaining measures, like those in the aforesaid chapter, are of a miscellaneous nature involving the use of fire and poison, and intended to injure the enemy in his own camp or palace.

Though Book XII of the *Kauṭilīya* treats of the steps that may be taken by a weak king against a powerful one, many of those suggested in the next book (XIII) dealing with the means of capturing a fortress can obviously be used by the weak king against his powerful opponent and therefore have been recommended for use. There are a few other references in the XIIth Book to chapters in other parts of the treatise, from which it is clear that though the Book suggests a few means for the defence of his person and kingdom by a weak king, those mentioned elsewhere in the work are meant also to be applied by him, if required.

The work of the secret enemies in connection with the capture of a fortress (*durgalambhopāya*).

The first chapter of the XIIIth Book speaks of the kind of propaganda referred to already in several connexions, viz., the alienation of the people in the enemy's territory by various means through spies in various disguises. The deceptive contrivances similar to those mentioned above for deluding the king and capturing or killing him are delineated in the second chapter

of this Book. A distinctive feature of many of them lies in a greater admixture of rites and dodges that can work upon the religious beliefs, and superstitions of the people. In the next chapter (XIII, 4—*apasarpapraṇidhi*) are suggested means in which the spies try to win the good graces of the inimical king, and if these be successful, they take advantage of their favourable position and do him harm in various ways, causing him physical injury to the extent of slaying him. The enemies of the enemy may be persuaded to cause him losses while the allies of the enemy may also be induced to betray him at critical moments. Spies may manage to harbour themselves within the fort of the enemy and help an attack made on the fort by assisting the invaders from within and creating confusion in the army of the King. Several illustrations have also been given for carrying away cattle etc. from the enemy's territory. The assistance of the secret agents is also utilized during the siege of a fort or the actual storming of same. Spies residing within the besieged fort may tie packets of inflammable powder to the tails of monkeys, mungooses etc. and set them at large by setting the powder aflame. This means is resorted to in extreme cases, as a burnt fort would prove to be an acquisition of doubtful value to the invader if successful. Spies disguised as friends and relatives of the besieged and provided with passports may enter the enemy's fort and help in its surrender. The enemy may be made to believe a pretending ally who sends him a deceitful message that he is marching to strike the besieging party to help him. When the enemy comes out of the fort to witness the tumult caused ostensibly by the attack upon the besieging army, he may be slain.

Book XIV, ch. 1 suggests very drastic measures against the wicked (*adhārmika*) for the preservation of the four castes against which they committed offences. Fire and poison are used through spies for causing their death or ruin.

The enlisting of the active sympathy of the democracies in times of need was regarded by a king as important for the furtherance of his interest, and the alienation of their sympathies from the side of his enemy was regarded as equally important. The secret attempts to cause dissensions among the leaders of a democratic State siding with the enemy in spite of the endeavours of a king to keep it on his side, or to kill the obstructionists among them by secret means are only corollaries from the angle of vision from which the help obtainable from a democracy was viewed. Democracies, like that of the Licchavis, were very powerful in those days, consisting, as they did, of members of military tribes with a thorough military training. The help of such a State in a war waged by a king with another went far to determine its fate and hence the treatment of the subject of the *Saṅghas* has been allotted a separate Book, small though it be. The lines which the actions of the spies are to follow are similar to those already indicated in connection with the causing of dissensions among the subjects and officials of a State. The rousing of anger, jealousy and such other passions in the minds of the persons who are to be divided among themselves is caused by the secret agents. They also put objects of temptation in their way in order that they might yield to the proposals made to them. If they did not, they were made away with at unguarded moments. The acts of violence including the use of fire and poison are recommended to be committed secretly by the agents in a manner similar to that already pointed out.[1]

The work of the spies in connection with the democracies (*saṅghas*).

(*To be continued*)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

[1] *K.*, XI

A three-headed statue of Yamāri from the District of Dacca

Among the collection of the Pāla sculptures of East Bengal, exhibited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi, there is an image (30″×13″) of considerable iconographical interest, shown in the accompanying plate. It comes from Paścimpārā in the district of Dacca and represents, as will be seen, a dwarfish, pot-bellied, three-headed deity, with a frowning look, beard and whiskers, hair standing out in curls like flames, open lips, prominent teeth, and stepping to the spectator's right in the archer pose (*pratyālīḍha-pada*), trampling under each foot, a corpse, lying on the back, on a full-blown lotus. He wears a belted skin and the usual jewellery. Further distinct features of his adornment are: a figurine of the celestial (*Dhyānī*) Buddha Akṣobhya on the crown, ornaments of snakes, one passing over the left shoulder like a sacred thread (*Yajña-sūtra*), the rest coiling round the ankles and the armpits, and a long garland composed of human skulls, falling to the knees. Between his legs is a small figure of a worshipper with clasped hands.

In the Museum it is marked as No. $\frac{\text{A (a) 4}}{124}$ and described in the *Catalogue* as a four-handed figure.[1] On a more careful observation, it will be noticed that it originally possessed three hands on each side. Of the right hands, the uppermost one carries a battered sword, the next lower exhibits the *tarjanī mudrā* and also a rosary (*akṣamālā*), the third hand and its attribute are broken. Of the left hands only one is intact, which holds a skull-cap (*kapāla*).

1 R. G. Basak and D. C. Bhattacharya, *Catalogue of the Archæological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society*, p. 4.

In the *Catalogue* referred to, it is suggested that the image represents the Bodhisattva Trailokya-bhasmaṅkara (?) (Trailokya-vaśaṅkara), one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara. The *Sādhanas* of Trailokya-vaśaṅkara describe him as "one-faced, two-armed, three-eyed, who has the crown of chignon over head, carries in his two hands, the noose and goad stamped with the *vajra*, who is seated on the red lotus in the *Vajra-paryaṅka* attitude and is decked in celestial garments and ornaments."[1] As the above description does not apply to the image under consideration, the proposed identification appears improbable.

On the contrary, the cognitive traits of the image are sufficiently clear for recognising it as a figure of Yamāri or Yamāntaka. Representations of this god, according to the *Sādhanas*,[2] are characterised by a dwarfish (*kharva*) stature, disproportionately large head or heads (*vikṛtānana*), corpulent belly (*mahodara*), scowling brows (*bhṛkuṭī-lalāṭa*), "canine fangs" (*daṃṣṭrā-karālina*), uprising hair (*ūrddhva-jvalat-keśa*), beard and whiskers (*bhrū-śmaśru-jāla-kapilī-kṛta-vaktrapadma*), archer pose (*pratyālīḍha-pada*), an effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown (*Akṣobhya-mukuṭina*) and ornament of snakes (*nāgābharaṇa-vibhūṣaṇa*).

In accordance with the object of the worshipper the image of Yamāri differs in form and colour. In some of the forms, he is figured in embrace with his consort Prajñā, in some he appears also without her. The colour of his body may be red, black, yellow or white.[3] The red Yamāri (Rakta-Yamāri), one-headed, two armed, bearing a skull-cap (*kapāla*) in the left hand and a "white staff surmounted by a yellow head still wet with blood" (*sārdra-pīta-muṇḍ-āṅkita-*

1 Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 45.

2 Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, (G.O.S.), pp. 528-558.

3 "*Rakta-kṛṣṇa-pīta-sita-varṇam karmmānurūpato dhyeyam*"—*Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, p. 532.

Yamāri

sita daṇḍa)[1] in the right, is accompanied by Prajñā. The dark Yamāri (Kṛṣṇa Yamāri) is of four varieties: (a) one-faced and two armed, (b) three-faced and four-armed, (c) six-faced and six-armed, and (d) three-faced and six-armed.[2] The present specimen is of the last mentioned type. The *dhyāna* describing this form is quoted below:

"Yamāntakam = ātmānam vicintayet kṛṣṇaṃ trimukhaṃ ṣaḍbhujaṃ, kvacit ṣaṇmukhaṃ ṣaṭcaraṇaṃ ca, daṃṣṭrā-karāla-vadanam = ārakta-nayanaṃ cakra-khaḍga-mūṣala-dhara-dakṣiṇa-bhuja-trayaṃ vettālī-paraśu-pāśa-dhāri-vāma-bhuja-trayaṃ, khaḍga-mudgara-vajra-dhara-dakṣiṇa-karaṃ vāme ghaṇṭā-vajra-pāśā-mūṣalāni kvacit, ūrddhva-piṅgala-keśa-muṇḍa-mālāvibhūṣita-maulinam = aṣṭa-nāgendra-viracit = ābharaṇaṃ Akṣobhya-mukuṭinaṃ viśva-dala-kamal = opari Sūryya-maṇḍale pratyālīḍha-pada-sthitam...."[3]

"The worshipper should conceive himself as Yamāntaka, dark, three-faced, six-armed, sometimes six-faced and six-armed, with fearful tusks in the mouth, reddish eyes, bearing discus, chopper and mace in the three right hands and goblin, axe and noose in the three left hands, or chopper, mace and thunder-bolt in the three right hands and bell, thunder-bolt with noose, and club in the three left hands, with brown hair standing on end, with his head adorned by a garland of skulls, with eight serpents as his ornaments, a figure of Akṣobhya on the crown, standing in the archer pose, in the orb of the Sun on a double-lotus...."

The emblems of the god as stated in the *Sādhana*, quoted above, are not, however, exactly the same as seen in the present case. They differ in at least two, *viz.*, the *tarjanī mudrā* in one of the right hands and the skull-cap in the lowermost left. The *Sādhanas* make no mention of the *tarjanī mudrā* as an attribute of Yamāri of this variety; it is only

1 Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 70.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
3 Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, p. 554.

referred to in respect of the forms (*a*) and (*c*),[1] mentioned above. The skull-cap is an attribute of Rakta-Yamāri,[2] and never ascribed by the *Sādhanas* to Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri. It occurs, however, in a similar representation of Yamāntaka from Nālandā which is mounted on a buffalo, the carrier of the god.[3] None of the *Sādhanas* describes him as trampling on corpses under the feet, as he appears in the present example. This special feature thus distinguishes it as a singular specimen, and the type is indeed of no small importance, considering the rarity of these images in India.

Getty draws a line between the forms 'Yamāntaka' and 'Yamāri' according as the god appears with or without his consort and describes the latter as treading on a corpse under which is a bull.[4] The corpse and the bull, referred to, are met with in a reverse order in an image in the possession of Pandit Siddhi Harṣa Vajrācāryya of Nepal.[5]

Regarding the origin of Yamāntaka, a Tibetan tradition attributes this form to Mañjuśrī, who, it is said, assumed it to destroy the demon king of Death, Yama, who was depopulating Tibet in his insatiable thirst for victims. About this story the *Sādhanamālā* remains silent. It states that the form of Yamāntaka is derived from the true meaning of his own *mantra* (*sva-mantrārtha-śarīra-bhāk*). He confers success on his worshippers and his outwardly terrific appearance is meant for the good of created beings. Other names of this deity are Śrī Vajra-bhairava, Vajra-bhayaṅkara, Vajrabhairava, and Bhairava.

The origin of the Yamāri cult is associated, no doubt, with a later phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Vajrayāna. Worship was paid to him purely in connection with Tāntric rites, such as, *puṣṭi* (causing one's prosperity), *śānti* (alleviа-

1 *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, pp. 547, 557.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 528-541.
3 *Annual Report, ASI., Central circle*, 1920-21, pt. I, p. 39.
4 Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 146.
5 Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 71, pl. xxvi (a).

tion of evil), *ākṛṣṭi* (attracting persons to the presence of the worshipper), *moha* (causing one's confusion), *vaśya* (bringing a person under power), *stambha* (arresting one's motion), *preraṇa* (inducing a person to do a particular act), *nigraha* (punishing an enemy), *uccāṭana*[1] (causing a person to quit his occupation). Some idea of the nature of these rites may be given in this connection. To alleviate an evil influence directions are given as follows: take a strip of white cloth or a birch-bark or a washed cloth, draw two circles on it, then put it in a clean saucer and dip it in *ghee* (clarified butter) and honey. Enclose it with a white string and offer worship to it with white flowers three consecutive evenings. Next have the mind fixed on white Yamāntaka, who faces the east, and think on the person seeking relief, as sitting in front of the god within the orb of the moon and bathing him with the nectar of the moon falling from a white pitcher. Then utter the *mantra* as given under: *Oṃ Hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana devadattasya śāntiṃ kuru namaḥ svāhā.* For causing one's prosperity (*puṣṭi*) the mode of worship is almost the same, but differs in the following details: the colour of Yamāntaka should be yellow, he should face the north, the circles are to be drawn on saffron, the string and the flowers are to be yellow; the orb, the pitcher and the nectar must also be imagined as such. In *vaśyavidhi*, the accessaries referred to, and the colour of the god are red, and he should face the west. The worship of the dark Yamāri (kṛṣṇa-yamāri) is prescribed only for drawing a person to the presence of the worshipper. He should face the south; the accessaries to the worship should be red, and the strip of cloth on which the circles are drawn, is to be placed within the skull of a dead woman instead of a saucer.[2]

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1 *Sādhanamālā*, vol. II, p. 532.
2 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 532-34.

Vedānta and the Vedāntist

II

From the accounts that have been preserved of the kind of education that was usually imparted to young princes and persons of rank in cities (e.g. in the *Kādaṃbarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa), it appears that *Brahma-vidyā* was not much favoured by the city people. The curriculum of studies included dancing, singing, physical exercise, knowledge of languages, but not *Brahmavidyā*, at least there is no special mention of it.

In the Upaniṣads, women also are sometimes seen taking part in philosophical discussions (Bṛ. ii. 4 ; iii. 6) and aspiring to become a *Brahma-vādinī*, i.e. pursue the study of *Brahma-vidyā* as the sole occupation of life. Such was Vācaknavī (see Śaṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtra*, iii. 4. 36). But still the part that women really played was that of listeners and not teachers of *Brahma-vidyā* and this also was denied to them in later times. The *vidyā* gradually passed into the hands of *sannyāsins* ; and the place of discourse was transferred from the hearths of worldly men to the cloisters of monks. Women were gradually considered inadmissible to the study of the Vedic lore, and so also to the study of *Brahma-vidyā*.

We conclude, then, that in Upaniṣadic times the Vedāntist was a *gṛhastha* brahmin, generally leading a life of retirement, and that women had very little share in the development of Vedānta.

In Vedānta-Sūtras i. 3.25-38, there is a long discussion as to persons entitled to study *Brahma-vidyā*. There is no difference of opinion among the commentators in respect of the interpretation of these Sūtras ; and the conclusion arrived at is that, *above* men the gods are entitled to the study, and *among* men only the upper three classes. The Śūdras, are rigorously excluded, but members of the other

castes could study *Brahma-vidyā* without any restriction of *āśrama* or age.

The sūtra iii. 4 raises the question : Is the *vidyā* capable by itself of giving the desired result, viz., *Mokṣa* ? Or, should it be accompanied by the practice of Vedic *karma* ? The answer given is, that *Vidyā* is capable of producing that result by itself (iii. 4. 1 ; iii. 4. 17.). But for the production of this *vidyā*, the duties of the various *āśramas* must be practised (iii. 4. 26), and one cannot hope to attain the *vidyā* straightway by the adoption of the last *āśrama*. Once the *vidyā* is produced, it leads to *mokṣa* without any *further* aid from *karma*.

This need for *karma* is again maintained in sūtra, iv. 1. 15-16. It is a part of the Vedāntic theory that once true knowledge is attained, *karma* is demolished. But it is not *all karma* that can be destroyed in this way : only the *karma*, that is awaiting its result, can be got rid of in this way. The *karma*, which is already bearing its fruit, must run its course. And, therefore, so far as we have to remain in a body, actions (*karma*) necessary for keeping the body pure and for generating knowledge, must continue to be practised, such as *Agnihotra* (iv. 1. 16).[1]

The author of the Sūtras obviously affirms the utility of *karma* and of the various *āśramas* as a preliminary to the attainment of knowledge (Sūtras, iii, 4. 26 ; iv. 1. 16), but at the same time, he implies that the knowledge or *vidyā* cannot be attained in the true sense of the term, until one has adopted the last *āśrama* (Sūtras, iii. 4. 17 ; iii.4. 25).

Reading all these sūtras together, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that *Brahma-vidyā* was cultivated and practised as the means to salvation by those who had by gradual stages reached the last two stages (*āśramas*)

1 Cf. Br. Up., iv. 4. 22, where it is said that those, who desire to know Brahma, practise *yajñas*, etc, among other things. These duties, therefore, should be performed.

of life. This was the orthodox view, and the Sūtras do not appear to have advocated any other.

What is promulgated in the Sūtras must have been practised also by those who adopted this moderate view. Perhaps not much historical evidence is available on this point, but, it seems, much is not necessary either. For, just as a law implies the existence of those who follow it, though breakers of the law also are not impossible, similarly, there must have been men who actually followed in life the philosophico-religious tenets of the Vedānta; the very existence of these doctrines implies the parallel existence of men for whom they were rules of life. The position has been maintained by such a long roll of writers that it is impossible to think that none of them followed them in actual life. They were not mere theories; they were intended as rules of conduct and were followed as such.

When we say that, according to the author of the Sūtras, *Brahma-vidyā* was to be pursued in the last *āśrama*, we only mean that it was to be *practised* then as the means for *mokṣa*; attempts for the acquisition of the knowledge began in the first *āśrama*.

There is no indication in the Sūtras as to the place of residence that a Vedāntist should adopt. According to the traditional view, when a man renounced the second *āśrama*, he was also to renounce the ordinary habitations of men and retire to solitude. The Sūtras do not lay down any specific rule on the point; and this may be understood as implying acceptance of the traditional view.

As to sex also, nothing is definitely said in the Sūtras. The question about woman's right in the pursuit of the *Śrutis* seems to have been decided already against her; and for the author of the Sūtras, it was already a settled fact (see *ante* p. 646.).

The value of *sannyāsa* or renunciation of the world, is not unrecognized in the Sūtras; but it is not given undue importance. A rather extreme view, however, finds expression

in Śaṅkara's system. In explaining the Sūtras referred to above, Śaṅkara cannot deny the utility of *karma* altogether; but he is inclined to pin his faith on Jābāla Upaniṣad, 4, which allows a man to adopt the fourth *āśrama* at any stage of life, provided of course, he has ceased to feel any interest in the affairs of life. The text is :

"*Yad-ahar-eva virajet tad-ahar-eva pravrajet*".

Taking his stand on this text, Śaṅkara suggests that the duties of the intermediate *āśramas* are not *binding* : they may be followed, but, given the necessary mental and spiritual equipment, they may be avoided also; and according to him there is a greater merit in being able to renounce them. According to the commentators (cf. Śrīnivāsa, Rāmānuja, etc.), this text was overlooked by the author of the Sūtras (see under Sūtra, iii, 4, 20). Rāmānuja says that the Sūtras discuss the question of *āśramas, ignoring* ('*asantam-iva kṛtvā*') the text of Jābāla, 4. Śaṅkara also says the same thing. But the truth perhaps was that this text did not represent the orthodox view at the time of the author of the Sūtras, if the text was in existence at that time at all.

In his comment on Sūtra, i, 1. 1, Śaṅkara says : "*Niḥśreyasa-phalam tu brahma-vijñānaṃ na cānuṣṭhānāntarāpekṣam*". That is to say, knowledge of Brahma is not dependent on the performance of the religious rites, in order that it may bring about final beatitude. But this uncompromising position is partially relinquished by him in his comment on iii, 4. 26, where he admits that for the *production* of the *vidyā*, practice of the religious duties is necessary.

In his comment on Bṛ. Up. ii. 4 Śaṅkara is more outspoken in his denunciation of *karma* and of the *gṛhastha āśrama*. There he says that *karma* and *jñāna* are diametrically opposed to each other; one is not necessary for the other; and that those who think that *karma* is helpful to *jñāna* have not read the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (*tair-bṛhadāraṇyakam na śrutam*); they have not understood the contrast between *karma* and *jñāna* which Śruti has repeatedly shown;

and they have not understood Vyāsa's teaching and so on. Hence it follows that, personally, Śaṅkara did not consider it necessary for a man to perform the duties belonging to all the different *āśramas* in order that, later in life, he might become a Vedāntist. The true requirements of a Vedāntist, according to him, were self-restraint, tranquility, etc., and a desire to know the truth and be liberated. (cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Vedānta*, Eng. Tr., pp. 79-82).

Disciples of Śaṅkara took up the question in a more combative spirit and strove to show that those who desired *mokṣa* had no need for *karma*; it would on the contrary at best be a hindrance to the realisation of their purpose. This positive denial of the utility of *karma* is tantamount to the denial of the *gṛhastha āśrama*; it was an advocacy of *sannyāsa* as early as possible. We may remember in this connection the well-known treatise of Sureśvara, viz., his '*Naiṣkarma-siddhi*'. Sureśvara makes an elaborate attempt there to show that *karma* can never lead to *mokṣa* which can be attained by *jñāna*, and *jñāna* alone. There is no Śruti, he contends, nor any logic which makes *mokṣa* dependent on *karma* in any way.

In an extreme form, this view went to the length of denying not only the *āśramas* but the *varṇas* or castes as well. True knowledge, it would be contended, not only revealed that the *āśramas* were useless, but the difference of caste also was meaningless for one who had attained the truth. For, these differences were valid only with reference to the body and did not apply to the soul; and a true philosophy should know that the body was not the self.

This *sannyāsa* cult came to have such a hold on the mind of a certain section of the population that the study of the different orders of *sannyāsins* itself assumed the importance of a science. Thus the author of the *Ratna-prabhā*, a commentary on the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, under Sūtra, iii. 4. 18 gives an elaborate classification of the various kinds of *vānaprasthas*, *sannyāsins*, and followers of other *āśramas*.

A similar classification is given by other writers also, and is assumed even by the authors of the Dharma-śāstras (cf. *Manu*, vi).

It was not only a theory but the practice also among many, especially in later times, to become a *sannyāsin* in early life and take to the study of Vedānta. We may recollect here that this was not strictly in accordance with the general practice in earlier times nor has it the sanction of the generality of Śruti and Smṛti texts. The one that is very frequently quoted by Śaṅkara, is the text of the Jābāla Upaniṣad referred to above, which permits renunciation of the world at any stage of life. But even this text does not overlook the other *āśramas*; and it, too, says that the usual course is to go through all the *āśramas* and reach the last *after* the rest. It only *allows*, perhaps as a special case, the adoption of the last *āśrama* at any time in life, by those who feel no interest in the world. But it is not intended as a compulsory rule.

But whether sanctioned by Śāstras or not, the practice came into vogue and there was a class of *sannyāsins* who had not been *gṛhasthas* before; and the study of Vedānta was eagerly pursued by them. The Vedānta-Sūtras do not appear to have contemplated this class of *sannyāsins*, but it grew; and from Śaṅkara's time downwards, almost without exception, all the great writers on the Vedānta were *parivrājakas* (e.g. Sarvajñātma, Prakāśātma, Vidyāraṇya, Ānandagiri, etc.). We do not know much of the biography of these men and cannot say definitely that they had not been *gṛhasthas* before and adopted the fourth *āśrama* in the usual course: some certainly were *gṛhasthas*, e.g. Sureśvara, whose name in the earlier *āśrama* was Maṇḍana Miśra. But in the Śaṅkara school at any rate, the tendency was to avoid the *gṛhastha āśrama*. Possibly they were led to this by their doctrine of the unreality of the world. And even now, we have hundreds of *sannyāsins* in India who never become house-holders.

There were *sannyāsins* of other schools besides that

of Śaṅkara; and quite a number of them were Vedāntists. In fact, the Vedānta continued to be the favourite study of *sannyāsins* of most of the orders. The study has never been prohibited for a *gṛhastha*; but it did not find so much favour with him as with a *sannyāsin*. The reason for this is not far to seek. *Sannyāsins* have professedly no interest in the world; they only wait for liberation and have nothing else to do but prepare themselves for final emancipation. They are candidates for *mokṣa* and for *mokṣa* alone; and the Vedānta is *par excellence* the *mokṣa-śāstra*, i.e., the study which was regarded as best suited for the attainment of salvation.

We may recollect in this connection the Hindu conception of *Caturvarga*—the fourfold desideratum of man. According to this, a man, we are told, needs and desires but four things, viz., *dharma* (piety), *artha* (wealth and power), *kāma* (satisfaction of desires) and *mokṣa* (liberation). All that man desires and strives for may eventually be grouped under one or other of these four classes. Now, corresponding to these, there have arisen four classes of *śāstras* also.

However, this fourfold analysis of the highest good of man, must not be understood as corresponding to the division of *āśramas*; it is not true, for instance, that the first of these four, viz., *dharma*, is to be striven for in the first *āśrama*, the second in the second, and so on. But yet according to the orthodox theory and practice, the last or *mokṣa*, was to be sought for in the last stage. This is proved, as we have seen, by the discussion in the Vedānta Sūtras, iii. 4. And those who made *mokṣa* their only concern in life, took to the study of this *śāstra* as early in life as possible. They, too, were *sannyāsins*. The Vedānta was thus a special study of the *sannyāsins*, at least, from the time of the Sūtras.

Though the writers on *Kāma-śāstra* and *Artha-śāstra* claim equality with the *Dharma* and *Mokṣa śāstras*, on the ground that they too minister to objects considered as desir-

able as *dharma* and *mokṣa*, yet in fact their *śāstras* found favour only with a section of the population, mostly in towns. The classes who cultivated these *śāstras*, had hardly the training or the inclination to take to the study of the Vedānta. The class that studied the Vedānta was thus more or less sharply separated from the class which pursued the aims of the *Kāma-* and *Artha-śāstras*. The Vedāntists were, in the first place, men living away from the cities, and, in the second place, they were men who had lost interest in any other concern of life except *mokṣa*. According to the moderate view of the Sūtras, these were to have had a previous experience of life in the world: according to the extreme view of Śaṅkara, they were to have renounced the world as early as possible: and according to both, the man who was really fit to be called to the study of the Vedānta, was, after all, a *sannyāsin*. There is nothing in the scriptures precluding a *gṛhastha* from reading and understanding the Vedānta: on the contrary, like other knowledge, this knowledge also presumably was to be acquired in the prime of life, i.e., while one was still a *Brahmacārin*. But what the Sūtras, relying on texts of the Upaniṣads and on ancient practices, really want to say, is that true pursuit of *Brahmavidyā*—its practice as distinguished from mere understanding—cannot properly begin until one has reached the last *āśrama*, or a state of life corresponding to it.

During the age of the Sūtras, the Vedānta does not appear yet to have been completely divorced from the householder's life. An increasing stress was no doubt being placed on the renunciation of the world as a condition for the proper pursuit of *mokṣa-vidyā*; but the acquisition and propagation of the learning was still in the hands of the *gṛhasthas*; only, they were to practise this *vidyā* after they had reached the maturity of old age and the sanctity of renunciation.

In the next stage, however, we find the *vidyā* more or less in exclusive possession of men who had renounced the

world: they are the teachers and they are the learners, and the greatest writers arise among them. And unlike the earlier teachers living in homely villages, these men soon establish themselves in great *maṭhas* (monasteries)—some of them quite stately buildings—located very often in *tīrthas* (sacred places).[1]

This change must have been due to important social and political circumstances. A general decadence of morals in large cities and among wealthy classes, must have accentuated the growth of *Sannyāsin* orders and dislodged *Brahma-vidyā* from its original home and driven it into the arms of organised monastic orders having stable habitations of their own, i.e., *cenobite* monks as distinguished from mere *anchorites*. A similar phenomenon took place in Europe also, when during the middle ages, learning found its only secure habitation in the cloisters of the monks. In India, too, a time came when the old class Brahmin *gṛhasthas*, the founders of *Brahma-vidyā* like Yājñavalkya and Aruṇi, living under royal patronage and protection and yet giving direction to the spiritual life of these very kings, were replaced by politically minded Brahmins of the Kauṭilya type and also of the type of Vātsyāyana. The decaying morality of cities then drove religion and philosophy away into monasteries.

The parallel rise of Buddhist monastic orders must have been another cause. For, this too accentuated the rise of corresponding monastic orders among the Hindus. It is open to doubt whether before Buddhism Hindu *sannyāsis* had at all got into the habit of living the life of cenobite monks, in well-organised monasteries, the contrary rather appears to have been the custom; originally they were mostly anchorites, living an isolated life, and therefore, incapable of preserving and propagating learning,

1 Cf. Pāṇini, iv. 3. 110, which seems to refer to some monastic orders by whom the Vedānta-sūtras were studied.

which is a social activity. But after Buddhism, well-organised monastic orders arose among the Hindus also and well-built monasteries were founded ; and these gradually became the repository of philosophical learning in general and Vedāntism in particular.

Not that the class of *gṛhastha* Vedāntists, i.e., men who remained in the world and yet studied the Vedānta, was altogether extinct ; nor was it the case that Vedānta, was to be found only in the monasteries and nowhere else in the country. Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava*, Act i gives an account of himself as belonging to a family of the Vedāntists, though at the same time he was a resident of a city (*Padmapuram*). But the chief home of the Vedānta, at least from the time of Śaṅkara i. e. from the 8th century downwards, has been the great monasteries of the country and it was pursued by *sannyāsins*. They were not *sannyāsins* of the old, orthodox type, who had reached the last quarter of their span of life and were only waiting for their end ; but they were men in full possession of their powers of mind and body and thus capable of putting forth great efforts. And their monasteries were established in some sacred place which attracted large concourse of men. Thus, Śaṅkara's *maṭhas* were founded in places like Hardwar, already a holy place of pilgrimage. But a place chosen for a monastery also might acquire the character of holiness in subsequent time.

In the various accounts of the travels of *Caitanya*, the founder of Bengal *Vaiṣṇavism*, we are told of his many encounters with Vedāntists (cf. *Karcā* of Govindadas, published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 28, 46). Though not all, most of these Vedāntists were *sannyāsins*. This was in the fifteenth century. And in the seventeenth century, Dara Shukoh tells us in the Introduction to his translation of the Upaniṣads, that he obtained them from *sannyāsins* and *paṇḍits* at Benares. All this clearly shows with what class of men the Vedānta had found shelter in those times. *Gṛhasthas* also were there who studied the Vedānta and knew it.

Śaṅkara himself belonged to an already established order of *sannyāsins*—teachers and writers of the Vedānta; he was not the founder of the order (see his *Bhāṣya* on Sūtra, ii.1, 9.) and several of his predecessors are known to us, e. g. Gauḍapāda, Govinda, etc. Now, if we place Śaṅkara in the 7th century A.C., as it is usually done, then this order of *sannyāsins* must have come into existence at least a hundred years before him, i.e., not later than the 6th century A.C., or perhaps the 5th. From the 5th up to the 17th century A.C., therefore, *sannyāsins* took quite a leading part in the spread, preservation and development of Vedāntism. They were the chief writers, the chief teachers and almost the only men who pursued it in life as a religion.

Résumé : (1) Vedāntism must be at least 2500 years old, if not older. Originally, it was followed and cultivated by brahmins living in the world and taking an active part in the sacrificial religion of the time. These men lived perhaps away from, but not without touch with, the busy centres of life and political activity, under the protection and patronage of princes and potentates. This phase is illustrated in the description of the lives of the Upaniṣadic teachers, such as Yājñavalkya, as preserved in the Upaniṣads themselves.

(2) At the second stage, Vedāntism appears to have separated itself from the orthodox Vedic rites and was cultivated more sedulously by men who did not maintain much close relation with Vedic practices; or, who had perhaps seceded altogether from that kind of religion, or, perhaps, who had adopted the life of a *sannyāsin* and thus had no obligation to perform these sacrificial rites. This phase is illustrated in some of the later Upaniṣads which decry *karma* and applaud *sannyāsa*; and the tendency is also noticeable in the Sūtras themselves and in those commentators who, unlike Upavarṣa, separated the two Mīmānsās and looked upon the Vedānta as an independent study.

(3) At the last stage, we find the Vedānta almost in exclusive possession of *sannyāsins*, who had left behind all

other concerns of life and devoted themselves to the study of this *vidyā* as a means for their salvation. This is most clearly illustrated in the school of Śaṅkara.

We must remember that these changes took place without any apparent breach with the past. When the Vedānta Sūtras were placing emphasis on the last *āśrama* as a necessary condition for the attainment of Brahma, they were avowedly relying on Upaniṣadic texts. In the Upaniṣads, the *āśramas* were undoubtedly recognised and practised, but instruction in Brahma-vidyā appears to have been imparted and received in the *gṛhastha āśrama*. The Sūtras, however, shift the stress on the last *āśrama*.

The later *sannyāsi* schools enhance this stress and direct attention more to those texts which condemn *karma* than to those which make them obligatory; and eventually take their stand on those texts which openly denounce the worldly life and allow the fourth *āśrama* at any time of life (e.g. Jābāla Upaniṣad). Like the development of law by judicial interpretation, the followers of the Vedānta also gradually changed their character and relation with society, by slowly shifting the emphasis from one kind of *śruti* texts to another, until Vedānta found itself mostly in the hands of *sannyāsins*.

After the few female names in the Upaniṣads, no other woman's name occurs in the long history of Vedānta. We may hear now and then of women who became nuns and emulated the life of a Vedāntist, such as Sulabhā in *Mahābhārata*, xii. 320; but their contribution to the development and spread of the *vidyā* was next to nothing.

In Buddhism, women were given almost an equal footing with men, and, various orders of nuns (*bhikṣuṇīs*) were also established. But Buddha made this concession to women rather reluctantly; and the evils that manifested themselves in later times, confirmed his foresight. Vedāntism, however, maintained its rigour against women; after the Upaniṣadic times, woman was studiously excluded from the study

of Vedānta. Not being entitled to the sacred thread (*upanayana*), she was not entitled to the study of *śruti*, and, therefore, to the study of Vedānta. In the various monastic orders that pursued Vedānta, woman seldom figures.

It is no exaggeration to say that in the history of the world's philosophy, woman's contribution has been practically nothing: much less has been her share in the development of Indian philosophy. But still credit is due to the women of the Upaniṣadic time, such as Gārgī; for, they were intelligent questioners and appreciative listeners. After them, even this much is not found to belong to woman.

Vedāntism is not merely a philosophy but also a secular study or intellectual exercise: it always bore the sacred stamp of a religion. And as such, it was never any one man's property, like the system founded by a great thinker, such as Spinoza or Spencer, Kant or Hegel. Nor is it enough to regard it as a school of thought; for, it has had a very much greater continuity than any known school of philosophy. Whole generations of thinkers and writers combined their efforts to keep it alive and develop it. It was almost a culture; and the development and spread of this culture belonged to different classes of men at different epochs of its history; and the seat of its existence also has varied from time to time.

Lastly, as to caste, the Vedāntists were almost exclusively Brahmins; as to sex, almost exclusively males. And as to *āśrama*, latterly, though not originally, mostly *sannyāsins*. As to its habitation, Vedānta might well be described as a forest growth; originally under kingly patronage, but later in isolation from the social and political life of the country, in far-off *tīrthas* or secluded *maṭhas*, away from the busy centres of commerce and politics, Vedānta has lived its serene life as *Mokṣa-vidyā*.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Topography in the Purāṇas—Puruṣottamakṣetra

Introduction

To the student of mythology and religion, a thorough acquaintance with the sacred rivers and mountains, Tīrthasthānas and Puṇyakṣetras of India, which even to this day attract pilgrims from the remotest parts of India, is but essential. A general knowledge of the topography of those places was perhaps sufficiently well-known in the days of the Purāṇas. We are often informed of the rivers and mountains of India, with description of the boundary of those Puṇyasthānas. We are often directed to undertake the journey to the kṣetra concerned by the southern side of a hill, pursuing a course along the north bank of a particular river, keeping a city in the left and a village in the right and so on. These topographical records are valuable for determining some unknown places of ancient Indian geography. Some of the Purāṇas which, to some extent, may be regarded as handbooks to the Puṇyasthānas are thus valuable as a source of the study of Ancient Indian geography, and also as tending to indicate the different stages in the evolution of Ancient Indian geography.

In India, notices of Topography are essentially related to the description of Tīrthas; so the best specimen of Purāṇic topography, I believe, is to be found in the Skanda Purāṇa—a book as voluminous as the Mahābhārata, having not a single feature by which it can be called a Purāṇa; and if it is at all to be styled so, it can be called a "Tīrtha Purāṇa." Indeed it is to be noted that the Skanda Purāṇa begins with the description of the Tīrtha places in a very systematic way and describes them one by one according to their geographical setting. For example, the Purāṇa after describing the Puruṣottamakṣetra passes through all the tīrthas of south-east and south-west coast of India, one by one, until the Prabhāsa-kṣetra (Book vii) is reached and in this way it appears that the Purāṇa has attempted to form a garland of Tīrthas. My references are therefore to Skanda Purāṇa, and I have utilised the materials of the other Purāṇas where necessary. I have attempted here only to show how far the topographical records involved in the description of the Puṇyasthānas and in the

The Skanda Purāṇa and the Purāṇic Topography.

narration of the pilgrimage to those places, as contained in the Purāṇas, are in harmony with the position of the various rivers, mountains and cities which we know. Let us start with the Puruṣottamakṣetra.

The whole of the second canto of the second volume of the Skanda Purāṇa describes the māhātmya of the Puruṣottamakṣetra. Regarding the boundary of the kṣetra it is thus said in ii, 2, 1

Aho tat paramaṃ kṣetraṃ vistṛtaṃ daśayojanaiḥ
Tīrtharājasya salilād utthitaṃ bālukācitam 12
Nīlācalena mahatā madhyasthena virājitam 13
* * * * * *
Sāgarasyottaratīre mahānadyās tu dakṣiṇe
Sa pradeśaḥ pṛthivyāṃ hi sarvatīrthaphalapradaḥ 31

Puruṣottamakṣetra is therefore the tract of land which rises from the ocean and is bounded by it on the south and by the river Mahānadī on the north. This is ten yojanas in area. The river Mahānadī here certainly refers to the great river of Orissa on the north of Puri. It should be noticed that the eastern coast of India has taken a definite south-western bend from Puri, or near about that, so much so that the ocean, that is, the Bay of Bengal, surrounds Puri in the south, and, the Puruṣottamakṣetra which extended in the south up to Puri thus stands on the north of the ocean (Sāgarasyottaratīre). But regarding the northern boundary of the kṣetra another statement is to be found in ii, 2, 12 where it is said,

Dakṣiṇasyodadhes tīre nīlācalavibhūṣitam
Daśayojanavistīrṇaṃ * * * 74
* * * * *
Tasyottarasyāṃ vikhyātaṃ vanam ekāmrakāhvayam 77

The northern boundary of the kṣetra is said here to have been the Ekāmravana instead of the river Mahānadī. The Ekāmravana is the modern Bhuvaneśvara on the river Gandhavatī, some twenty miles to the south of Cuttack in Orissa (Brahma Purāṇa, 41). So it appears that Bhuvaneśvara was the northern boundary of the kṣetra and not the river Mahānadī. And as Cuttack is to some extent on the bank of the Mahānadī, Bhuvaneśvara is thus twenty miles south of the river Mahānadī. So it follows that the area of the kṣetra is ten yojanas, when Mahānadi or Bhuvaneśvara is the northern boundary. This however is contradictory. Anyway leaving aside the question of the area of the kṣetra, it can be reasonably supposed that the kṣetra at the time of the Skanda Purāṇa comprised the modern South

Cuttack and Puri district of the Orissa division of the Bihar and Orissa Province.

In both the passages quoted above it is said that in the interior of the kṣetra there was the Nīlācalaparvata. There are two ranges of hills of that name in Cuttack. In northern Cuttack, north of the river Mahānadī near Balasore, there is a group of picturesque rocky hills, while in the southern Cuttack along the shore there are several hills terminating in a chain of mountains. But as the Puruṣottamakṣetra, as shown above, comprised the southern Cuttack and Puri district, Nīlācala cannot be the hills of Northern Cuttack, but must be the hills of southern Cuttack running like a chain along the sea-shore. And to this effect we find other passages in the Purāṇa. Thus in ii, 2, 1, 34 it is said—

Nīlācala.

Sindhutīre tu yo brahman rājate Nīlaparvataḥ etc.

and again in ii, 2, 11, 128—

Dakṣiṇodadhitīre 'sti Nīlādriḥ kānanāvṛtaḥ.

All these imply the immediate neighbourhood of the sea to the Parvata, which more plausibly refers to the hills of southern Cuttack, lying within the boundary of the kṣetra, and is nearer to the sea than the hills of northern Cutttack which has got no such vicinity to the sea. The distance of the Parvata from the sea is stated to be two (ii, 2, 3, 52-53) or three krośas (ii, 2, 4, 1). So also the area of the kṣetra is given as ten yojanas and five krośas (ii, 2, 3, 52; ii, 2, 4, 1). It is really difficult to make out anything from these contradictory statements.

The holy kṣetra seems to have been included within a country which they called Utkala, and, which they described as being situated on the shore of the southern ocean. Thus it is said in ii, 2, 4 :

Utkala, Uḍra, Orissa, Kaliṅga.

Supuṇye cotkale deśe dakṣinārṇavatoraṇe

The southern ocean is the Bay of Bengal as has been found to be implied on many occasions and it is said that Utkala was on the shore of that sea. Utkala perhaps meant a greater unit than the kṣetra, roughly corresponding to the modern Orissa division of the Bihar and Orissa province. And this is implied in some verses also (ii, 2, 6, 26-7). The chapter begins with a query as to the location of the Puruṣottamakṣetra, and it is held that the kṣetra lies in Utkaladeśa regarding which the following notice is given :

Sa eṣa deśapravara utkalākhyo dvijottamāḥ 26

Ṛṣikulyāṃ samāsādya dakṣiṇodadhigāmīnīm
Svarṇa-rekhā mahānadyor madhye deśaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ 27

It is apparent here that Utkala comprised the country beginning from the river Ṛṣikulyā which flows to the sea (Bay of Bengal) up to the river Suvarṇarekhā including the river Mahānadī. Ṛṣikulyā is the modern river Rasikoila (Thorn. Gaz.) on which is situated Ganjam and which falls into the sea. The river Suvarṇarekhā, which is still called so, practically divides Bengal and Bihar & Orissa. Utkala therefore corresponded to the country beginning from Ganjam in the south up to the south-western confines of Bengal, i.e., roughly speaking, it corresponded to the modern Orissa division about as far north as the river Suvarṇarekhā on the confines of the Midnapur and Balasore districts. But what was Oḍra or Uḍra deśa? In ii, 2, 7, 23 it is said that Uḍradeśa lies on the shore of the ocean, where there is the Puruṣottamakṣetra. Evidently Utkala and Uḍra are here supposed to be the same country. The Brahma Purāṇa (28, 1) also says that Auḍra lies near to the sea and in other places (28, 9; 42, 6) it has been called Utkala; and further it is said (42, 35) that the famous Puruṣottama resides there. All these suggest that Utkala and Uḍra are the same country. But unless we know the boundary of Uḍra we cannot probably be sure of it. The Skanda Purāṇa records no boundary of Uḍra. The Brahma Purāṇa, however, says (28, 1-2) that Uḍra-deśa extended right up to Virāja-maṇḍala from the shore of the sea. The shore of the sea certainly refers to Puri and its adjoining places. Regarding Virāja-maṇḍala it is said that it was on the river Vaitaraṇī (92, 9). The Mahābhārata also repeats (Vana, 85, 6) that Virāja-kṣetra was on the river Vaitaraṇī. Virāja-maṇḍala is therefore modern Jajpur which stands on the northern bank of a river, which is still called Vaitaraṇī, flowing between the river Suvarṇarekhā on the north and Mahānadi on the south. It seems therefore that though Utkala was called Uḍra, yet there was much difference between the two. For, whereas Utkala extended from Ṛṣikulyā right up to the river Suvarṇarekhā, Uḍra only extended up to the river Vaitaraṇī on the confines of the Balasore and Cuttack districts from Puri. Uḍra, according to the Purāṇas, was therefore a much lesser unit than Utkala, though, of course, it was included within the country mentioned last.

Mr. Pargiter (Ancient Countries of Eastern India, JASB, 1897, p. 103 f.) however arrives at an altogether different conclusion. He says that Oḍra in ancient times occupied the western part of Midnapur and also other districts such as Manbhum, Singhbhum, etc., north

of the river Kapiśā of Kālidāsa (Raghu, iv, 38-93), i.e., modern Cossye which flows through Midnapur. But it is really discouraging to think that the Purāṇa, which has preserved an accurate geography of the Puruṣottamakṣetra, should err and confuse in such a manner. The Uḍras are rarely alluded to in the Sanskrit literature, excepting in some passages of the Mahābhārata. It will also be acknowledged that it is the Oḍras, who have given their name to modern Orissa or Oḍradeśa as it is also called. It is also to be noticed that the Oriya or Oḍiya is spoken throughout Orissa and Ganjam district. All these connect Oḍra more with modern Orissa or Utkala than with Midnapur and its neighbouring districts. Again in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira where we find an elaborate list of the countries and people respectively belonging to the nine divisions, nowhere Uḍra and Utkala are mentioned as separate countries; on the other hand, Oḍra has been mentioned as a country (xiv, 5, 6, 7) and Utkala a people in the same division implying, thereby, that in the same country of Uḍra, the Utkalas lived. Mr. Pargiter gives no other reason, except that if the country from Ganjam to the river Cossye were occupied by the Kaliṅgas and Utkalas, then the Oḍras must be pushed further up the river in Bengal. But there are no reasonable grounds to introduce the separate establishment of the Uḍras and the Utkalas; on the other hand, there is strong evidence in the Purāṇas, as we have seen, of their common establishment in one country, which is alternately described as Uḍradeśa or Utkaladeśa though, of course, Uḍra was a smaller unit than Utkala. But as the Purāṇas reflect almost the mediæval stage of Indian geography it might be said as Mr. Pargiter has carefully observed (p. 104) that in ancient times the Oḍras probably occupied some portions of Bengal near Midnapur, but afterwards they "pushed southward" and resided in the country from Ṛsikulyā to the river Suvarṇarekhā which they called Uḍradeśa or Utkaladeśa.

Then what was Kaliṅga? Rapson says that it was between the rivers Godāvarī and Mahānadī (Ancient India, p. 164). General Cunningham is of opinion that it was between the Godāvarī river on the south-west and the Gaoliya, branch of Indravatī river on the north-west (Anc. Geo., p. 516). Pargiter observes from some passages of the Mahābhārata (JASB, 1897, p. 98) that Kaliṅga began in the north from the river Vaitaraṇī; and in the west extended up to the Amarakaṇṭaka hills (Kurma Purāṇa, ii,

Kaliṅga.

39, 9). That Kaliṅga lay in the south-east part of India is also admitted by Varāhamihira (Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, xiv, 8, 9, 10). But we have seen in the passages cited above that the whole country from Ṛṣikulyā up to the river Suvarṇarekhā was called Utkala. So we see that the testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Skanda Purāṇa is radically opposite. In Raghuvaṃśa, iv, 38-53 Kālidāsa seems to support the Mahābhārata. There he says that Raghu after crossing the river Kapisā or Cossye in Midnapur was received by the king of Utkala who took him to Kaliṅga, which has led Mr. Pargiter to conclude that Utkala roughly corresponded to the country from Cossye to Vaitaraṇī, and from Vaitaraṇī southwards the country was called Kaliṅga. It seems hazardous to draw an accurate boundary of these two countries, for most probably it is a fact that there was no sharp demarcation between these two countries, and that the same country which was called Kaliṅga in ancient times came to be termed both Utkala and Kaliṅga at a later period. The word Utkala appears to have been coined in comparatively modern times probably because both the Utkalas and Kaliṅgas belonged to the one and the same race ('Kal' is common). The country in a later period came to be termed both Utkala and Kaliṅga, and in fact, it is very often to be found in the Purāṇas, which reflect the mediæval stage of Indian geography, that the same country is called both Kaliṅga and Utkala, probably implying the possibility of drawing this conclusion that there was hardly any difference between the two, and if any difference between the two ever existed, it was probably very slight.

King Indradyumna's pilgrimage to Puri.

In chapter 11 of the Skanda Purāṇa (ii, 2) is described the journey of the king Indradyumna of Mālava to Puruṣottamakṣetra. The king perhaps followed a route through the southern valley of the Tāptī, and it is said that he halted with his party in a certain forest called Dhātukandara on the bank of the river Citrotpalā Maḥānadī. Now, the river Mahānadī, as we know, rising in a hill (Amarakaṇṭaka) of the Central Provinces flows northwards for a long distance, and then takes an eastern course. In course of its northern flow a river called Pain meets it near Rajim in the Raipur district of the Chatrishgarh division of the Central Provinces. The Mahānadī below its junction with Pain was called Citrotpalā or rather Citrotpalā of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Mārk. 57; Arch. Sur. R., vii, 155; xvii, 70). The Dhātukandara forest might be some hill of the Raipur district. It is natural therefore

that this Citropalā Mahānadī intervened in the king's way to Orissa from Mālava. However the king crossed the river and so entered into the southern valley of the river Mahānadī ; and it is said that there he was received by the king of Utkala, evidently implying that the boundary of the country over which the king of Utkala ruled extended in the west up to the river Mahānadī, in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces, where the Mahānadī was called Citropāla Mahānadī ; and this seems to be more in consonance, if we regard Kaliṅga and Utkala as one and the same country, for the Kurma Purāṇa (ii, 39, 9 ; see ante. p. 9.) says that Kaliṅga extended in the west up to Amarakaṇṭaka Parvata—a hill wherefrom the river Mahānadī has taken its rise. It appears, therefore, that Utkala extended from the river Suvarṇarekhā on the north to the river Ṛsikulyā on the south, and from Citropalā Mahānadī river of the C. P. on the west to the sea on the east.

However, the king with his party proceeded eastwards (ii, 2, 12) and then reached the Ekāmrakānana. Ekāmrakānana is Bhuvaneśvara and it is said that they crossed the river Gandhavahā, which is but too natural, for Ekāmrakānana was situated on that river. Here it is said that the king Indradyumna enquired about the distance of the kṣetra from that place. 'Kṣetra' here obviously means Puri, for Bhuvaneśvara, as we have seen, was included in the kṣetra. The king of Utkala replied that it was yet 3 yojanas. Three yojanas is perhaps equivalent to some 25 miles (JRAS, 1904, p. 83) which roughly speaking may be supposed to be 30 miles, the distance between Puri and Bhuvaneśvara.

So it seems that the topographical records of the Skanda Purāṇa involved in the description of the Puruṣottamakṣetra evince a fairly good knowledge of the compilers regarding the modern Orissa division of Bihar and Orissa province. It can be concluded that this geographical knowledge could hardly have been obtained except from an actual visit to that Tīrtha by some person.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI

Birbhum and Western Bengal in the Eighteenth Century:

An Economic and Sociological Study

It is proposed in these pages to present some material for an economic history of Birbhum and Western Bengal during the eighteenth century. This period has been chosen because it seems to present, either in germ, or in full, the action and development of the forces that led India from its mediæval period to modern age. The breaking up of the Mughal Empire is one great leading characteristic of this century; the rise of the new political forms under which India has carried on its existence ever since is the other one.

It is not the plan, however, to sketch the political events that mark the decline and downfall of the Muhammadan regime in India, nor those that have to do with the origin of new dynasties and the beginnings of the British power. It will be largely the inner development of the 18th century India, which will claim our attention.

This period was not only destructive but just as truly creative. It developed or rather perfected all the forms to which the economic life in nearly all its activities has clung to the present day.

The advantage of choosing a rather limited area of India, only a small portion of one of its provinces, namely that portion of Bengal which lies west of the Hughli and takes in the northern portion of the present Burdwan Division, largely ignoring the District of Midnapore, will be that it will enable us to make a more minute study of this region than would have been possible if all of Bengal had been chosen. A provincial or even local colouring of our pages will be at least as much of an advantage as a disadvantage; it will make possible a more intensive treatment of our subject.

The great historic landmarks of India in the 18th century are the death of Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal Emperor in 1707, the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739, the battle of Plassey in 1757, and of Bengal, the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. These four dates respectively mark the end of the line of really capable emperors, the end of Delhi as a political influence, the actual beginning of British dominion in India and the stereotyping of the Muhammadan fiscal policy, for Bengal at least, into that of modern British India.

On the crowded canvas of Indian history in the 18th century, which was partly European history enacted in Asia,—the struggle between France and England for world dominion,—there are many brilliant figures and countless events of historical importance. It is not our purpose to touch upon any historical event or person having no bearing on the economic history of that part of Bengal which we have chosen for treatment. The contemporary events of all Indian history will therefore only be utilized in as far as they contribute to a clearer perspective of the significance of the economic history of the territory concerned. Yet even for this modest attempt, the preliminary will probably have to be a hasty sketch of the events of northern and western India which vitally affected also the history of Bengal.

The rise of the Mahratta power really belongs to the preceding century, yet the Mahrattas continued to be the disturbing element in India almost throughout the 18th century. In importance they are clearly the first of the purely Indian factors, which created this turbulent period. The second factor is probably the gradual rising of that firm of British merchants and adventurers, called the East India Company, to a place of supreme political power and influence among the split-up principalities of the time. And thirdly, there was also the quiet persistence of Indian conservatism of the village community, and the ties of religion and custom, holding out against the intrusion of a new time and new political ideals. This whole century presents the fearful spectacle of an almost unbroken series of political cataclysms and upheavals. Whether it will be possible to trace side by side with these violent changes in political history a somewhat orderly evolution of economic theory working out into definite economic institutions, laws and fixed customs, the following pages will show. The hectic history of the eighteenth century finally crystalized into the more even tenor of that of the ninteenth century; civil law and order finally succeeded racial feuds and political anarchy,and the Pax Britannica ended up the most prolonged period of bloodshed and misery that India in her long history had ever known. It will be necessary first of all to go a few centuries back tracing the meagre supply of materials which the Muhammadan historians provided for this period of India and Bengal. Much spade work will have still to be done to get a clearer view of the history of the semi-independent kingdom of this region, notably, that of Birbhum.

This whole region was known in Akbar's time as Madaran; under that name Abul Fazl in his famous Imperial Gazetter, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, lists what is now known as the larger portion of the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, with portions of Midnapur, Hughli and Howrah.

The Pargana System of Fiscal Administration

The most common unit of fiscal administration in Muhammadan India was the Pargana. In Akbar's famous gazetteer, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the term *pargana* is not used, the word *mahal* is substituted for it, and we are informed that the twelve provinces of the empire, as they existed then, contained 105 *sirkars*. Every *sirkar* was again subdivided into *mahals*, of which a total of 2,467 are enumerated.

Akbar and the Mughals were not the originators of this system of land division. Credit has been given to Sher Shah for adopting the pargana system uniformly all over his empire, but pargana seems to have existed in Sikandar Ludi's time and probably earlier. Kalika Ranjan Qanungo in his excellent 'Biography of Sher Shah' (Calcutta, 1921) thinks that the terms *mahal*, as used in Akbar's time, and *pargana*, are exactly equivalent. The empire in Akbar's time according to Abul Fazl, the composer of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, had 105 *sirkars*, with 2,737 *townships* (kasbahs), or, as Mr. Qanungo counts them, 86 *sirkars* with 2,467 *mahals*. Whether the system of *mahals* was kept up long is doubtful. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, as it is, has the appearance of a somewhat pedantic classification and systematization, which may or may not have existed in reality throughout all the empire. In the stormy times that followed the age of Akbar there was every chance for provincial administrative peculiarities to assert themselves, and by the time of the arrival of the British in Bengal there seems to have existed, at least in that province, a much larger number of parganas than can be accounted for by comparing any given part of Bengal of modern times with the corresponding part of Abul Fazl's list. (See, for instance, the original Twenty-four Parganas of the district which now goes by that name).[1]

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1 In North India the *Sirkar*, as an administrative unit, existed down to British times. In extant documents that have come to my knowledge, the Sirkars of *Sambhal, Kanauj, Karnaul* were mentioned in the second half of the 18th century. Even in Bengal, we find the Sirkar Srihatta (Sylhet) at least as late as 1685.

Again, take the present district of Birbhum which contains 22 *parganas*, 4 *tappas* (Haripur, Khirni, Nuni and Shah Alampur), 8 *taluks* and 1 *chakla* (Gokulta), a total of 35 units. That these different terms of administrative division have not always been used consistently, is certain. The District Gazetteer of Birbhum, for instance, calls Amdahara and Supur *taluks*, while in Sherwill's survey of 1855 Amdahara is called a *pargana*. It seems that the division into parganas not merely served fiscal purposes, but was also utilized in other departments. The village Amdahara, for instance, originally had the munsiff's court for this part of the district. As late as 1867, the court, which is now in Bolpur, was held in that out of the way village, about six miles to the north of Bolpur.

Even in upper India the farmans and deeds concerning landed property from Jahangir's time seem to use the term *pargana* throughout, rather than *mahal* (Cf., Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, 1926). The same seems to be the case in Bengal.

Much of the system of administration as found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* may have existed merely on paper. At any rate, the names of *sirkars*, and even whole provinces, kept changing their names and even their boundaries during the later Mughal age.

Madaran, one of the sirkars of Abul Fazl, including the greater part of the present Birbhum district with portions of neighbouring district, does not figure much after Akbar's time as an administrative unit. Most likely the rise and extension of the kingdom of Birbhum during that time, and the larger part of all Bengal becoming practically an independent kingdom not long after Aurangzib's time, had something to do with the disappearance of the name of Madaran from public records. In one of Bankim Chatterjee's novels, Durgeshnandini, there figures a fort, Garh Mandaran in Midnapur, indicating evidently the locality from which the name of the Sirkar had been derived.

Due to the institution of chaklas by Murshid Ali Khan, about 1722, and due also to other causes, the *Sirkars* of Bengal do not figure largely in history. On the whole, the endeavour of the Muhammadan rulers to substitute and emphasize the larger unit for the smaller, sirkars for parganas, chaklas for sirkars, and the subah as the unit covering a whole country, was not very successful in Bengal, due to the political disturbances and the existence of many semi-independent principalities.

From Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal (p. 428), we learn the name of one of the fiscal officers appointed by Sher Shah in this part of the country. The old Pandit's chronicle used by Hunter states as follows:

"Sher Shah made over *Soory* to Adoola, the son of Boduroolah. In 1540 Sher Shah with 500,000 (?) Afghans defeated Hoomaon at Canouj and mounted the throne of Delhi. In the following year he came to Gour and divided it into several districts, over each of which he placed a district ruler. These governors had a superior who adjusted disputes and acted as the Viceroy of Sher Shah."

This statement is essentially correct and refers to the institution of the fiscal system into sirkars and mahals as discussed above. What the relation of Adoola was to the later Muhammadan dynasty of Birbhum, I have not been able to trace.

The Riyazul-Salatin then tells us also the name of that chief officer placed in charge of the whole of Bengal. It was Qazi Fazilat, a scholar of Agra, who was set in a position of overlordship over these tribal chiefs. He is praised for his honesty and scholarship (p. 145).

But from Badauni, another Muhammadan historian, we learn that not all people shared this favourable estimate of Qazi's character, for some called him Qazi Fazihat which means *Ignominity* (p. 474).

The office of this Qazi was evidently of a judiciary kind. *Subahs* as administrative units were a Mughal creation. The Sur kings being a somewhat short-lived dynasty did not get time to consolidate their regime sufficiently so as to produce a standardised history of their own empire. The writing of their history was largely left to the mercy of the Mughal dynasty, and therefore as regards strict historical accuracy and fairness, the results were not always good. Men like Badauni wrote carefully, and on the whole truthfully, and if they could not, under the new regime, tell all they knew about the Sur dynasty, they certainly have preserved for us much of its history.

It would be interesting to trace back, as far as the rather insufficient material allows, the history of some of the geographical units of the Muhammadan revenue system. The tappa Haripur, for instance, includes Rajnagar, the old capital of the former kingdom of Birbhum. How did it happen that this region, settled by Muhammadans since early 13th century, has a Hindu name? Here is a matter for reflection and a field for investigation.

One of the oldest names of administrative units in this district is perhaps the Pargana Khatanga (or Hukmapur Taluk) which comprises the town of Suri. The close neighbourhood of Birsinghpur

to Khatanga seems to throw some light on the relation that must have existed between Rajnagar, the old capital of Birbhum, and Suri, the present headquarters of the district. Leaving aside traditions and old wives' fables, it is likely that the Afghan family of Shams Khan, the father of Asadullah Khan, having acquired some government post during Sher Shah's time or after, gradually took over the little Hindu kingdom of Birsinghpur. Such a principality actually existed and it is just as likely that they were the predecessors of the Muhammadan dynasty at Rajnagar and the real chieftains of that part of the country, rather than the legendary Hindu dynasty of Rajnagar of which Hunter, following local tradition, has found only one name, Bir Rajah, which is somewhat meaningless, or at least vague. There are, besides these two Bir dynasties, those of Birsinghpur and Suri, at least two or three more places beginning with Bir at various places in Birbhum and all these places seem well provided with traditions about dynasties of Bir Rajahs, and certainly can show ruins to substantiate their claims partly. So it seems a fair question, whether such places owe their name to certain individuals or families, or whether these families owe their designation to their local dwelling places and possessions.[1]

This much seems clear that the Hindus and the Muhammdans continued their struggle for supremacy all over West Bengal throughout the Muhammadan period. For this also the history of the adjacent principality of Burdwan (with its semi-independent Zemindars), and Bishnupur (with its old dynasty of ruling Hindu princes), furnish many proofs.

Mr. Mahimaranjan Chuckerburty of Hetampur Rajbati thinks that

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1 The first four rulers of the Birbhum dynasty (1600-1751) were known as Diwans, only their successors used the title Raja. Is this a clue of their original dependence on Birsinghpur?

There is a Raja Narendra Singha and a Kumar Birsingha as late as 1729, taking land on lease from the Rajnagar Raj. (See Mitra, Early Bengali Prose, p. 44).

Thus it would seem that strong Hindu influences are traceable in the region of the Morakhi river within the old Hindu parganas (or former principalities) of Maureswar, Khatanga and Haripur, while in the south, in the basin of the middle Ajay, we have the old pargana of *Senbhum* harking back traditionally to the pre-Muhammadan times and the renowned Sen dynasty in Bengal.

the Pargana of Alinagar in the neighbourhood of Hetampur originated as late as the 18th century taking its name from Ali Naki Khan, the son of Diwan Badi-ul-Zamam Khan (See his Birbhum Vivaraṇa, vol. I).

Another line of investigation that suggests itself is to trace some technical terms of office and fiscal administration from the time before Akbar through the Mughal period, down to the British times.

The Office of Shiqdar

The earliest reference to this office seems to be in Al-Badauni's *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*. According to this author, Sultan Bahlul Ludi of Delhi in 1479 A.D. appointed Shiqdars (Commissioners, as Ranking translates) in a newly conquered territory in the Doab (Ranking's Badauni, p. 479).

Qanungo mentions in his life of Sher Shah that Babar also appointed *Shiqdars* and futhermore quotes a passage from the Caitanya Caritāmṛta, which proves the existence of Shiqdars around Bṛndābana during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Ludi.

Qanungo goes on to say that in Sher Shah's time each *sirkar* (division) had a chief shiqdar and a chief munsif—the two heads of the military and civil departments respectively. It seems that in those days the chief munsif, beside his judicial capacity, was also in charge of the revenue system of his sirkar.

With the reign of Jahangir a change took place, at least in Bengal, in the administration of the country. The change was from a military administration to a civil government. In the first year of Jahangir's reign, according to Riyazul Salatin (p. 168, note) a *Nazim* and a *Diwan* were appointed for Bengal to replace the former office of *sipasalar* of Akbar's time.

The *Fauzdar* however continued as a police officer and magistrate in charge of several parganas, and how his office affected the land revenue system will be seen from the following extracts, one of which is from the Ain-i-Akbari, to show the underlying idea of revenue collection in Mughal times.

"Whenever a Zemindar, or a collector of the royal or *jagir* lands, is disobedient, he (the Fauzdar) shall endeavour to bring him back to his duty by fair words."

The subsequent passages go on, however, to lay down how military operations against such refractory and disobedient officers should be conducted.

"For a service which can be affected by infantry, he shall not employ cavalry. He must not be precipitate in attacking a fort but encamp his troops beyond the reach of its guns," etc. Even as late as 1788 a passage is on record which shows how, in some parts of India at least, the revenue had to be raised by the central government by sheer military force.

"Within a mile of the town Lissari I met with Fatehsingh's army, consisting chiefly of horse which collected the revenue from the district and the Cathyware (Kathiawad ?) country. I understand that Fatehsingh sends yearly an army of 20,000 horse to the inland districts, without which he could not obtain 'a single *Calam.*' (Dr. Hove, quoted in Whitworth's Anglo-Indian Dictionary).

It seems clear however that Bengal, even Western Bengal, with the exception of the border principalities of Bisnupur and Birbhum, in the eighteenth century, had become fairly normal as far as civil administration was concerned. While we hear of *Fauzdars* for most of the sections in Western Bengal—Mir Kasim had even appointed one for Birbhum—the separation between *executive* and *military* government on the one hand, and *civil* government entrusted with *finance* and *revenue* on the other, was fairly clear cut and consistent.

In Siva Ratan Mitra's Types of Early Bengali Prose, we have the *Shiqdar* clearly mentioned as a fiscal officer, together with the *Karkun.* These two, the *Shiqdar* and the *Karkun*, were in charge of the revenue department in each pargana. In the majority of cases both officers were Bengalees, usually Brahmins.

The papers showing this state of things range in date from 1707-1786 A.D. and relate to the following parganas, or smaller units, all in or around Birbhum :—Zayanjal, Ekbarshahi, Khatanga, Taluk Alinagar, Taluk Purandarpur. It is not clear whether these two *taluks* were in a class, as far as land tenure goes, different from the parganas, nor does this question concern us here.

The earliest of these records is the copy of a *sanad* made out by Raja Asadullah Khan of Birbhum (1697-1718 A.D.) who is styled *Diwan Sahib,* however, from the year 1707 A.D.

The Sanad is addressed to Vaikuntharam Datta, *Siqdar,* and Madhusudan Sarma, *Karkun,* and deals with 10 bighas of land in the Pargana of Khatanga, of which these two officials must have been in charge. (See Mitra, p. 54).

This goes to prove that the Siqdars had become revenue officers before Murshid Ali Khan's revenue reforms in 1722 A.D.

Zamindars

If our analysis were extended to the term and office of *Zamindars* we would find that the term and office underwent similar changes during the centuries.

Some writers have held that Zamindars originally were revenue officers, or tax collectors, pure and simple. This might have been the interpretation and meaning of the word as taken by the central government in the Muhammadan times. The actual practice, especially in the outlying districts of Bengal, in border principalities like Bisnupur, Birbhum, etc, even then was however quite different.

Here the Muhammadan fiscal ideal, as developed in upper India, came at once in conflict with Hindu tradition and practice of the centuries.

Especially in Western Bengal, the Hindu Zamindar always had been, or had tended to become, a hereditary landholder with growing administrative and judiciary powers, a semi-independent ruling chief. Sher Shah seems to have appointed or confirmed such semi-independent chiefs in certain principalities on the frontier of the empire, to keep in check the surrounding hill tribes of the present Santal Parganas and of the Chota Nagpur region.

The Aĭn-i-Akbari mentions Zamindary troops, which must have been Levies raised by the different sirkars of the empire not so much by imperial officers as by the local Zamindars. These Levies did hardly form a part of the regular Mughal army.

Whether these *Zamindars* of Akbar's time were considered an integral part of the fiscal system of the empire is not clear. The empire found them in existence, and dealt with them in the best way it could, not always gently, as they were not always willing to act as revenue officers of the empire, but rather preferred to keep the revenues of their territories for their own uses.

In Jahangir's time we find a deputy of the Nazim of Bengal going out in the interior to chastise some Zamindars in Orissa. (Riyazul-Salatin, p. 188).

As the Zamindars mentioned by the Riyazul-Salatin during the governorship of Azimush Shan, son of Aurangzib (1697-1704), are put together with *Amirs* and *Fauzdars*, they seem to have been considered regular imperial, rather than feudal, dependent revenue officers.

The scene was near Dacca and the passage says, "The Amirs,

Fauzdars and Zamindars, with appropriate contingents drawn from their respective mahals, presented themselves before the Prince with gifts and tributes, and accompanied the latter in his royal progress" (p. 239).

Azim-us-shan's rival and successor in the Nizamate of Bengal, Murshid Ali Khan, resumed all jagirs in Bengal, giving their former holders *jagirs* in Orissa instead (p. 249).

How that Nawab treated Zamindars who did not pay up their arreas of land-rent is well known. Also here the Riyaz seems to make a distinction between two different classes of defaulters. It says: "He used to thrust into this reservoir (of filth) the defaulting *Zamindars* and defaulting *Collectors of Revenue.*" The former I think are the hereditary Zamindars and the latter more recently appointed officials. Such instances could be multiplied by reference to the above authority, and to the *Tawarik Bangla* (Francis Gladwin's translation) which is a real treasure of concise, and at the same time, interesting information, to be used of course with care and discrimination.

The most curious case of how old terminologies are often at variance with changed conditions and with actual facts is found in Mitra, p. 61, in a *sanad* of the year 1782 A.C., made out by the Birbhum Raja just a few years before the British instituted the present Birbhum District,to the following officials of the *Pargana Zayanujal*:—

मुतषुद्धियान मह्त्मात् ओ आमेनान हाल ओ हस्तकबल ओ चौधरियान ओ कानुनगोयान ओ जमिदारान ओ तालुकदारान मोस्ताजेरान।

"Mutaṣuddhiyān mahatmāt o amenān hāl o hastakabal o chaudhariyān o kānungoyān o zemindārān o tālukdārān mostajerān.

To all these, the *sanad* announces that some 15 bighas of land had been transferred from some certain Sheik to his brother, agreeably to the *parwana* by the (late) Vedninda (Veda-denying) Muhummad Azd Zamā Khan, *Zamindar* of Birbhum.

Here the term Zemindar is used twice in the same document, once for the great landholder of Birbhum (Asad-ul-Zaman Khan 1752-1777 A.C. was the last real ruler of Birbhum) and then again the same term is applied to another sort of Zemindars, classed with all sorts of small obscure officials, village headmen and others.

Also in Birbhum the eighteenth century was a period of upheavals, a breaking up of the old order of things. The landed property of the Birbhum Raj was sold out to various parties, the Rajas of

Hetampur becoming its chief successors as Zemindars in western Birbhum. Political indiscretion of the more ambitious, resistance to the rising British power, internal intrigues and family feuds, incapability of the later scions, had their share in bringing about the downfall of this dynasty which had once fairly been on its way to political leadership in Bengal.

(*To be continued*)

GOTTLIEB SCHANZLIN

The Three Great Philosophers of Kerala*

I propose to describe here some of the traditions current amongst us, regarding the founders of the three theistic systems of philosophy, the three venerable figures of divine wisdom, I mean, Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and Pūrṇaprājña Madhvācārya. Regarding the first and the last of these, even traditions are few and far between, and consequently very brief notices alone must for the present suffice. But something more is possible regarding Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the most outstanding figure in the whole range of Sanskrit literature and a name to conjure with for poets and bhaktas and philosophers; and the aspects I propose to describe here this evening are not what have often been emphasised by every writer of Hindu religion and philosophy, but the peculiarly Malayali traits in the life and work of the great seer. I mean to set forth here the Malayali version of the great seer's life and to briefly dwell on what he has done for the material well-being of the Malayali society, and lastly to explain the all comprehending, the all including character of the superb system of philosophy elaborated by him. Any notice of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life and activity is itself a topic of absorbing interest and the aspects here presented must also be interesting not only for

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this reason, but also because these have not yet been emphasised, nor have been brought out to the forefront. This then is probably one reason why in every notice of the great seer's life and work, nothing is said about his contribution to the material well-being of a nation—a contribution that is neither mean nor insignificant. The popular ignorance of this aspect, namely that the saintly philosopher and bhakta has also figured as an eminent sociologist, has organised an enduring society of a very beneficent character is my best excuse for including a reference to this topic also. I propose to deviate from the chronological order and deal first with Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa, then with Madhvācārya and lastly with Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.

Prabhākara belonged to the Kīttolli Mana in Vedanāṭṭu-Grāmam. This family originally belonged to the Panniyūr Grāmam, but subsequently migrated from there on account of a religious schism, leading to the destruction of the Varāhamūrti temple at Panniyūr, which took place in the sixties of the sixth century as a tradition supported by the *Kalivācakam*, *cittacalanam*, would have it. This explains the statement that Prabhākara belonged to the Panniyūr sect and besides gives the earliest limit of our author. One incident of Prabhākara's school days is handed down by tradition and it may be recounted here. His *Guru* used to be exceedingly severe towards him, and in spite of all his efforts he could never win a smile, or nod of appreciation, from his teacher. The precocious lad took this attitude on the part of the teacher seriously to heart and resolved to murder his *Guru*. He got into his house and hid himself there. While he was awaiting there an opportune moment to commit the rash deed, he chanced to overhear his *Guru* singing his praises and prophesying that he was bound to be the greatest scholar of his day and the stoutest opponent of the alien creeds and faiths in the land. It was this conviction of his, he was telling his wife, that made him unnecessarily severe towards him and be such a cruel taskmaster, for thus alone he could draw out the best in him and fit him out for the life of stress and strain in store for him. This was too much for the *Śiṣya* to hear, this expression of opinion of his master, and he could contain himself no longer. The impulsive lad rushed to the feet of his master, and with tears in his eyes made a clean breast of all his wicked designs against him. He, then, enquired of his *Guru* what the *prāyaścittam* was for such a heinous crime, and he was told that he must burn himself in a fire made of husk. No sooner was expiatory rite announced than he prepared himself to undergo the ordeal. The *Guru*

persuaded him to desist, but no amount of persuasion on his part would prevent him from his stern resolve. There was the pyre got ready, and the lad, all the more brilliant for this his firm resolve, jumped into it. Thereupon, as a last measure of rescue, the *Guru* asked him to glorify the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the greatest of Karma-yogins. In obedience to this, the last behest of his teacher, he began a Kāvya, the *Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa*, the loveliest of Kāvyas. The Lord's name was sufficiently powerful to keep him unscathed in the blazing fire; it only exhausted itself, and the boy shone all the more radiant for the ordeal. Having thus washed off his sins, he continued his studies with redoubled vigour and gave the utmost satisfaction to his master. The same tradition makes it out that his real name was Sukumāra, and it is reported that one of the most sacred objects of worship in the Kumbalam Sabha Madham was the pair of slippers used by this great Ācārya. Local legends and traditions are not more prolific regarding Prabhākara.

Before I conclude my notes on Mīmāṃsā, I must make at least a passing reference to our subsequent contribution to this field of philosophy, and I shall confine myself to the notice of one particular family, I mean, the Payyūr Paṭṭa Mana. This family, familiarly known as Bhāṭṭa Mana or Paṭṭa Mana, may well be termed the central stronghold and the most prominent custodian of this śāstra; and naturally so, because it traces its descent from that redoubtable champion of Bhāṭṭamata, Maṇḍanamiśra,[1] who later subscribed to the Advaita creed under the overpowering logic and brilliant eloquence of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. About a thousand years after the time of Prabhākara, i.e., about the 16th century, Bhaṭṭa Mana came out into the full limelight of scholarly eminence and was able to count amongst the children well nigh a dozen of first rate scholars. Ṛṣi, Saṅkara and Bhavadāsa were brothers, of whom only the eldest, Ṛṣi, following the local custom, married, and through his wife Gaurī begot eight sons and one daughter. Of these eight children, the eldest was Parameśvara who is also known as Mīmāṃsā Cakravarti. He is the author of many works, the following being so far known: (1) A commentary called Pradīpa on Śabara Bhāṣya, (2) A commen-

1 Cf. the concluding verses of the commentary on Sphoṭa Siddhi:
Maṇḍanācāryakṛtayo yenādhīyanta kṛtsnaśaḥ/
tadvaṃśyena mayāpyeṣā racitārādhya devatām//

tary on Maṇḍanamiśra's Sphoṭa Siddhi; (3) A commentary on Kāśikā; (4) A brief commentary on Jaimini, called Mīmāṃsāsūtrārthasaṃgraham; (5) A commentary on Nītitattvāvirbhāva of Cidānanta; and (6) A commentary on Tattvabindu, called Tattvabhavana. This Parameśvara is, be it noted, a disciple of Śaṅkara and Bhavadāsa, uncles or Appans, as they are called here. Another brother is Nārāyaṇa, who is the author of a commentary on Maṇḍanamiśra's Bhāvaviveka and Vibhramaviveka. Still another brother is a Vasudeva who is the author of a number of works, of which the following are now known: (1) Devīcaritam, a Yamaka Kāvya, in praise of his family patron goddess; (2) Satyatapaḥ, Kathā dealing with the story of Satyatapas, or Maharṣi, one of the ancestors of the family; (3) Śivodayam, dealing with the life of himself and his eight brothers; (4) Acyutalīlā, a kāvya in praise of his family deity, Śrī Kṛṣṇa; (5) Kaumārilayuktimālā, being a narrative of the principles as maintained in the arguments of Kumārila in his Mīmāṃsāvārttika. Bhavadāsa, one of their uncles, is the author of a commentary on the Kalpasūtras, while Viṣṇu, another member of the family, is the author of a work known as Nyāyatattvasaṃgraham, and a cousin of Nārāyaṇa commented upon it; he is also the author of a ṭīkā, a commentary on Kumārila Ślokavārttika. Again another Nārāyaṇa, a son of Viṣṇu, is the author of a commentary, called Viṣamagranthabhedikaṭīkā, on Maṇḍana's Bhāvanāviveka. The eight brothers, the two uncles, and the two cousins lived in the same age and naturally gave great lustre to the family. It needs scarcely be said that these brothers and cousins were not unworthy successors of their glorious progenitor.

The only sister of the eight brothers was also not void of her greatness; for her son is the great Meppatur Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri, one of the greatest poets and grammarians of Kerala. While a detailed notice of this author I must reserve for another occasion I must preforce refer to an interesting anecdote. It was the custom amongst the brothers for all of them to meet together on the anniversary day of their beloved father, and it was a convention amongst them that they must each produce an original Śāstric work, before they could take part in the ceremony. Our poet also used to attend this meeting of the brothers, and on one occasion he placed before them a work, known as Bhūtidhāraṇakhaṇḍanam and presented it to the brothers. Before the brothers would proceed to the performance of their parent's Śrāddha ceremony, they sat down and controverted every one of the arguments brought forward by Bhaṭṭatīri. They

convinced him, and he was forced to destroy his treatise. Whatever be the truth of this tradition, one thing is certain, and that is, that Bhaṭṭatīri was not only a follower of the Bhāṭṭa school, but is probably the only original Malayali writer on this school of Mīmāṃsā Darśana after his uncles. He is the author of the Māna part of the work Mānameyodaya, while Meya was written by another Nārāyaṇa Bhusura, a protege of the Zamorin, Manaveda of Calicut, who lived towards the latter half of the 17th century. This work is an important treatise in support of the Bhāṭṭa school, and is quoted as an authority. One more work on this school of philosophy also is available, ascribed to a Malayali, and that is a treatise of the nature of a commentary on the Murāri school of Mīmāṃsā by a Nambutīripad, belonging to the famous Kūṭallūr Mana. No further details about the work and its author are available.

Other than these and the works of Prabhākara, our land has not produced any contribution to develop the Mīmāṃsā Darśana, at least so far as is now available. This may appear at first strange, especially when it is remembered that our land has produced a number of scholars in other branches of Sanskrit learning. It is possible that some works may yet be discovered, but even then our contribution in this field must necessarily be small, because of our innate and natural respect for the old and the traditional in all religious matters. In concluding this subject, I have only to state that the existence, side by side, of the two schools of Mīmāṃsā philosophy has coloured the Śrauta and Smārta rites of the Nambutīri Brahmins to an appreciable extent, and this deserves yet to be estimated. This is the least explored of the branches of enquiry that our land opens out to the research student, and since its enquiry is bound to be interesting it invites a number of scholars for its exploration.

Coming to the Dvaita school of philosophy, its founder is Pūrṇaprajña Madhvācārya, a name which is rightly held in great esteem by a large section of Hindus. The son of Madhyageha Bhaṭṭācārya, Vāsudeva—this was the real name of the Ācārya—was born in the year 4300 K.E. i.e., in or about 1198 A.D. at Pājakakṣetra, near Udipi, through the grace of the Lord enshrined in that seat of religion. His Upanayana ceremony was celebrated in his eighth year, and he was educated by a Brahmin teacher, belonging to the family of Kavungumtoṭṭam. Naturally endowed with a religious turn of mind, he left his home in his eleventh year and, repairing to the sacred shrine of Rajatapiḍha at Udipi, became the disciple of the venerable sage

Śrī Acyuta Prekṣācārya. Not long after, with the due permisson of his parents, he accepted Sannyāsa from him, and in course of time became raised to the stage of a Paramahaṃsa and studied meanwhile the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas and the various Kalās. Thus his native genius became well endowed with śāstric learning and richly developed by religious training, which eminently fitted him for reforming the Hindu religion, so as to make it appeal to the multitude. It was while his *Guru* was expounding Śrimad Bhāgavatam that Vāsudeva Paramahaṃsa, now called Madhvācārya, first showed in public his original views. On that occasion, he put forth an exposion of the text as original as it was independent, and supported it with a wealth of arguments that could not be overcome. His views were naturally accepted by his *Guru* and his Śiṣyas, and these acclaimed him as a religious leader. Better known thereafter as Pūrṇaprājña, literally *filled with true knowledge*, he made a tour all over India, announcing his view of religion and philosophy and gaining new converts everywhere. On his return, he wrote a Gītā-Bhāṣya from the Dvaita point of view, and then repaired to Badari for a course of penance. The result of his stay there was the production of a Sūtra Bhāṣya and Bhāratārtha-prakāśikā, which he completed after his return to Udipi. It was again during one of his tours that he came across Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya, the then redoubtable champion of the Advaita school and converted him to maintain and uphold his new philosophy. Besides Trivikrama, he had a number of disciples of no mean attainments. All these he ordained as Paramahaṃsas and assigned them each to a particular temple founded by him to propagate his tenets. Another aspect of the great seer's activity consisted in founding a number of temples and in elaborating a new code of temple rituals, in which the Tāntric and Mantric codes were harmoniously blended together. Having thus discharged his mission in life, he laid down his mortal coil at Udipi in 5278 K.E.

This in a nutshell is the information that I have been able to get regarding the seer Pūrṇaprājña Madhvācārya. Considering his life and work, one is inclined to find in him not an intellectual giant, evolving a new philosophy, to serve as the sheet anchor for the Hindu religion, but a lovable personality of a lofty type, evolving a philosophical religion of a particular character, intended not to satisfy the superior intellingentia but the ordinary layman, and making his appeal not so much to reason as to emotion. Prabhākara's work appealed

only to a particular class of people, the Brahmins; though Śrī Śaṅkarācārya excluded none from his cult, it appealed only to the higher intellectual circle and practically affected only those who had *Vedānta-vicāra* by birth-right. Consequently, these revivals did not affect the vast majority of ordinary Hindus, and they were none the better off for them. These do not help the ordinary man to see and feel religion, do not supply him with a personal god to satisfy the natural cravings of the soul for the same; and no wonder, therefore, that the systematised teachings of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, as expounded by Prabhākara, and those of Uttara Mīmāṃsā, as expounded by Śaṅkara, both alike failed to make the necessary religious appeal to the seething multitude, on whom the impression of the Buddhistic and Jainistic tenets was still afresh. It was time therefore that some reformation was introduced into the practical religion of the masses—a work which fell to the lot of Madhvācārya to achieve. He categorically enunciated a personal God, and thus helped to satisfy the natural cravings of all; raised up temples and elaborated a code of temple rituals which was the result of the harmonious fusion of the Mantric and Tāntric rites, and which, to the ordinary man, was as grand as it was solemn; he threw open the doors of salvation to all alike by insisting on Śraddhā and Bhakti as instruments thereof; and finally supported the edifice of his new cult by postulating a new philosophy. Easy to understand, easy to practice and potent in its appeal, this new cult soon became popular amongst a considerable section of Hindus, to whom a blind orthodoxy denied the privileges of Vedic rituals and Vedāntic lore. It will thus be seen that Madhvācārya's work consisted in supplying a systematised religion to the average Hindus. In other words, then, while Prabhākara Guru and Śrī Śaṅkarācārya saved Hinduism, Madhvācārya saved a large section of Hindus falling away from it. The cult propagated by him may, therefore, be characterised as being the natural and legitimate supplement to the work of his great predecessor—a cult which in character and tone is more religious than philosophical.

We have already referred to Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya, one of the greatest disciples of Madhvācārya, and a passing reference to this author cannot be out of place in this context, especially because there is a concensus of local tradition that this school was supplied with its concrete śāstric basis through the writings of this disciple. This Nambutīri Brahmin, better known as Kāvu Bhaṭṭatīri, is a distinguished scion of Kāvu Mana, one of the well known aristocratic

families of North Malabar. He was originally a staunch Advaitavādin and in the flush of his śāstric proficiency, he went to see the great seer with the evident purpose of arguing with him and squashing his new system of philosophy. Madhvācārya soon divined his ulterior motives and accordingly brought forward an opportunity to start discussion. Glad of the opportunity, he soon began his discussion, but found the seer more than a match for all his learning and śāstric grit. The discussion went on unabated for fifteen days, and at last Trivikramācārya had to yield to Madhvācārya, and embrace his creed. Possessed of a high order of intelligence and a higher order of śāstric attainments, this new convert became the pet disciple of the master and the chief spokesman of this school. The result was that while the seer contented himself with outlining his system, it was the great Trivikrama who developed and elaborated his master's creed, and raised it to a position of śāstric equality with the Advaita philosophy. It will thus be seen that Kāvu Bhaṭṭatīri, as he is popularly called, occupies in this school the same position that Sureśvara occupies in the system of Advaita philosophy. He is, therefore, looked upon as the *śāstrakāra* of the Dvaita school, one of the most important of his works being Tattvapradīpa, and is naturally treated with as much respect as the founder himself is.

One more feature I wish to notice here—a feature noticeable in the family of Trivikramācārya. Kāvu Mana, as it is known, follows even to-day both the Advaita and the Dvaita schools of philosophy. When the members of the family are in the Vaṭikkini, or the northern wing of the house, they are Dvaitas and they strictly conform to the code of conduct laid down for the Dvaitas, while elsewere in the house they are Advaitas. This is something very unique, and could be seen only in our land. It is said that from the northern wing of this house north-wards to the end of Kerala, Dvaitism predominates ; it is practically the only creed available. Thus this house is the meeting place of both Advaita and Dvaita, and nowhere is the difference between these schools more distinctly seen than here. It is also significant to point out that the two schools have here a common meeting ground and this, therefore, is a further confirmation of the fact that the Dvaita school is but a necessary supplement to the Advaita school. A local study in the place of its origin and the traditions of this unique family, I mean Kāvu Mana, will help us to a considerable extent to reconstruct the environments in which this seer spent his life and had his being. But these I must preforce leave

to take up on a future occasion. With these cursory words, I shall pass on to one of the greatest of world's philosophers, I mean Śrī Śaṅkarācārabhagavatpadācārya to briefly glance at his life and work.

The Malayalis have their own version of the life of the seer of divine wisdom. I have also been able in the course of my archæological researches to come across a small Kāvya, called 'Śaṅkarācārya-Caritam', embodying the Malayali version. The work is written by one Govindanātha Yati, probably a Sannyāsin, but decidedly a Malayali. He may probably be identified with the Govindanātha of *Karikāṭ grāmam*, the disciple of Rama Warriar, who has written the Yamaka-Kāvya-Gaurikalyāna. There is in it neither the frenzied flight of imagination, nor the pompous exaggeration, but it is characterised by a native simplicity, which fits but too well with the greatness of the theme. The contents of the work are, in the words of the author, as follows:—

nibandhanam idam puṇyam adhyāyanavakānvitam/
karomi yativaryasya nideśaṃ samupaśritaḥ/
kathāsaṃkṣepa evādye dvitīye' dhyāya udbhavaḥ/
tṛtīye vyāsasallāpas turye prākśiṣyasambhavaḥ/
śureśvarasya śiṣyasya sannyāsaḥ pañcame tataḥ/
ṣaṣṭhe tu hastāmalakatroṭakābhikhyaśiṣyayoḥ/
saptame muktidāyinyāḥ kāñcyā māhātmyakīrtanam/
rāmeśvarakathākhyānaṃ sarvapāpaharaṃ tataḥ/
sarvajñānanidhes tasya śaṅkarācāryayoginaḥ/
navame paramānandasāyujyam anuvarṇitam/

In the contents of the work, as also in the general tone, the author has preserved an epic style. The date of the work and the details of the author are not yet available. But from the general tenor of the composition, one inclines to assign it to not later than the 17th century.

The revered Jagat Guru was born of a devout couple, originally hailing from the Panniyur Grāmam[1] and then living at Kalati on the banks of the Alwaye River. Then

sevyamāno mahādevas tābhyāṃ bibhrad dvijākṛtim/
ātmānaṃ darśayāmāsa tasmai svapne kadācana/
kiṃ tvaṃ vāñchasi vipreti suprṣṭhena dvijanmanā/
kāṃkṣāmi putram ity uktaś śambhuḥ provāca taṃ tadā/

1 Vide the statement in Śivarahasyam
'Kerala śalalagrāme viprapatnyāṃ madaṃśajaḥ'—iti.

putraṃ sarvaguṇopetam ekaṃ sarvajñam eva vā/
apīcchasi bahūn putrān viparītān mahīsura/
evam ukto mahīdevas taṃ dvijaṃ punar abravīt/
ahaṃ vāñchāmi sarvajñaṃ putram ekam guṇākaram/
ittham ukto babhāṣe taṃ dvijaveṣo maheśvaraḥ/
tathaivāstu suto dhīmān sarvajñas tava bhūsura/
tvaṃ gaccha gṛham ity ukta starasā pratibudhya saḥ/
svapriyāṃ vipravaryas tāṃ svapnavṛttāntam abravīd/—iti.

It will thus be seen that the blessed Śaṅkara was born under divine auspices and under divine inspiration. He lost his father before he was five years old, and he conducted the Śrāddha ceremony of his father, as does every Nambutīri now, for a year, and then had his Upanayana ceremony performed. After this he devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular, till his 16th year, and it is only after this that he left his native land and went to Benares to get himself ordained. According to our tradition, and as recorded in this work, the great seer had his complete education in the land of his birth and had the stable foundations of his wonderful intellectual attainments laid in Kerala. Again, our tradition makes it out that the great spiritual leader came back to his native land to lay down his mortal remains. After ascending the Sarvajñapīḍham at Kāñcī and after worshipping at the holy shrine at Rāmeśvaram, he turned his steps to his native land. Here the seer of divine wisdom saw that his end was near and gladly prepared himself for the inevitable. I shall not better describe the last moments of the Revered Guru than in the words of the author:

mahānubhāvaḥ svaiḥ śiṣyaiḥ pratasthe śaṅkaras tataḥ/
tataḥ kṣetrāṇi punyāni tīrthāni ca niṣevya saḥ/
krameṇa śiṣyasaṃyuktaḥ vṛśācalam avāptavān/
tatra dakṣiṇakailāse nivasann ekadā guruḥ/
jñātvā nijaśarīrāntaṃ sahaśiṣyaiḥ prasannadhīḥ/
kāsāre paścime snātvā natvā tratyam īśvaram/
śrīmūlasthānam āsādya cakre tasya pradakṣiṇam/
gopureṇāntar āviśya kṛṣṇaṃ natvā yatīśvaraḥ/
vāhanendraṃ purārāteḥ gatvā vṛṣabham ānamat/
keralāvanikartāraṃ hartāraṃ sarvabhūbhṛtām/
so'namat bhārgavaṃ rāmaṃ nṛṇām avanatatparam/
nṛttam bhagavataḥ śambhor natvā nataphaṇīśvaram/
uttareśam umākāntam pārvatīṃ ca vināyakam/
yathāvad vandanam kṛtvā maṇḍapeṣu nanāma saḥ/

bahūni stotramukhyāni devatritayavandane/
cakre śrīśaṅkarācāryaḥ bhṛśaṃ bhaktisamanvitaḥ/
... ...
yadakārṣam ahaṃ pāpaṃ tat sarvaṃ hara ! saṃhara/
devatrayam iti stutvā bhāṣamānaṃ vṛṣācale/
śiṣyaiḥ saha mahāyogī pradeśe kutracid guruḥ/
niviṣṭaḥ suprasannātmā sarvam āpādamūrdhajam/
yathāvat cintayāmāsa vaiṣṇavaṃ rūpam ādarāt/
... ...
viveśa paramānandaṃ bhānubimbāntarasthitam/

It will be clear from the above quotation that the Jagat Guru spent his last moments in the sacred temple at Trichur, and his remains are deposited in the spacious Matilakam of this temple, the exact site being marked out for posterity by the erection of flat, carrying the symbols of Mahāviṣṇu and this version is supported also by a persistent tradition. This view is again borne out by a piece of indirect evidence. Parameśvara of the Payyūr Mana, we have already referred to, says that his family is descended from Maṇḍana Miśra, or Sureśvara, as he is called in later life. The presence of Sureśvara's family near Trichur lends additional weight to the view set forth above. And the holy presence of the mortal remains of the venerable Jagat Guru is probably the main reason why this temple has come to be regarded as one of the most important in all Kerala.

For the rest, our version does not materially differ from that of others, except in this that three out of his four principal disciples are Keraliyas, Padmapada being a Nambutiri Brahmin, belonging to Alattur Grāma, Viṣṇuśarmā by name. I shall not further dilate on this topic, but shall conclude with the statement that the Jagat Guru was a subject of the kingdom ruled over by the Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam, the present Cochin Royal family, and that the king at the time of the seer was Rājarāja according to our author, who before long was succeeded by Rājaśekhara, the great poet and dramatist and the contemporary of the Revered Seer.

One particular incident in the life of the Jagat Guru I cannot help referring to here, especially because that gave him the opportunity to interfere in the social order of the Malayalis which is probably the most unique of its kind. The incident I have in mind is the cremation of his beloved mother. Branded as a revolutionary for his new philosophy, Śaṅkarācārya at this time was not very popular amongst the local leaders, with their love for the old and traditional. Natu-

rally, therefore, they did not co-operate with him and help him to give a proper and religious cremation to his mother. He was thus forced to do it all by himself and in his own way. This was one reason which turned him to evolve a new social organisation for Kerala. It might also be that he addressed himself to this work, because he was probably one of those who believed that a nation's spiritual advancement directly depended upon its material prosperity and that the true and genuine philosopher must not merely lay down rules for the former, but try to ensure the latter also; and the particular incident gave the needed oportunity. Naturally, therefore, he took up this work and did it in the superb way, so characteristic of himself. That a philosopher of his intellectual calibre, that a seer of his divine wisdom, that a Bhakta of his spiritual attainments, always steeped in the visions of the supreme Godhead, should have turned his attention to the work of recasting and reorganising a social edifice, may at first appear incongruous. But it deserves to be remembered that it is not given to all to found a beneficent and enduring social edifice; it requires the true vision of a philosopher, and it is possible only for spiritual authorities like the revered Śaṅkara to do it. Whatever be the motive, whatever be the incongruity, there is a unique social edifice set up by the revered Jagat Guru in the land of his birth—a social edifice with its numerous Anācārams, as they are called, with its numerous rules and regulations to guide mutual social relations, which are radically different from those obtaining in Hindu societies elsewhere and which, therefore, stands unique by itself. And it is this edifice that is directly responsible for all the achievements of the Malayalis. The founding of this new social order, a grateful nation has commemorated by founding an era, the Kolla Varṣa, which starts from the date expressed in the chronogram '*Ācāryavāgabhedyaḥ*'.

The few historical peeps that we get of Kerala lead us to presume that the period of the Jagat Guru was a period of great religious turmoil and unrest in the land and that the society stood in need of an eminent social legislator. The popular religion of the land, Buddhism, was in the first place shaken by the incoming of Jainism and when Prabhākara, the brilliant exponent and vigorous champion of the Mīmāṃsā Darśana came, these faiths were suppressed, and the superiority of Hinduism again asserted. Religion colours to a very great extent the social life of the individual, and it is especially so in India, the land of religions and philosophies; and while it is

easy to change one's religion, it is not generally easy to change one's social customs and manners. When the venerable Ādi Guru appeared on the scene, the prevailing religion of the land was Hinduism. But it may legitimately be supposed that the social life of the mass must have been not only not full of non-Hindu elements, but also must have been charactrised by a host of divergent faiths and cults, forms and rituals, customs and manners. And these, it is also likely, must have been accentuated through the presence of even non-Hindu religions prevalent in the land, namely Christanity, Judaism and even Muhammadanism. The influence of so many religions, indigenous and foreign, each colouring the social life of the masses in its own way, must necessarily have produced a very confused and complex social order.

The confusion caused by the presence of a diversity of faiths and creeds was only enhanced by the existence of a number of castes and sects and sub-sects even within the orthodox fold, composed of even different racial elements. The result is that the orthodox Hindu fold of Kerala is composed of at least two different races, the Aryans and the Dravidians, the former comprising the high-caste Hindus and the latter, the lower orders, including the untouchables and unapproachables. These three distinct layers are: (1) the Nambutīris or the priestly hierarchy which developed into the wealthy aristocracy, apparently exclusive by nature; (2) the Nairs, the old military hierarchy, later grown into the wealthy middle class, and (3) the unapproachables, the conquered race, the original indigenous sons of the soil who occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. Between these three district layers stand the intermediate sects, the Ambalavisis between the first two, and the professional castes between the last two. And all these sects, the main ones and the intermediate ones, are found again divided up into a number of sub-sects—probably each has as many as 18 sub-divisions with characteristic differences in their social and socio-religious practices. Add to this also the Kṣatriya element, surviving in the branch now known as Tirupads and in the royal families of Kerala. It will thus be seen that we have a diversity of sects and sub-sects, and this suggests some original diversity, racial or religious or professional, the low-caste Hindus bespeaking a racial difference, the Ambalavasis, a religious one, and the sects below the Nairs, a professional one.

Enough now has been said to show that profuse was the diversity prevailing within the orthodox society in the land, and the

period of the venerable Jagat Guru which witnessed a general unsettling of religions and faiths and philosophies was a period, when there was a great necessity and abundant scope for a complete reconstruction of the social edifice. The complete conversion of even those professing non-Hindu religions, their assignment to certain fixed places in the reformed orthodox Hindu fold, the laying down of rules and regulations to govern the social and socio-religious practices and relations of the various elements constituting the society of old—in other words, the reformation and the re-organisation of the complex, confused and heterogenous theistic society into an ordered, interrelated and homogenous whole with the proper safeguards to maintain the purity of the racial elements possessing a higher culture and to afford opportunity to the lower stock to adequately benefit by the presence of a higher cultured race—such in brief is the work achieved by, and ascribed to, the venerable seer, Śrī Śaṅkarabhagavadpādācārya, a work the execution of which was characterised by the vision of a profound sociologist, moved by a dynamic desire to raise society to a higher and nobler state of existence, mental, moral and spiritual.

This is not the place to go into further details about the peculiarities of our society, especially because I have already referred to a few of these in a previous context. The social structure obtaining in our land is entirely different from the same obtaining elsewere, so much so that *paradesis* have styled our land the land of Anācārams. Of the 64 rules laid down for the couduct of Hindu societies, our Hindu brethren elsewhere have sixty ācārams, and four anācārams, whereas we have, in their eyes, 60 anācārams, and four ācārams. This, I believe, will make sufficiently clear the wonderful originality of our social organisation, as much as it does our great difference in social life, as compared with our Hindu brethren elsewhere. Among the numerous beneficient results, I shall here refer to some. The first is the sense of exuberant religious toleration and the complete absence of religious bias and prejudice. The second, no less important, is the elevation of the non-Brahminical castes to a position of cultural and intellectual superiority with the Brahmins. A statistical survey of original authors amongst us, whether it be in the field of Sanskrit or Vernacular, will reveal the astounding fact that the majority of them are non-Brahmins, which eloquently proves that the Nambutīri Brahmin, often styled as orthodox, bigotted and selfish was different from his compeer elsewhere

in India. The third is the creation of a leisure class amongst all sects and creeds, with cultural capacities and with opportunities for developing its culture. The fourth result has been to ensure a permanency of wealth, which held out to one and all an adequate supply of all the necessaries of life, and which tended to give the land a stable prosperity.

I have in the preceding section explained that the revered Jagat Guru was not a mere visionary philosopher, dealing in abstruse theories, but also a man of the world and of an eminently practical nature. The practicality of the seer that is seen in organising a beneficent social edifice for the material well-being of the people of his fatherland is also to be found in a perceptible degree in the elaboration of a system of philosophy for the spiritual well-being of the human race.

The one peculiar aspect of this philosophy, the most fundamental, as appears to me, a layman in the field, is that every Hindu cult and creed, every Hindu ritual aud practice has, and if need be can have, a recognised place in Śaṅkara's system. The various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite, the various religious rites and practices, Vedic, Tantric and Mantric, have all a fixed and allotted place in the system of philosophy elaborated by the Revered Guru, and in accepting this philosophy there is no need for anyone to change or give up one's favourite personal gods, and favourite religious practices. So comprehensive has been this system that even the historically later school of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita can find comfortable berths reserved for them. This school, therefore, appears to be one of the widest, the most accommodative, the most comprehensive, and consequently the most assimilative, of all systems of philosophy ever devised by the genius of a man for the spiritual betterment of mankind. And this aspect has come to stamp itself on the system elaborated by the revered Śaṅkara as a result of the enviroments, religious and social. The seer sees and accepts the diversity apparent in the world, but searches for, and finally postulates, a fundamental unity underlying all this diversity, and, therefore, maintains that the God-soul and the man-soul, the universal soul and the individual soul, are one and the same. He realises the transitoriness of every material and temporal phenomenon and sees absolute permanency only in the supreme Godhead, and, therefore, maintains that there is only one thing that is always true in the whole universe, and that is the supreme Godhead.

Everything else, everything other than the supreme Godhead is characterised by *Mithyātvam*. But this, be it noted, is a *qualified Mithyātvam*, for he maintains a *Vyāvahārikanityatvam* for the world and its phenomena. In other words, while he claims absolute Nityatvam only for the supreme soul, he willingly assigns relative Nityatvam to the world and its phenomena and this relative Nityatvam continues to exist for one and all of us, so long as we are not blessed with the true *Jñāna*. Thus, until this moment—the supreme moment in the life of the individual, when he becomes blessed with the true knowledge, the whole world is real and permanent, and we have to conduct ourselves as such. It is this aspect of his philosophy, that has given it its all-comprehending nature.

This all-comprehending, all-including character of the philosophy, elaborated by the revered seer which definitely tends to absorb all sorts of differences between various creeds and faiths, cults and practices, is given expression to in an eloquent measure in the life led by the noble seer. Himself a *Jīvanmukta*, yet to set an example to the less fortunate, he appears to have visited every place of worship by which he ever happened to pass, whether the shrine be dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu or Bhagavatī. Though his personal God was Śiva, yet every temple, at least in Kerala, coming down from that remote antiquity does even to-day cherish some sweet memories of the holy presence of the divine seer in keeping up a particular festival or particular ritual, or in chanting a particular hymn of praise, associated with the seer. The revered seer was the highest *jñānī*, the seer and knower of the absolute truth, the truth divine, and as such, was practically above all rites and rituals; yet he is said to have participated, not passively but actively, in all kinds of rituals, Tantric and Mantric, as the occasion demanded, even though his natural predilections were in favour of the Vedic type. Preaching and elaborating a system of philosophy, which insists on *Jñāna* as the sole means of Mokṣa, he is at the same time the author of the treatise, *Prapañcasāram*, which is even to-day the highest, the standard and the most authoritative text-book on Mantric rituals. In his system of philosophy he postulates a *Nirguṇa Brahma*, and yet he always is an *upāsaka* of the *Saguṇa Brahma*, elaborated and conceived in thousand forms. Ever and anon falling into *Samādhi*, the vision beatific, the vision of the supreme Godhead in all its naked truth and glory, he is the ever awake bhakta pouring out, from the inexhaustible fountain of his heart, garlands after

garlands of devotional hymns which do not appear to have even been rivalled for the ease and elegance of language, for the simplicity and beauty of diction. for the general poetry and sweetness of expression, for the boldness and originality of poetic conception and the loftiness and profoundity of ideas. Himself a Brahmin of the highest social status in Kerala—for he belonged to one of the *Aṣṭhagṛahattil Āḍhyans*—he was ever ready to respect and honour the veriest Caṇḍāla, not to speak of a Śūdra, an aspect that is beautifully illustrated in his sweet hymn of praise *Manīṣa Pañcaka*; knowledge, true knowledge, was the sole and only basis of greatness and not the artificial status given by birth in a superior caste, and consequently the Śūdra Vidura, the caste-less Nanda, and the down-trodden Caṇḍāla—these arrest his attention and elicit his encomium. His was a heart filled with the milk of human kindness, and the never failing stream flowed on to all human beings, nay to all life. It was this more than anything else that enabled him, in spite of his being always absorbed in the spiritual world, to see and know the world so minutely as he has done which is so abundantly illustrated by his very brilliant poem, the *Mohamudgaram*. He is thus as much of this world as he is of the other world, as much in this world as he is out of it, as much a practical man as he is a theoretical philosopher. Here, then, is a practical religionist, a visionary philosopher, a devout Bhakta, all combined in one—a supremely unique combination. He is at the same time the highest type of Karma Yogin, the highest type of Jñāna Yogin, all fused into one.

Naturally, therefore, in embracing Śaṅkara's philosophy, there is no need for any one to cast off one's favourite gods and creeds and rituals. Unalloyed devotion i.e., Bhakti, to one's personal God, the due discharge of one's religious duties and observances, the proper performance of one's Upāsanās, with all the elaboration of Vaidic or Tantric or Mantric rituals, these are not only tolerated, but are laid down as an essential necessity, to give the person bound spiritual-wise, the requisite mental purity, which is a necessary prelude for the realisation of the true Jñāna, embodied in the expressiou, *TAT-TVAMASI*, in the wake of which follows mokṣa or final beatitude. The Vaiṣṇavites, the Śaivites and the Śākteyas, the Mīmāṃsakas, the Viśiṣṭādvaitas and the Dvaitas, the Vaidikas, the Tantrikas and the Mantrikas, all these and others yet to come, irrespective of their faith or creed or practice, have a place in the wonderful comprehensive system of philosophy, evolved and perfected by the revered Śaṅkara.

K. R. PISHAROTI

A Bell-Capital from Bhuvaneśvara

Lying beside the tank to the west of the temple of Rameśvara at Bhuvaneśvara is a bell-capital of an early date, which offers interesting addition to our knowledge of early art and architecture in Orissa. It must have, at one time, adorned the top of a pillar like the lāts of Aśoka, and like the bell-capitals of the same lāts it must have supported the sculptured figure of some animal, the practice of setting up figures of divinities in human form on tops of pillars not coming in vogue before the Gupta period.

The earliest specimen of plastic art in Orissa is the figure of the elephant standing guard, as it were, over the edict-bearing rock at Dhauli. It is in the imperial style of Aśoka, characterized by the same naturalism appearing on other examples of Mauryan art, and owes its origin to the artistic enthusiasm of Aśoka. The rock-cut caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri come next in date, and owe much to the initiative of Khāravela, who had marched to Central India and Magadha[1] and had been no doubt influenced by the artistic activities of those regions at the time. This is apparent from the influences of the Mathurā, the North Western and the Central Indian Schools of art, recognizable in the sculptures adorning these caves.[2] To this list we may add the capital illustrated herewith, which undoubtedly had its prototype in the Mauryan phase of Perso-Hellenistic art developed in Northern India.

As in the Mauryan, the bell proper of this capital resembles a flower in its general shape, the height of this portion being about 32″, the circumference near the upper bulging area being about 19′5″. Below the bell is a frieze 5″ high, decorated in relief with the stem of a creeper, with the lotus, the lion, the crane and some fabulous animals appearing between its meanders. Above the bell is a prominent torus about 9″ high, curiously decorated, though the profile of the moulding is not modified. Between this and the animal sculpture, which must have stood above, but which can no longer be traced, is the abacus, about 6″ high with its edges broken off. The surmounting sculpture fitted into the mortise on this abacus is 38″ long × 30″ broad.

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1 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 535-37, 600, 602.

2 Ibid., p. 641.

In spite of its general agreement with the Mauryan capitals, the Bhuvaneśvara specimen has the following peculiarities :—

1 It is not of the buff-coloured sandstone of Chunar usually employed by the Mauryan artists but of a coarse-grained stone rather gray in colour.

2 Unlike the Mauryan capitals it is not of the same block of stone as the animal sculpture which must have stood above it.

3 Unlike the Mauryan capitals it has a sculptured frieze on its lower edge below the petals of the bell. And this frieze consists of a meandering creeper somewhat resembling that on the coping of the Bhārhut rails, the figures in the panels being in an advanced style of modelling approaching in feeling for line and sense of movement the sculptures on the Mahābodhi rails.

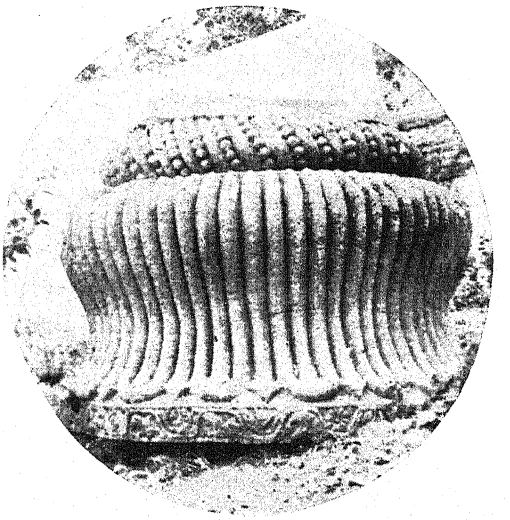
4. The leaves or petals, which decorate the bells of the Mauryan capitals, consist of an arris in the middle enclosed between borders of semi-circular cross-section, the inter-spacings at the bottom being filled up only by short arrises resembling the pointed ends of leaves, while the Bhuvaneśvara capital has additional reeds between the petals with the ends drawn into points like arrow heads, a form peculiar itself.

5 The torus moulding between the bell and the abacus varies in its decoration from the rope pattern appearing in the same place in some of the Mauryan capitals.

These divergences in details of form from the Mauryan prototype are to be explained by the desire to be more ornamental due to the tastes of a time which discarded the chaste restraint of Mauryan art for its plastic attempts. The shaft and capital of the Heliodoros column at Besnagar,[1] the fragments of capitals and shafts of octagonal pillars found in excavations of the area west of the Aśoka pillar at Sarnath[2] betray the same taste. Some of the latter, indeed, retain a polish but not of the same brilliancy as in accredited specimens of Mauryan art. Although we have the last dateable instance of the use of the polish in the reign of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka[3] and although the Heliodoros column and the Bhuvaneśvara capital are without polish, we are not quite sure to-day whether its use persisted locally at Patna and Sarnath till a later date. Thus the fact of their being polished, which is true also of the Yakṣa statues of Patna, would

1 Diez, Die Kunst Indiens, p. 12, figs. 3-6.

2 ASIAR, 1914-15. 3 IHQ, Sept, 1927, p. 541.



A Bell-capital from Bhuvaneśvara

by itself not make the Sarnath fragments dateable in the third century B. C. The Bhuvaneśvara capital, then, both on account of its characteristic variations of form and the style of the relief on its lower edge, may be said to have been produced during the early centuries B. C. subsequent to the Mauryan period when the more ornamental early Indian art had been manifesting itself. It probably happened during the 1st century B.C. As James Fergusson justly remarks, "Whatever the Hindus copied, was changed, in the course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own tastes."[1]

Incidentally, this capital throws some light on the problem of the origins of the Mauryan bell-capital. A Persepolitan origin for this had been claimed by James Fergusson,[2] and this view has been since modified by Sir John Marshall,[3] who recognized Hellenistic workmanship in the well known lion-capital of Sarnath. Mr. Havell, however, in his book on "The Himālayas in Indian Art" (ch. I.)[4] contends that the design was "nothing more or less than the attempt of a foreign craftsman imbued with Hellenic ideas, to represent the World Lotus of which the Lake Mānasarovara was the centre and India itself one of the four great petals". In support of his view, he has drawn up the geographical concepts of the ancient Indians from various traditional sources and illustrated his thesis by representations of pillars and capitals from the decorated railings of the stūpas of Sāñchi and Bhārhut having the abacus or the bell ornamented with lotus petals of design other than the Persian. Recently this assertion has been repeated by "Plotinus" in the Rūpam[5] for July-October, 1928, in a review of Rai Bahadur Chanda's memoir entitled the "Beginnings of Art in Eastern India," along with an illustration of a lion pillar on a late bas-relief from Mathurā now in the Lucknow Museum. In the latter, the bell-capital appears to be set off with lotus petals not of the conventional type. For the significance of the Lotus symbol Plotinus and the editor of the Rūpam favour the mystic "*Soḍaśadalapadma*" instead of the "World Lotus" championed by Mr. Havell.

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1 Indian and Eastern Architecture, vol. I, p. 59 (1910).

2 Ibid., pp. 56-61.

3 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 621, 22.

4 See also Havell, Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India, pp. 58, 59.

5 Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

Leaving the problem of Symbolism to these learned critics who may choose to make of the study of Indian art that of an esoteric cult, we note with interest that the ring of leaves or petals on the neck of the bell-capital from the Sāñchi relief illustrated by Mr. Havell (Ibid., pl. iv), on the Heliodoros column of Besnagar and also on some pillars from the Bhārhut reliefs,[1] have their prototype in Persian art of which the pillar base from the palace of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-358 B.C.) at Susa, now in the Louvre Museum (Paris), is an example.[2] From the standpoint of the Perso-Hellenistic origin theory, it would appear that the Mauryan artist with his severe taste had eschewed this element from his bell while his Suṅga successor reverted to it from a desire for greater ornamental effect.

It is also to be noted that Mr. Havell in the World Lotus hypothesis insists only on the *original Indian significance* of the bell-capital and demonstrates the plastic treatment it had received at the hands of the indigenous Indian artists. He does not call into question the foreign design and workmanship of the Mauryan capitals. And he does not give full consideration to the fact that not all the pillars in the Bhārhut reliefs have bells with petals of what may be called the Indian form, and there are many examples, including the one he cites from Sāñchi in which the petals are more akin to the Persian form. The most convincing evidence[3] in this way comes from the clustered pillars of the "Toraṇa" of the Bhārhut rails which have bell-capitals on which petals both of the Persian and the Indian forms are used simultatneously. And the Bhuvaneśvara capital demonstrates how the variation of the Mauryan form was taking place.

The Indian form may be regarded from Mr. Havell's standpoint as a case of reversion to the original Indian motif or to the *idea*. But why did the Indian artist persist in maintaining the Persepolitian form from the 2nd century B.C. to the early mediæval period,[4] when he was capable of setting forth a living symbol featuring in his faith in forms of his own creation? If the Mauryan petal-form gave only a crude and imperfect expression to an indigenous idea in terms of a foreign tradition, why did not the post-Mauryan artist reject it once for all for plastic and structural purposes? Forms appa-

1 Cunningham, Stūpa of Bhārhut, pl. 30, figs. 3, 4.
2 Sarre, Die Kunst. & Alten Persien, p. 36.
3 Cunningham, Stūpa of Bhārhut, pls. x, xi, xii.
4 Fergusson, Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 60.

rently meaningless may persist in use for decorative purposes, but in this instance the particular form was concerned with a living symbol. These considerations lead us to the conclusion that the Mauryan bell-capitals had their prototypes in Achaemenid architecture and the Indian artist of the Suṅga period came to recognize their superior decorative effect and persisted in imitating them for ornamental purposes or introduced modifications and variations of the type, conforming or not to the general shape and lines of the Mauryan originals, as suited his fancies. The late Mr. Vincent Smith remarked justly[1] indeed: "India, of course, has borrowed many things from abroad during the long course of the ages, but it is a trite observation easily proved by many instances, that she always so transmutes her borrowings as to make them her own. Such transmutation is equivalent to originality." But in spite of these variations and modifications the persistence of the bell-capital in the Gupta and the post-Gupta period indicates that enthusiasm for the superior Mauryan creations did not wane for a long time to come. Fa Hien (405-11 A.C.) mentions, in fact, in his itinerary the admiration he and his Indian contemporaries of Pataliputra had for the works of Aśokan art.[2]

We have now to find out the manner in which this movement of Persian and Hellenistic traditions of art towards India could have taken place. Important evidence comes from Taxila in the north-west, which must have formed an intermediary in the contact of cultures between India and the west in the ages past. This consists of two fragments of pottery,[3] one a handle, and the other, from the side, probably of the same vase. They are "of grey clay burnt to red on the outside and covered with black paint," discovered in the Bhir mound, Taxila, the uppermost stratum of which is dateable at the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. "These two fragments," says Sir John Marshall, "derive especial interest from the conventional leaf design and 'bead and reel' moulding, obviously classical in character and reminiscent of the capitals of the Aśokan pillars, but still more from presence of the head in rough relief at the base of the handle which appears to be the familiar head of Alexander the Great, wearing the lion's skin." These two fragments of pottery, then, demonstrate

1 History of Fine Arts, p. 7.

2 V. Smith, Early History of India, 1924, p. 312.

3 ASIAR, 1920-21, vol. I, p. 20, pl. xvii, figs. 1, 2.

conclusively that Persian and Hellenistic traditions were travelling towards India during the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.

As the Mauryan type of bell-capital with its characteristic petals and the animal sculpture above, implies a fusion of Achæmenid and Hellenistic elements, the problem naturally arises, where could this fusion have taken place,—at Bactria as Sir John Marshall suggests, or at Seleukia where the possibilities were greater, or elsewhere? It will be noticed in this connexion that the petals which decorate one of the fragments of pottery mentioned above conform more to the Persian than to the Mauryan type which is derived therefrom. This leads one to the conclusion that *the fusion of Persian and Hellenistic traditions represented by the Mauryan capitals* did not probably take place west of Taxila. So far as evidence goes, up to date, Persian and Hellenistic traditions of art may have met and coalesced at Seleukia and Bactria but Mauryan art represents a new synthesis and we may not expect exactly similar forms elsewhere.

Another class of evidence is furnished by the sandstone discs from Taxila[1] of diameters 4″ and 2⅝″ respectively, with concentric decorations and a band of elephants in relief, which recall the frieze on the façade of the Lomash Rishi Cave, Barabar hills. The modelling of the animals is in the naturalistic Mauryan style. The discs have a high polish and Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the sandstone of which they are made "probably comes from Chunar where the pillars of Aśoka were quarried." At Harappa in the Punjab, a horizon of the Chaleolithic Indus Valley Culture, the excavation of a mound brought to light a mass of stone fragments, some of which have "the high polish of the Mauryan period," while others were coarsely dressed and were perhaps of later date, 13 feet above the topmost strata bearing remains of the Chaleolithic culture. In this case, however, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni,[2] the learned excavator, does not tell us whether the stones bearing the high polish mentioned above are of the Chunar sandstone commonly used by the Mauryan artist. The Taxila discs, however, in the locality of their find-spot, in their execution, in the division of their field into zones for decoration and in the use of the varnish that was employed by the Persians to preserve the inscription on the rock of Behistun from the ravages of climate, and also in their characteristic material, seem to indicate not only a cultural give and take between

1 ASIAR, 1920-21, vol. I, p. 21, pl. XVII, figs. 29-30.
2 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

India and her western neighbours, but also imply that the wedding of Perso-Hellenistic traditions, represented by the Mauryan works of art, took place further east, probably at Sarnath and Pataliputra, which have yielded considerable Mauryan antiquities to the spade of the excavator and which continued to use the sandstone from the Chunar quarries for a long time to come.

Along with their ideas of imperialism the Mauryan princes seem to have taken on their art from their western predecessors in the empire. To this they breathed a new sense of design, and infused it with a new vigour. Its products were sent forth towards south-east,as far as Sāñchi, and north-west as far as Taxila, and at the fall of the empire when the art slowly disappeared its stimulus still remained and found response all round the country in the imagination of the people whom it had given their voice, an imagination of a different order.

ACHYUTA KUMAR MITRA

Subandhu or Bāṇabhaṭṭa—Who is earlier ?

The traditional view that Subandhu, the author of the prose romance *Vāsavadattā*—and this seems to be the generally accepted view amongst modern scholars[1] also—is earlier than Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the illustrious author of the *Harṣacarita* and the *Kādambarī*, was challenged several years ago by the late Dr. Peter Peterson. Subsequently that learned savant seems to have changed his opinion in the matter.[2] The lurking doubts do not appear to have been set at rest, and the advocates of the theory once espoused by the learned doctor have found in Pandit R. V. Krisnamachariar (Abhinava Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa,—an

1 Prof. Cowell, Drs. Macdonell, Keith and Thomas and Mr. P. V. Kane all subscribe to this view. Drs. Castellieri and Führer fully emphasise this point and are of opinion that the *Kādambarī* was written with the express purpose of surpassing Subandhu's work. (*Vide* Introduction in Cowell and Thomas's translation of the *Harṣacarita*).

2 *Vide* his preface to his edition of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Bombay Sans. Series), p. 133.

honorific epithet which links him with that prince of prose writers), a redoubtable exponent, who in the illuminating and elaborate introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* (Sri Vāṇīvilāsa Sanskrit Series), has tried to make a strong case for establishing the priority of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Dr. L. H. Gray in course of translating and commenting on the work (Columbia University Press, 1913), has ably discussed a few of the points raised by Pandit Krisnamachariar, but there are a few more, which require a more sifting investigation and which have not yet been fully threshed out. It is the object of this paper to deal with them threadbare and to determine, whether it is possible, in the light of present-day researches, to fix an approximate date for Subandhu so as to put an end to the vexed question.

Before dealing with the prominent and specific issues raised by the esteemed Pandit, it is worth while to enumerate the glaring drawbacks and the alleged faults of omission and commission, which even the upholders of the traditional view (including the late Dr. F. Hall) have seen in the work and which, curiously though, have been picked out by others as demonstrative proofs of the poet's living in a late and corrupt age. These refer to (i) the standard of taste and morals, (ii) the style and diction, (iii) the atmosphere of artificiality[1] and conceit, and (iv) the alleged unsettled and irresponsible nature of the text itself of the work, (v) the verse

सरस्वतीलब्धवरप्रसादश्चक्रे सुबन्धुः सुजनैकबन्धुः।
प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिर्निबन्धम् ॥

given as a variant in some manuscripts and that in different places has also been thought by some to draw pointed attention to the worthlessness of the attempt, and has even been branded as ungrammatical[2] ; to this has been added (vi) the argument that the verse

कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया।
शक्तीव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥

does not refer to our work, even if that verse formed a part of the

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1 "Graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns," after which, "a reversion to the chastity of sentiment and diction of Bhavabhūti and Bāṇa would be a literary miracle, almost, incredible" (Peterson). Dr. F. Hall calls Subandhu 'a specious savage', *Bib. Indica* ed., Intro. (p. 28).

2 Vide notes on p. 358. (अनवधानेऽपि...पुरुषप्रयोगः)। This is practically the sum and substance of Jagaddhara's and Śivarāma's rather stale defence चक्रे—इति ग्रामादिकमिति वैयाकरणाः।

introduction of the *Harṣacarita*,[1] which the learned editor of the Śrī Vāṇivilāsa Press edition of the *Vāsavadattā* doubts very much.

The first of these objections which was raised by Hall (Intro., Bib. Indica ed., 1859) and which still persists[2] amongst a section of scholars (including even Indian scholars like Pandit Krisnamachariar), has been well answered by Dr. Gray and Mr. P. V. Kane. It must be borne in mind that standards of purity in taste and morals vary greatly in different climates and that no country or age has a monopoly of them. Scholars with a characteristic width of sympathy and imagination like Dr. F. W. Thomas[3] find nothing to feel disgusted with the manner of description of amour and the portrayal of excitant factors (*uddīpana vibhāva*) in Sanskrit literature, and it is improper to ascribe to Subandhu any abnormal violation in this respect. As to the chastity and elegance which the aforementioned scholars find in Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, and the lack of which they deplore in the style and diction of our author, we think that the excessive use of *śleṣas* (paronomasia) and the occasional, though clever, application of *yamaka* (chime), which make for the unnatural and artificial phraseology in the *Vāsavadattā*, have clouded the judgment of critics ; for this is *the one characteristic difference* of Subandhu's prose from that of Bāṇa. But to say that it has disfigured the pages of the *Vāsavadattā* and robbed it of all the charms and delicacies of *rasa* and *vastu* and that there is nothing of this defect noticeable in the *Kādambarī* or for the matter of that, in *any prose Kāvya* of this pattern is a type of partiality which critics should eschew. The statement of a later writer युगे तुरीये यमकप्रपञ्चः, is, as every one knows, an unguarded and unjust charge based on paucity of information[4], which

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1 Such was also the view of the late Dr. Peterson. The point that it is entered under Rājaśekhara's name in *one* anthology (vide Intro., *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*) is not a valid argument for its being fathered on him.

2 'Absolute quagmire of pollution' (Hall). E.g. Keith—*A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 307-08 : For Gray's and Kane's remarks vide the *Vāsavadattā* (Columbia Univ. Press) and the *Harṣacarita* (ed. by P. V. Kane).

3 Vide his appreciative remarks on *Kāvyas* in the introduction to his edition of the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.

4 Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his *Śivalīlārṇava* quoted in Krishnamachariar's ed. (notes, p. 12) कृते युगे व्यञ्जनयाऽवतीर्णम्...।

can be answered partly and evasively, in the words of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalacampū*, thus (Intro., verse 17) :—

काव्यस्यामफलस्येव कौमलस्येतरस्य च।
बन्धच्छायाविशेषेण रसोऽन्यादृशो भवेत्॥

and directly and thoroughly by the dictum of that prince of critics, Ānandavardhana—दृश्यन्ते हि कवयोऽलङ्कारनिबन्धनैकरसाः...अनपेक्षितरसाः प्रबन्धेषु। (*Dhvanyāloka*, N.S. ed., p. 151). The text of the *Vāsavadattā* certainly suffers from a good deal of disadvantage, as is evidenced by the variant readings in the two recensions, and by difference of readings amongst texts of the same recension. To take this as an indication of its lateness or lack of popularity is, to say the least of it, uncharitable. The *liṭ-prayoga* चक्रे in the verse सरस्वतीलब्ध..., is not unusual and ungrammatical[1]; hence the ingenious explanation of commentators (vide Krisnamachariar's ed., p. 358) is uncalled for. Moreover, it is not at all unlikely that the verse is from the pen of a later admirer of the work. To call into question the genuineness of the verse कवीनामगलद्दर्पो··· in the text of the *Harṣacarita* merely on the evidence of some Mss. of a particular locality is to disprove the corroborated evidence of commentators on the *Harṣacarita*, including most probably Rucaka, the Kashmirian rhetorician of the 12th century and Śaṅkara, who, also, is an early commentator (the author of the *Saṅketa*, published in the Nirnayasagara Press, ed.) and who quotes from, or refers to, early works and authors on *alaṅkāra* only. More than one commentator on the lexicons(e.g., of Amarasiṃha)[2]and anthologist have quoted this verse and ascribed it to Bāṇa. To maintain that the verse does not refer to Ṣubandhu's *Vāsavadattā* is a device resorted to to be rather easily dislodged, for the qualifying phrase गतया कर्णगोचरम् with its *double*

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1 The use of third person is a common device(शैली)with *śāstrakāra's* and is accepted even in later parlance. Cf. the *Kādambarī*—द्विजेन तेनाचत... धिया निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* चकार सर्वं किल शूद्रको नृपः।

2 The *Śūktimuktāvalī* ascribes the verse to बाण. Vide Thomas's *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, Intro., p. lvi. Śaṅkara's commentary notes this passage and Śaṅkara is an earlier writer than the anthologist. Vide the glosses on the *Amarakoṣa* by Rāmakṛṣṇa and Vidyāvācaspati under the word कर्ण and शक्ति : Words like सौकर्यम्·····etc. are also frequently noted in commentaries on lexicons and in द्विरूपकोष and illustrated by passages in the *Vāsavadattā*.

entendre certainly singles out our work as the *kāvya* referred to, because of *śabdālaṅkāras* (particularly *śleṣa*) forming its main characteristic.

Now, to turn to the points raised by the Pandit in the introduction to his edition. These may be divided under two broad heads,—(*i*) matters of opinion, and (*ii*) facts. Amongst the latter, there are some, which are of minor importance,[1] judged from the standpoint of our paper, and which require revision in the light of mature deliberation and up-to-date investigations. These need not detain us. In the introduction to his ed. (pp. xvi-xviii),[2] and elsewhere, *ad nauseum*, he joins the chorus of abusers, accuses our author of bad taste and queer mentality and that because of his self-imposed restraint of use of *ślesas*, which, in his finding, is an unfailing indication of the posteriority of Subandhu to Bāṇa. He conveniently forgets that Bāṇa himself[3] has a predilection for this *Śabdālaṅkāra* and makes light work of the dictum of the rhetorician Daṇḍin (which must have had for its basis, the extensive use of this figure in early and contemporary literature of his time—श्लेषः पुष्णाति सर्वासु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु स्थितम्), and in all probability Daṇḍin was a theorist not very far removed at least in matters of literary standards of excellence and purity from either of these masters. As even casual readers of Subandhu's and Bāṇa's works are aware, there are many parallelisms in expression, atmosphere and employment of devices (e.g., the introduction of the parrot as narrator, of a supernatural steed, of counsels meted out to persons, love-lorn and love-sore, noticeable, of which a fairly exhaustive list is made in Castellieri's paper, and also in Kane's introduction to the *Harṣacarita*. Pandit Krishnamachariar opines that Subandhu has plagiarised the materials of his greater compeer, because, forsooth, Bāṇa cannot do so, being barred by his own statement of condemnation of plagiarisers in the *Harṣacarita*.[4] The practice of the greatest of poets

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1 E.g. Intro., pp. i-ii, तथा चैवमुप……पंचदशाधिकानि ; p. xxxi, श्रीविक्रमादित्यः…… वर्त्तते ; p. l, अपूर्वा बृहत्कथा……सूचयतीति प्रतिभाति।

2 Ibid., p. xvii-xvii, क्रमेण चैवं प्रबलीभवति काव्यार्थचौर्ये……अयमेव च समयः श्लेषस्य साम्राज्यमनुभवितुम्……श्लेषस्य…… ; p. lx, एकासनम्…अभवत्…

3 सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः।…*Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, I, 41. Vide also Introduction, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.

4 सन्ति श्लोकाः इवासंख्या Intro. verses. अन्यवर्णपराक्तप्ता वन्यचिह्नः…(verse 6)

Pandit Krishnamachariar, who has made much capital of the difference in quality and literary output of the two writers, cannot reconcile

in the world, and the apposite maxim of that early theorist Vāmana, the author of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtravṛtti* अरोचकिनः सहृदयाभ्यवहारिण्यश्च कवयः (I. 2. 1) and the corollary to that rule as embodied in the practical precepts पठेत् समस्तान् किल कालिदासकृतप्रबन्धानितिहासदर्शी of Kṣemendra and नाचौरः कविः स्यात् of Rājaśekhara the celebrated poet and poeticist form fitting answers to his assertion. The statement that the verse कवीनामगलद्दर्पो[1]—which he subsequently dismisses as a spurious one—cannot refer to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, because, from the context, the reference is to an *ākhyāyikā* and it is not ascribed to Subandhu, whereas Subandhu's work is a *kathā*, requires but a passing notice. There are many who opine that the context-reference (sc. *ākhyāyikākārāḥ*) is not binding;—Bāṇa might have been thinking of the whole lot of prose *Kāvya* writers. While granting that Pandit Krishnamachariar's surmise is just up to expectations, one can differ from him in his conclusion. The surmise that Bāṇabhaṭṭa might have been referring to the *Vāsavadattā* (*ākhyāyikā*), known to the Bhāṣyakāra-Patañjali, must be dismissed as a wild conjecture; the *Vāsavadattā-nāṭyadhārā*,[2] conceding that it came from the pen of one Subandhu, could not have been the work referred to by Bāṇa, because it is not an *ākhyāyikā*, and primarily because it cannot by any stretch of imagination be the subject of the meaning intended in the *double entendre* गतया कर्णगोचरम्. We do not find any harm in describing the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu as an *ākhyāyikā*, as it has been described by certain commentators and in some manuscripts,[3]

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how a first rate poet like Bāṇa could condescend to imitate a second rate writer like Subandhu. But one may remember the popular maxim क्षीरवत् दुष्कुलादपि. It is often the unexpected that happens.

1 Intro., p. xxxvi, वाणेन हि ख्याता···विभिन्ना ; p. xxxvii, हर्षचरितेऽपि···नामानुल्लेखेन··· मूमः ; p. xxxviii, किं च···दृश्यते ; p. xxxix, तथा च 'कवीनाम्'...प्रभवामः ।

2 Vide the paper on the *Avantisundarī-kathā* of Daṇḍin—published in the proceedings of the *Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, 1922. While it is difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge whether the prose *Avantisundarīkathā* (published by M. R. Kavi) is actually a composition of the famous Daṇḍin, the fact cannot be gainsaid that it is written in almost the same style as Subandhu's work and indulges in सभङ्ग श्लेष. Cf. तरङ्गमयी भूपतागया... इन्दीवरमयी and कामुकैरिव रचित-प्रियालकैः (p. 4).

3 Vide Hall's introduction and footnotes towards the close of the text.

for, obsessed as we are by the definitions and the very small number of types of *prose-kāvyas* instanced in later *alaṃkāra* works, we have no guide to help us in fixing the nomenclature of *prose-kāvyas* of old. To us तत् कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिः संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता of Daṇḍin is a more reliable plank to stand on. Hemacandra, the well known Jaina rhetorician, calls the *Vāsavadattā* (our *Vāsavadattā* surely) a *campū*,[1] and Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in his *Ṭīkāsarvasva*[2] quotes from an unknown Alaṅkara work [is it *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (ch. xii.) of king Bhoja ?], which also acquiesces in that view. Thus there is no unanimity even amongst rhetoricians of a later age. Moreover, the fact that the साङ्का, सोच्छ्वासा, सवक्त्रा *ākhyāyikā* of Bhāmaha and his predecessors[3] is not much different from the species we find in our work is evident from a casual reference to Subandhu's idea about an ideal poem,[4] The inclusion of the *Damayantī-kathā* (*Nalacampū*) and of the *Vāsavadattā* in the same category, even by later writers on poetics, lends weight to the assumption that the *aṅka* and *ucchvāsa's* might be undetected in a work ; and it is not at all difficult to lay bare some scheme of division and find out the *aṅka* or mark.[5] In the absence of other well known works belonging to these *genera* the violation of the principles आख्यायिकोपलब्धार्था प्रबन्धरचना कथा (Amarasiṃha) and इतमाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् (Bhāmaha) need not scare us from such a position. The unsympathetic spirit of the critic has evinced itself in his scathing condemnation[6] of the description of Kusumapura. The custom

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1 Vide *Kāvyānuśāsana*, N. S. ed., ch. viii, p. 340.

2 आख्यायिकेव साङ्का सोच्छ्वासा दिव्यगद्यपद्यमयी ।
सा दमयन्तीवासवदत्तादिरिहोच्यते चम्पूः ॥
(सांका खनाम्ना अपरनाम्ना वा चिह्निता)

3 The *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha, ch. I, 25-27.

4 P. 238, (Krisnamachariar's ed.), दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुलं सुश्लेषबन्धघटनापटु सत्-काव्यविरचनमिव. It is difficult to resist the temptation to surmise that the poet was thinking of his own work. Pandit Krishnamachariar agrees with us in this surmise of ours. He says :—उक्तैर्विशेषणैः कविना गद्यकाव्यं विरचितमिति स्वग्रन्थश्चाव मनसि कृत इति च प्रतीमः (notes, p. 239).

5 One of such *ucchvāsa* divisions will be like this (The references are to Hall's edn.) :—pp. 1-43, 44-82, 82-108, 108-135, 135-163, 163-192, 193-240, 240-end. The ending of these in each case is a लिट् third person singular (like विरराम, उज्जगाम, आजगाम, निर्जगाम, निनाय), having almost the same meaning.

6 Vide Introduction, p. lvi.

of poets and the actualities of real life form safe guarantees in the matter. When the pandit rushes to exemplify the indebtedness of Subandhu to Māgha and Bhavabhūti,[1] he bases his conclusions on looser and more slippery foundations. One who has carefully studied the *Vāsavadattā Kāvya* cannot but be convinced of the influence it exercised on later writers, especially when they were out in their chase for *yamakas* and *śleṣas* (e.g, Māgha, Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhacarita*, Mankhaka in his *Śrīkaṇṭhastava*), so much so that Subandhu's work became an object of universal adoration[2] and was largely drawn on by commentators on lexicons, when they had to explain the forms of doublets and judge about their correctness. Certain it is that the leaning towards this very prose style of *śleṣas* in its excess and exuberance did not find favour with many later *prose* writers,[3] so much so that Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who, even in the opinion of Pandit Krishnamachariar, based his *Nalacampū* on Subandhu's work and who in the minds of later lovers of literature, became almost identified with his greater master in the use of *śleṣa*,[4] while eulogising Bāṇa in the commencement of his work, has not even a reference to Subandhu

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1 That Subandhu was prior to Bhavabhūti follows from the manner of reference to Subandhu's composition in the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, a contemporary of Bhavabhūti (v. 800), सौवन्धवधि वन्धे। Here the Pandit follows closely the view of Dr. F. Hall (vide p. 37 Intro. "a string of metaphors for some of which, if they were not immemorial common places, he may have laid Bhavabhūti under contribution)." Only he is less guarded in his surmise than the western scholar.

2 Cf. सुवन्धौ भक्तिर्नः of Rājaśekhara. Cf. सदानत्यागो··· of the rhetorician Udbhaṭa in the verse अरिवधदेहशरीरः...and व्यासो महाभारतसर्गयोग्यः (*Naiṣadhacarita*, vii. 95).

3 Cf. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः.....and वर्णैयुक्तिं दधानाऽपि·····, (verses 15 and 16 in the introduction to the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla).

4 In literary circles सभंग श्लेष, as a class, became associated with the name of Subandhu.

जीयात् गद्यसुधाधन्याः सुवन्धुः प्रभवाचलः ।
यद्वक्रश्लेषमासाद्य भङ्गः कविभिराश्रितः ॥

Veṇīdatta in his anthology (*Padyatarangiṇī*), compiled during the reign of Shah Jahan, ascribes the verse अचमाला.....वन्दनीया समेखला । (verse 5 of the introductory part of the *Nalacampū*) to Subandhu out of sheer confusion between the two writers.

and that Vāmana, whose time the Pandit has fixed as the lower limit for Subandhu's date, quotes (I. 3. 25) a couple of lines of Subandhu's prose, in a manner that it is difficult to decide whether he is not quoting from the *Harṣacarita* (*Ucchvāsa* vi).

Amongst the second type of arguments utilised by the Pandit, the absence of a proper plot, so to speak (Introd., x, xiv), the inconsistency and the weird absurdity characterising its whole course (pp. lvii, lviii),—and the abruptness of the conclusion—which comes in a fit of nervous hurry (p. lxv) form the burden of charges levelled against the subject-matter, its arrangement and progress. The charges framed are substantially valid, but it must be confessed that Sanskrit prose-*kāvya* writers, at any rate (not excluding Bāṇabhaṭṭa), are not clever inventors of plot. The more than occasional digressions in the form of description—and what court-epic (*kāvya*) is there that has not fallen an easy victim to this hobby—cover the major portion of the work. It would be bold to hint that this fancy—a fancy indulged in more than in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's work—is an index of the comparative lateness of our poet. It would be more reasonable to think that Subandhu employed himself in writing a prose-*kāvya*, in which the inseparable accessories laid down by theorists[1] were all present, but the real feeling-element, that invests it with life and light, was of subsidiary importance. It was a *kāvya* written to explain and exemplify the technique of the *rasa*-paraphernalia and nothing more. Bāṇa was a perfect artist and had a rare mastery over the gamut of human feelings. Subandhu certainly is no peer for him. But what data have we here to infer that he was trying to imitate Bāṇabhaṭṭa, and, being unable to do so, failed signally ? The charges of his similes being हीनोपम, अधिकोपम or असम्भव (Intro., pp. xx, xxi) are not peculiar to him—they can be levelled with similar precision against his greater rival even.[2] The richness of vocabulary, the wealth of description and the

1 Compare and contrast with Bāṇa, of whom Cowell and Thomas rightly observe :—'Bāṇa is not a mere rhetorician.....He was by no means the mere lover of what was abstruse and difficult, he had also an eye for the picturesque and the pathetic.....'.

2 The औचित्यहानि also, so incessantly complained of in the Introduction, is not peculiar to Subandhu alone. Cf. the remark in the *Tilakamañjarī* (verse 18) :

सत्कथारसबन्धेषु निबन्धेषु नियोजिताः ।
नौचित्यिव भवन्त्यर्थाः प्रायो वैरस्यहेतवः ॥

frequency of mythological references are the distinctive characteristics of the prose-*Kāvyas* ; still they are Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *forte*. Pandit Krishnamachariar has taken some pains to prepare an almost exhaustive list of Subandhu's accomplishments with jugglery of words, only to show that he has used certain words and peculiar references with which he makes a poor show ! Says he :—

बाणवत् शब्दप्रपञ्चसाम्राज्याभावेऽपि नायं दृढादाक्तष्टानां कतिपयपदानां रचयिता (p, xxiv), सम्यक्के विलश्यमाने च सुविपुलमेव श्लेषकोलाहलमारचयतोऽस्य सुबन्धोस्तव सहायाः प्रायेण कतिचन शब्दा एवेत्यवगम्यन्ते (p. xxvii). To this it may be said in reply that Subandhu was heedless in the matter. In the matter of *śleṣa* composition, as evinced in his *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and for the matter of that, other poets too, had to deal with the selfsame commodities. Any comparison between the two is out of the question, and to deduce the indebtedness of the one to the other on this score, as on the score of waning of taste because of use of *śleṣa* is achieving an impossible feat. The Pandit follows a wrong principle and has thrown all logic and historic sense to the winds when he puts forward his arguments for establishing priority with the statement :

किंचैवं सति वीरनारायणचरिते विद्यमानात् वामनबाणपद्यात् सेत्स्यत् बाणादर्वाचीनत्वं सुबन्धोः केन वार्यताम् । अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा भवतु पुनरुभयोरप्यनयोः । (p xli),··· किं च यावङ्गवभूतिनाटकं प्राचीनेषु बाणादीनां प्रबन्धेषु न खलु दृश्यते तावान् बौद्धमतोपरि प्रद्वेषः यावानस्ति वासवदत्तायां प्रदर्शितः सुबन्धुना ।··· इतोऽपि वदामो वयं बाणादर्वाचीन एव सुबन्धुरिति । (p. xlv) That an amount of bias against the poet and his self-imposed manner of composition could be used as a measure of oldness is no critical canon, but it is this which has been frequently called into service by the editor.[1]

We take our stand mainly and primarily on the verse कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया and do believe that this finally decides the priority of Subandhu to Bāṇa. Over and above the sense as expressed through the simile of the *Mahābhārata* lore (viii. 4720), we do think that there is a well-nigh transparent implication contained in the simile. And it is like this :—As the sons of Pāṇḍu ultimately triumphed and Karṇa succumbed to Arjuna's blows, so there may come a time when some poet [Bāṇabhaṭṭa like Milton must have been meditating over some work (viz. his *Kādambarī*), which would defy competition and which "posterity would not let die."] would surpass this and reap

1 Vide Intro, p. xxxvii किं च रसभावनिरन्तरवचनचतुरो बाणसदृशः कश्चन महामतिरतिक्रान्तशब्दार्थितवाग्विसर्गमविशालसतिं सुबन्धुसमानसत्वं कविमात्मना प्रशंसतीत्येतन्न खल्वस्माकमवतरति श्रद्धापदवीम् ।

untold renown. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* (Intr. closing verse)[1] there is a similar palpable hint. Dr. Castellieri's paper in the Vienna Oriental Journal[2] seeks to prove that Bāṇa wrote the *Kādambarī* especially to surpass Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*—and this becomes probable in the light of the sense we have hinted at above. The tradition mentioned by a commentator on the *kāvya* and expressed in the verse quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara Dāsa,[3] stating that Subandhu was the pioneer of सभंगश्लेष in *kāvyas* strengthens our position, for we find in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *śleṣas* also instances of that type.[4] Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (iii. 17-20) seems not to know anything of this type, while Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* distinguishes between भिन्नपद and अभिन्नपदश्लेष. The prevalent *ālaṅkārika* creed of Subandhu, or of his age, seems to have been almost identical with that propounded in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha,[5] though he had some predilection for सौशब्द्य (Bhāmaha, I. 15), as if out of affinity with the left wing, the गौड़ीय, a fondness for which is conspicuous in his verses—हरिखरनखर...पक्षोदंचदवांचदंचितवपुः.... उत्कण्ठोऽयमकाण्डचण्डिमपटुः[6] (Krishnamachariar's ed., pp. 114-116). Considered in this manner, Subandhu may be roughly placed in the interval between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin—a conclusion which is irresistibly forced on us when we look at the controversy raised in the *Kāvyādarśa*, etc. *re.* the alleged fineness of distinction between *kāthā* and *ākhyāyikā*. That Daṇḍin knew the *Vāsavadattā* (he knew also the *Kādambarī*) is evident also from his classification of the figure विरोध into सश्लेष and नियमवान् (the परिसंख्या of later writers) and from his examples अच्युतोऽप्यहषीच्छ्रीदो...निस्त्रिंशलवसावेव धनुर्येवास्य वक्रता,[7] which seem to be reminiscences of passages in the *Vāsavadattā*.

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1 द्विजेन तेनाचलकण्ठकौण्ठ्यया.....
धिया निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा ॥

2 V. O. J., I; see Cowell and Thomas's translation of the *Harṣa-carita*, p. 2, fn. 8.

3 जीयात् गद्यसुधाधुन्धा:.....as in p. 706, fn. 4.

4 E.g. अरण्यभूमिमिव अचलतरुपसम्पन्नां.....
दिव्ययोषितमिवाकुलीनां.....(चण्डालकण्यकां) ददर्श।

5 Cf. सत्कविकाव्यरचनामिवालङ्कारप्रसाधिताम् (p. 303, Krishnamachariar's ed.), सत्कविकाव्यबन्ध (p. 158)—also न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनिताऽननम् (Bhāmaha, I, p.3).

6 Cf. Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 80 : भोजः समासभूयस्त्वं तद्वि गद्यस्य जीवितम्।
पद्येऽप्यदाक्षिण्यात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥

7 Vide *Vāsavadattā* (Krishnamachariar's ed.), p. 149.

The spirit of the extract अवीजादेव जायते ... (pp. 91-94[1]) has a parallel in the *Dasakumāracarita* of the same author.[2] The passage सा यदि नभः··· (p. 306), contains an idea parallel to that in the verse अस्तिगिरिसमं स्यात् कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे·····in the *Mahimnasstotra,* which claims a no small amount of antiquity. The passage भास्वतालंकारेण श्वेतरोचिषा स्त्रितेन... (pp. 77) seems to be copied in verses 16 and 17 of the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* of Bhartṛhari,[3] As Bhartṛhari's three *śatakas* contain a few verses, which are taken *verbatim* or adapted from other sources, one may safely conjecture that it is Bhartṛhari, who is the plagiariser. The description of Kusumapura (pp. 123-142) is, to all intents and purposes, the only realistic trait in the work, which, otherwise, is sheer fancy. He gives us a picture of the luxury and badness, the pomp and pride, the sweetness and sanctity of the city, then on the banks of the Ganges. The poet seems to have had a direct acquaintance with it and the picture does not differ much from the idea one would form of the city from the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana and tallies in a remarkable degree[4] with what we find in the four *bhāṇas* चतुर्भाणी, which works, in the opinion of scholars, must be assigned a date earlier than the 7th century A.C. Of the untraced references there are

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1 A parallel idea, though the point is a bit stretched otherwise, is found in the *Viśrutacarita* (8th *ucchvāsa*).....न चावज्ञातस्याज्ञा प्रभवति..... प्रतिहतवृत्तिः··· ।

2 Of later Alaṅkāra writers, Bhoja and Mammaṭa base their example (संग्रामाङ्गनमागतेन .....) of *mālādīpaka* on the passage यस्य च समरभुवि भुजदण्डेन·····(pp.52-53, Krishnamachariar's ed.). The *Alaṅkārasarvasva* of Rucaka (and following it, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha) quote अविदितगुणापि·····(verse 11, beginning).

3 गुरुणा स्तनभारेण मुखचन्द्रेण भास्वता।
शनैश्चराभ्यां पादाभ्यां रेजे गृहमयीव सा ॥
सुखेन चन्द्रकान्तेन ... ... ।
रत्नमयीव सा ॥

The passage अचेतनानापि मैत्री.....वारिणाचीयते (p. 94) has been as it appears, utilised by Bhartṛhari in his śloka 'चौरेणात्मागतोदकाय हि गुणा दत्ताः.....सतां मैत्री पुनस्त्वीदृशी'।

4 वेश्यागणेनाधिष्ठितं (p. 133). Cf. the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuci (p. 3). It is rather curious that Vararuci's description should tally so much with that of Subandhu, whom tradition regards as his nephew.

two that may ultimalely be of some avail in giving us a more exact idea of the time and place when and where our poet flourished. The expressions विकचकमलाकरभित्तौ...सन्ध्यारक्तांशुके...पुष्पकसनाथे...स्खधर्मैमिव पठति (pp. 318-319). गुरुपालवृत्तिमिव दर्शितगणि-(ण ?)कारिकाम् p. 314 remain obscure. However, the facts, above referred to, point to the first decade of the 7th century at the latest (earlier than Bhartṛhari)—in all likelihood it could be very near 550 A.C.—as the time of flourishing, and East India (very likely Magadha)[1] as the country where our poet might have flourished.

The occasional references to the Bauddha, Jaina (Digambara Jaina),[2] Mīmāṃsā and the Nyāya philosophical systems prove to the hilt that the non-conformist systems got a crushing rebuff at the hands of a new school of Pūrvamīmāṃsakas, to whose doctrines and achievement our poet seems to attach a great deal of weight.[3] The passage बौद्धसंगतिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम्—which, however, is not found in all the manuscripts—(Hall's ed. p. 236) was explained by the commentator Jagaddhara to refer to a work so-called and by Śivarāma to refer to a treatise or *śāstra* expounded by Dharmakīrti. The second explanation does not make it imperative that Dharmakīrti or his work was known to Subandhu and accords well with the findings noted above and is not at all unnatural. Moreover, in the long list of

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1 Was our poet associated with the court of Magadha, the land of the *Gauḍādhama* (Śaśāṅka Narendrasena), to use the language of Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* ?

2 Are the references to the Digambara philosophical system in the work to be read as references to the Jaina philosophy in general i.e. to the Śvetāmbara and the Dīgambara views ? Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *History of Indian Logic*—Jaina Systems—for the views of the Śvetāmbara teacher Siddhasena Divākara (480-550 A.C.), who, according to one view, may be identified with *Kṣapaṇaka* of the verse धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामर.....occurring in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* and preserving the association of the *navaratna* group of some illustrious Vikramāditya.

3 For references to this, vide footnotes 2 and 3 on p. xxiii in Pandit Krisnamachariar's introduction. Of the commentators on the *Kāvya*, Jagaddhara is one, who, on his own statement, belongs to a family of *mīmāṃsakas* being sixth in descent from the learned *mīmāṃsaka* and jurist Caṇḍeśvara (viz, the closing verses of his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*. जयिनं गुरुणोक्तशास्त्रे ।

works ascribed to Dharmakīrti, we do not read of a work named *Bauddhasaṅgati*, nor does the church seem to know of its name.[1] The view of some scholars that the revival of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā at the hands of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was instrumental in the first crushing of the Buddhist and the Jaina systems does not appear to us to be at all convincing. The veil has not yet been lifted[2] over the mystery surrounding the period of the figure of the other great Mīmāṃsā teacher Prabhākara, whom one would like to single out as the probably east Indian Mīmāṃsā scholar who did much to strengthen the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā view ; it is a bold view to hold that Prabhākara lived after Dharmakīrti. In any case the existence of an earlier teacher, living in the 5th or early half of the 6th century A.C., who accomplished this is not at all unlikely—for, as Keith remarks in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā System* : 'It does not appear that Prabhākara initiated the views which he became noted for expounding.' There is only one renowned teacher named in the work and that is Uddyotakāra.[3] Uddyotakara criticises in his *Nyāyavārtikā* the views of the *bhadanta* Diṅnāga, who might in all probability have lived in the early decades of the 5th century and allowing an interval of sixty years, it is not unlikely that Uddyotakara lived about A.C. 500. There is also another thing to be noted which goes against these assumptions—and that is a complete absence of reference to the great Śaṅkarācārya or to the views which pass under his name. We have बौद्धदर्शनमिव प्रत्यक्षद्रव्यमपह्नुवानम्[4] in our work (p. 229), but

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1 The term *alaṅkāra* is used in the sense of बौद्धशास्त्र. We have a work called *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.

2 The controversy in this matter has not yet ended. Vide *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, pp. 474-481 for an able advocacy of one side.

3 The view of Dr. Vidyabhusana that "Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries living about A.C. 635" cannot be reconciled with his views expressed elsewhere (in the same work) that 'Bāṇa flourished about A.C. 635' and that 'the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*' when we remember that Uddyotakara is mentioned in the *Vāsavadattā*.

4 Says Śivarāma in his notes thereon :—चक्षुरिन्द्रियगोचरमपि न तु परमाक्षदिवदिन्द्रियद्रव्यमित्यादि————वर्ण । This, however, may serve to distinguish the views of the Buddhist philosophers from those of the monastic Vedanta School as formulated by the great Śaṅkarācārya. But how would we explain away the total absence of any reference to the

no reference to the similar Vedāntic theory is available. All this strengthens our position that Subandhu must have been living before 600 A.C.

Dr. Gray in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* notes the valuelessness of the verse :

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कंकः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

in determining the date of the author. Many would choose to differ from him inasmuch as there is just a good deal of likelihood of a contemporary reference in the verse. The terms विक्रमादित्य, नवकाः and सा रसवत्ता picture to us the far-famed king Vikramāditya, known in legend and song, for his patronage of literature in his court, where lived the 'nine gems'—whose simultaneous presence it has long been the fashion[1] amongst orientalists to regard as a myth. There is some farfetchedness, however, in bringing out the meaning of the absence of the nine gems with the present reading, but if the reading be,—as it is found in certain manuscripts written in Bengali character,[2]—नवका विलसन्ति नो चरति the requirements of poetic harmony are better preserved and the 'nine gems'-*cum*-Vikramāditya tradition is given an old literary authoritative reference as its support. Indeed, amongst the 'nine gems' generally counted—and that on the basis of a later work—as living in the court of king Vikrama, the difference in the date of flourishing assigned to the prominent amongst them (particularly between Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira) may be considerable but not insurmountable ; for it is just possible that some (e.g. Kālidāsa) have verged on old age when others (e.g. Vararuci and Varāhamihira) were younglings.

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tenets of this school unless it were that they were not in vogue at least in that form in Subandhu's time ?

1 E.g. Max Müller, Weber, Macdonell, Keith ('the late and in itself worthless legend of the Nine Jewels,' *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 76). The point that Śaṅku and Vetāla-bhaṭṭa (was he an author on *nītiśāstra* ?) are 'mere names' need not prejudice the theory, for even if they were not well-known writers (which again, is sheer conjecture, in the present state of our knowledge), they might have been farfamed scholars.

2 One of which is preserved in the Kumudinikanta collection of the library of the Govt. College, Rajshahi, Bengal and another in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss. Collection.

Then, again, it is not at all unlikely that the 'nine gems' were exactly the very nine ordinarily enumerated. The generally accepted view connecting Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya places them at the beginning of the 5th century A.C. With a little stretch here and there, Subandhu's verse may be so interpreted as to imply that he might have been living about a century or half after that time of literary glory and greatness. More than one commentator and manuscript describe Subandhu as the nephew (भागिनेय) of Vararuci, one of the nine gems ; and it is not at all unlikely that this literary tradition had a basis on fact. The 6th century theory of Hoernle and others identifying our great Vikramāditya with Yaśovardhana (*circa* 533 A.C.), which, however, would reduce the interval and add an amount of freshness to Subandhu's lament, cannot, in the light of other incontrovertible facts, be resorted to. If it were possible to be accepted, then the literary tradition that Bāṇa wrote his prose works to emulate and surpass Subandhu would become a historical possibility, for, history describes that Śīlāditya, who was Yaśodharman Vikramāditya's successor (middle of the 6th century A.C.), was actually defeated later (in A.C.606) by Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harṣavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa. The reading of the Bengali mss. would raise also the controversy regarding Kaṅka or Kaṅkas, about which Prof. B. C. Mazumdar[1] wrote a note some years ago. There is not yet available any satisfactory evidence which would determine with precision the period of the sixteen Kaṅkas, for the account of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (xii. 1. 26-29) is nebulous and vague. One of these Kaṅkas, notorious for their oppression and mal-administration, might have been exercising sway over a major portion of N. India after the downfall of the earlier Gupta kings. But this in the present state of our knowledge can only be regarded as mere speculation. The realistic description of Kusumapura, and the purposive description of the imaginary heroine of the romance as the princess of Magadha, (while the famous *Vāsavadattā* of history and song was a princess of Ujjayinī) might be taken as implying that Subandhu lived near about Magadha and was associated with the court of that kingdom, which, in the light of the verse सा रसवत्ता, was no longer enjoying the privileges of undisputed power.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

1 Vide JRAS, 1905.

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

The most renowned of his disciples was the Arahant Yaśas. When king Mahendra died and king Camasa was installed in the kingship, there lived, not far from the land of Magadha, a Brāhmaṇi Jassā[1] by name who was nearly 120 years old. She had three sons, Jaya, Sujaya and Kalyāṇa. The first worshipped the great god Maheśvara, the second, Kapilamuni and the third, the perfect Buddha. When they became versed in their own sacred books, they wrangled daily in one and the same house. Then their mother said, "Why do you wrangle (among yourselves), since I give you unstintedly food, clothing and all other requisites?" They said to their mother, "We have no quarrel about dwelling and things of that sort; we quarrel in regard to the teacher and his dharma." Then the mother said, "If you, through the power of your own insight, do not know what teacher and doctrine is good or bad, ask some other wise people." They obeyed their mother, and going into different regions, asked people, but were unable to find anything conclusive. When finally they came to the Arhant Uttara, each of them explained his story to him. Both Jaya and Sujaya narrated the praise of Mahādeva, of his destruction of the three cities[2] etc. Although they deprecated[3] Kapilamuni, they praised the greatness of his might. They, did not, in fact, deprecate Śramaṇa Gautama, but they declared him to be powerless, as he performed no penance and was therefore unable to conquer the Asuras. After they had spoken these and

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1 The text has the peculiar form dsh-śa with which I can only compare the names occurring in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, viz., Jāsaṭa (viii. 543); Jassarāja (vii. 536). [The correct references are Rājata. viii. 542 and vii. 535 respectively—Tr.] But perhaps there is some other corruption or something from Jayasenā?

2 I.e. Śiva. Cf. Böhtlingk-Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, under Tripura. [The text refers to Śiva's destruction of the three cities (groṅ khyer) of gold, silver and iron built for demons by Maya in the sky, air and earth.—Tr.]

3 Lit. imprecated, Tib. *mod. pa*—Tr.

other words, the Arhant answered, "What does penance signify to those whose inner nature is excited through passion? As here the wicked and cruel Dākiṇīs and Rākṣasas act without restraint so must be those blamed whose morality has fallen into degeneracy; those who kill, bind, injure and do other evil deeds, etc., will beyond doubt fall a prey to death; their instigations to kill are very foolish, being similar to the (conduct of) fools who threaten the sinking sun with a cane and exalt themselves boastingly. Listen, moreover, O Brāhmaṇas, to the teaching of the Buddha, who sought the welfare of the world and is without evil; whoever follows him patiently is also called righteous. He continually performed beneficial works, and therefore after attaining full insight, he worked for salvation without doing any harm and induced his followers also to work for good. There cannot be any spiteful talks in respect of Brāhmaṇas as well as Śramaṇas as well as the words heard by others. This is the way of complete virtue. That Ugra likes to dwell in the cemeteries, devours human flesh, marrow and bone, is cruel, and takes pleasure in killing living beings—this is taught by the law of Mahādeva himself. When the basic-text is thus sullied by wrong views and whoever is believingly attached to it indulges continuously in sinful pleasures, what sensible man will have his joy in it? When bravery itself is a virtue, must not the lion, the tiger, etc. be treated with veneration? Pacified state of mind[1] alone is a virtue. This is the primary proposition." When he had repeated to them the five hundred lines of the 'Introduction to the Teaching', describing the difference between virtue and vice, both Brāhmaṇas perceived the truth and became exceedingly believing with regard to the Three Treasures.[2] The Brāhmaṇa's son, Kalyāṇa, however, increased his faith (in the Buddha) still more than it was before. All the three brothers, having formed the same views, went back to their house and spoke to their mother, "As we know the virtue, every one of us wishes to build a temple in which the Teacher's image is to find place. Thou, mother, tell us the place for it." Thereafter, in accordance with the advice of the mother, the Brāhmaṇa Jaya erected a temple at Vārāṇasī[3] with the image (inside it) at the place where was preached the law. Of the vihāras in which the Teacher himself had

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1 Tib. *shi-war-sems-pa*. Schiefner translates by 'Sanftmuth'—Tr.

2 i.e. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha—Tr.

3 i.e. the Deer Park at Sarnath—Tr.

lived, and which, by virtue of the supernatural nature in their essence, were visible through magic, there were at this time no more traces left because of palpable mutilation and other mishaps incidental to living beings. For this reason the Brāhmaṇa Sujaya erected an image and a temple in the Bamboo grove at Rājagṛha. But the youngest brother Kalyāṇa erected the most holy temple with the Mahābodhi at the Vajrāsana Gandhola.[1] The workmen were the divine artists who came down in human forms The workmen who erected the Mahābodhi were divine artists and Kalyāṇa was inside, and they had agreed that no other person should be allowed to come in till the seventh day. When the sixth day came, the mother of the three brothers arrived there and knocked at the door. The people told her, "As now no more than six days have expired, to-morrow the door will be opened." The mother replied, "As I must die this evening and as I alone on this earth have seen the Buddha, others later will not know whether the image of the Tathāgata has or has not the exact likeness, therefore open the door at once." When the door was opened, the divine artists vanished.[2] After looking at the image closely she said that it was wholly like the Teacher except at three points : it was without the streaming forth of light, it was not teaching the law, and it was only in the sitting posture and not in any other of the three postures of the body.[3] It was declared that the image was similar to the real Buddha. As the seven days had not expired, some portions were not completed,some noticed that the toe of his right foot was missing, others said that the curling of the hair on his head was not right, these were executed later on. The Paṇḍitas also

1 Corrupted from Sans. Gandhālaya. The perfumed room occupied by Buddha is called Gandhakuṭi in Pāli. It generally refers to the room made by Anāthapiṇḍika in Jetavana.—Tr.

2 A similar legend is told by Hiuen Tsang (Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 116) of the construction of the image of Gautama Buddha in the temple to the east of the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā. Mahābodhi here, as in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, I-tsing and other Chinese travellers, is the name of a *Vihāra*, and not of a temple (See Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 118-119)—Tr.

3 Buddha's images are usually built in all four or any one of the four postures, viz., Preaching, Reclining, Walking and Meditating. Some of the recently built temples at Colombo have images of Buddha in all these four postures.—Tr.

said that the hair of the body, and the robe, which did not touch the body, were not completed. Paṇḍita Kṣemendrabhadra[1] also said the same. On the same evening the brāhmaṇī Jassā vanished out of the present existence without any suffering. When shortly thereafter the brāhmaṇa Kalyāṇa went away to some place, he found one of the self-luminous emeralds. He thought that if he had found it before the erection of the Mahābodhi, he might have made out of it a stone for the eyes, but it was not then found. While he was thus thinking, there appeared immediately a self-formed hole in the place of the eyes (of the image of the Buddha). When the people were on the point of splitting up the precious stone into two parts, there appeared of itself a second one like the first, so they were set in the places of both eyes. In the same manner he found a luminous Indranīla and fixed it in the ring of hair between the eye-brows. Through his magical power illuminating light shone forth in the interior of the Mahābodhi temple continuously through the night up to the time of king Rāthika. The three Brāhmaṇa brothers thereafter maintained 500 bhikṣus in their three Vihāras and provided the whole brotherhood with all necessaries. The fourth section, the events of the time of the venerable Upagupta.

V. Events at the Time of the Venerable Dhītika.

The venerable Upagupta handed over the teachership to the venerable Dhītika. This is his history. In the land of Ujjayinī there lived a sagacious and wealthy brāhmaṇa. He had a son called Dhītika, highly intelligent, wise and upright, and versed in the four Vedas and the eighteen sciences. When his father, full of joy, furnished him with a house and sought a wife for him, he prayed for permission to enter into the priestly office, as he had no desire for a household life. His father said that if he positively wished to become a priest, he should not do it before his death and in the meantime, train up a group of 500 brāhmaṇas. He complied with his father's wishes and by living a life of purity in the house, he instructed 500 brāhmaṇas in the various sciences without any prejudice.

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1 Tibetan sa. dbaṅ. bjaṅ. po; can he be identical with the Kṣemendra mentioned in Burnouf's *Introduction* etc., p. 555? See also, Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 13 where he is mentioned as an author of a table of princes (*nṛpāvali*).

When his father died at a certain time he distributed the whole wealth of the house among the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, and he himself with a following of 500 betook himself to a wandering life, passed through the sixteen great cities, asking the most famous brāhmaṇas and tīrthikas about the way of the perfect purity of life[1], but he could not obtain a satisfactory answer. Finally he asked the venerable Upagupta in Mathura. There he became very believing, entered into the priestly order and was ordained as a bhikṣu. As Upagupta delivered the seven kinds of instructions, the 500 brāhmaṇas obtained Arhathood in 7 days. The venerable Dhītika gave himself up to the contemplation of the eight *vimokṣas.*[2] He led many distinguished brāhmaṇas of the widely different regions into the most excellent belief in the Buddha's teaching. When the venerable Upagupta delivered to him the teachership he gave admonitions to the fourfold assemblies of the six cities, and greatly propagated the teaching of Buddha, leading all living beings to happiness. At that time there lived in the land of Tukhāra, the king Minara.[3] All the inhabitants of that land honoured the God of Heaven, but they knew no difference between virtue and vice. At the time of their festivals they used to offer to heaven the great smokes arising out of the burning of rice, clothing-stuff, precious stones and scented wood. With a company of 500 Arhants, Dhītika flying through the air went to the place of sacrifice and settled themselves down in the dining hall. The people thinking, that he was the God of Heaven, fell at his feet and offered him riches ; but when he delivered the teaching, the king at the head of 1000 men perceived the truth and innumerable men were initiated in the formulas for seeking refuge and the main principles of the teaching. Having lived there for 3 summer months, he increased the number of bhikṣus immeasurably and the result was that a thousand bhikṣus attained Arhathood. Later on when the route between this land and Kāśmīra could be travelled safely, many Sthaviras came from the land of Kāśmīra and the teaching spread yet more. At the time of this king and his son

1 Tib. tshaṅs. par. spyod generally refers to the purity of life in reference to perfect abstinence from female company—S. C. Das's Tib. Dic.

2 See Mahāvyutpatti, lxx, for enumeration and explanation—Tr.

3 It is natural here to think of Menandros. See Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* II, p. 323ff.

Imasya[1] 50 great Vīharas were filled up with an innumerable crowd of priests. In the east also in Kāmarūpa the brāhmaṇa Siddha who was equal to great king in respect of his riches, brought offerings to the Sun with a company of many thousands. Once when he made offerings to the Sun, the venerable Dhītika showed a magical feat, as he came out of the midst of the Sun's disc and with much light streaming forth he placed himself before the brāhmaṇa, who took the former to be the Sun-god, brought him offerings and showed veneration to him. After the teaching was delivered to him and great faith was roused in him, the venerable Dhītika appeared in his own form. When he again preached the law, the brāhmaṇa perceived the truth, and living full of great faith, he built the Mahācaitya Vihāra, gave a great feast to the brethren of the four regions and spread the teaching of Buddha considerably in Kāmarūpa. At that time the brāhmaṇa Adarpa[2] was exercising the rulership in the west in Malwa without wearing the crown. He killed daily a thousand goats and offered a sacrifice of flesh and blood to the fire. He had a thousand sacrificial altars. He made the brāhmaṇas belonging to his circle to bring goats for sacrifice according to their means and the non-brāhmaṇas to gather materials for the sacrifice. Once when he wished to make an offering of cattle, he invited to the sacrifice the Ṛṣi Bhṛgurākṣasa of the Bhṛgu lineage, gathered two thousand white cows, invited also other brāhmaṇas and procured many other sacrificial requisities. When the sacrifice was about to be performed the venerable Dhītika came to that place. The fire could in no way be kindled to a flame and the cattle could in no way be killed, and the brāhmaṇas, when they wished to repeat the Vedas and the formulas of prayer, could not bring forth any sound. Then Bhṛgurākṣasa said that the performance of the sacrifice was prevented by the craft of the Śramaṇa who was present there. All of them threw stones, clods and dust at him, but when they saw that these things were turned into flowers and sandal powder, they became very believing, showed him veneration and begged forgiveness asking what they should do. The Venerable One said "Hear, O Brāhmaṇas, and let it off, why these sinful offerings? Distribute gifts and practise meritorious deeds, while you yourselves being gods of brāhmaṇa lineage are obliged to perform the duties

1 Might we here think of Hermaios? See Lassen, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

2 Tib. dregas med, "the pride-less," also dregas bral in Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra, leaf. 343.

of a mother, how can the gods have anything to do with the killing of fathers and mothers ? If the brāhmaṇas cannot touch the unclean flesh of the cow, can the gods be satisfied with the same ? Oh Ṛṣis, away with this sinful law. If you have longing for flesh-food why should you need this fire offering and shedding (of blood). The magical formulas which teach salvation through illusion are only a deception of the world." After he had clearly delivered this and similar teachings, they felt repentance for their sinful deeds, they became ashamed of their conduct, they cast down their faces and being overpowered they asked for a means by which they could restrain their sins. For these purposes they were all initiated according to the teaching of the Venerable in the refuge formulas and the five tenets. On the site of the pleasure grove of the householder Ghoṣavanta there was built a great Vihāra, and they strove for the seven kinds of blessings accruing from the right application of wealth. In this manner did Dhītika spread the teaching very much in the land. Not long before this time King Aśoka was born. Dhītika gradually brought 500 brāhmaṇas to the faith in the three jewels and after he had guided the Buddha's teaching for a long time and worked for the salvation of living beings he gave up the teacher's office to the venerable Kāla,he vanished from the present into the region of Ujjayinī, which was a part of Malwa. The fifth section, the events of the time of the venerable Dhītika.

Svapna-nāṭaka and Svapna-vāsavadatta

In 1912, Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, some thirteen dramatical works, which are attributed to the so-called Bhāsa. These thirteen plays, which are praiseworthy because of their antiquity, diction, plot, phraseology, and other qualities, attracted the special attention of the scholars of Oriental Literature. And as a result, scholars were divided in their opinion about the authorship of these plays and contributed several articles in accordance with their respective views. (1) Some of them have accepted Bhāsa's authorship of these plays, (2) while some others argue that these plays do not belong to the real Bhāsa-muni who is praised by Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and others. (3) A third set of scholars has examined

the dramas and produced some internal evidence based on prayoga-viśeṣa, Prākṛt language, and the names of places and cities, and fixed the date of these plays as between the first and the third century A. C.

The scholars who oppose Bhāsa's authorship of these plays have adduced many arguments in order to arrive at their own conclusions. Among those arguments, one supplementary question is considered by them as follows : The first and main drama among the lot is designated as "Svapna-vāsavadatta." This desgination is a wrong one, but the real name of the work published by the Śāstrī is "Svapna-nāṭaka." "Svapna-vāsavadatta" and "Svapna-nāṭaka" are different plays. Bhāsa is the author of "Svapna-vāsavadatta"which hitherto has not been published nor is available in any of the libraries even in manuscript form. "Svapna-nāṭaka" is a quite different work from the above, and it must have been written by a Kerala poet to suit the Kerala stage, or it must be in close resemblance to a play that treats of the story of 'Udayana.' The published work is "Svapna-nāṭaka" and there is no evidence to attribute it to the great poet Bhāsa.

It will be clear from the passages quoted below that Professor Macdonell also holds the same theory on this point.[1]

"Some fourteen years ago (1912) there were published in Southern Malabar, at Trivandrum, thirteen Sanskrit plays that were by the editor, followed by most Sanskrit scholars, identified with the long lost works of Bhāsa. The sole basis of this far-reaching identification is that, although all these plays are anonymous, the title of a single one of them, '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' (in one Ms. entitled '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*'), may be the same as that of the only play, '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*', twice mentioned by ancient authorities as the work of Bhāsa. The uncertainty as to the same play being meant by the divergent titles is increased by the fact that a verse quoted by Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka* as occurring in the '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*'is not to be found in the '*Svapna-nāṭaka.*' The supposed identity of these two titles is the only clue available as to the authorship of the *Svapna-nāṭaka.* For, contrary to the general practice of Sanskrit dramas, the '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' does not name its author. Thus even this support for the identification of the recently edited Trivandrum play with the ancient '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' of the real Bhāsa is wanting.

The very dubious identification of the Trivandrum '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' with the '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' of the ancient poet Bhāsa. on the strength

1 *India's Past* by A. A. Macdonell, Ch. V-c, p. 103, Oxford, 1927.

of the possible identity of their titles, but without the support of any corroborative evidence, is made the basis of the much more far-reaching and uncertain conclusion that the other twelve recently published plays are, owing to their great similarity of style and the possession of many passages in common, not only the production of one and the same poet, but that that poet is Bhāsa. Not only are all these plays anonymous, but we do not even know any of the titles of the plays of the ancient Bhāsa except only '*Svapna-vāsavadatta.*' Now the similarity in style of these thirteen plays may very well be due to the peculiarities and exigencies of the stage in Malabar, where alone these plays are known and acted. No attempt at investigation in this direction has yet been made, at least, by any of the western supporters of this hypothesis. Again, many of the views expressed as to the relative merits of these plays are purely subjective, and can have no decisive cogency in regard to facts."

Dr. Śāstrin has edited "Svapna-vāsavadatta" nine times, the first two editions appeared in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series of the Travancore Government. The other editions are publications with his own commentary. For each of these editions, he was able to consult some new manuscripts (secured then and now) from various parts of Malabar. I have also examined several original manuscripts of these plays, which Dr. Śāstrin had no occasion to use for his editions. Dr. Śāstrin makes it plain that none of these manuscripts bear the full name 'Svapna-vāsavadatta.' But all the manuscripts hitherto found possess one or other of the following lines at the end of the work : (1) स्वप्ननाटकमवसितम्, (2) वासवदत्ता समाप्ता (3) स्वप्ननाटिकावसिता। On the other hand, two reasons induced Dr. Śāstrin to give the name "Svapna-vāsavadatta" for the work as he clearly states in his introduction.[1] One is a Ms. copy of this drama, which was

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1 "I was able to obtain a complete, though not correct, Ms. of each of the two plays '*Svapna*' and '*Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa.*' This was from my esteemed friend Pandit A. Anantacharya of Mysore, who was kind enough to send me a copy of his copy of the Ms. obtained by him from Kerala. At the end of this Ms. copy of '*Svapna-nāṭaka*' is written स्वप्नवासवदत्तं समाप्तम्. This agrees with what we supposed to be the full name of '*Svapna-nāṭaka.*'" (Intro. to "*Svapna-vāsavadatta,*" 1912, p. xxi. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 15).

"Following the Subhāṣita of Rājaśekhara, this Nāṭaka has been

copied from an original Ms. of Malabar some years ago, and was in the possession of A. Anantacharya of Mysore. This has been utilised by Dr. Śāstrin. At the end of the work, this Ms. contained 'Svapna-vāsavadattaṃ samāptam." The other is, as Rājaśekhara has mentioned, a drama called 'Svapna-vāsavadatta."

Now, I introduce this note, simply to show that the old name of the work is "Svapna-vāsavadatta" as it is designed by Dr. Śāstrin and not 'Svapna-nāṭaka'.

There is a Ms. in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library called "Śākuntala-vyākhyā"[1] hitherto not published. This is a commentary on Kālidāsa's "Abijñāna-śākuntala." This work is also called "Śākuntala-carccā." As the commentator says at the end of each act इति चर्चितः प्रथमोऽङ्कः, इति चर्चितः द्वितीयोऽङ्कः etc., there is a probability of assuming the name "Śākuntala-carccā" as a correct one. The Ms. is an incomplete one and runs up to the middle of the sixth Act. The work not only comments on the text of "Śākuntala" as the other commentaries generally do, but also makes a comparative study of other dramas, describes the characteristics of actors, discusses many problems of scenic art[2] and quotes authoritative statements from various authors to establish his own conclusion. Regarding the structure of the plot he introduces many alterations and changes in 'Abhijñāna-śākuntala' after comparing it with the 'Śakuntalopākhyāna' of 'Śrīmahābhārata.' The style of the commentary is simple and sweet. The author of the commentary is not known, but it can be guessed that the probable date of the work is 14th century A.C. The work frequently mentions the following :

(i) dramatical works : Anargharāghava, (Mahā) Vīracarita, Mālatīmādhava, Veṇīsaṃhāra, Viṇāvāsavadatta, Bālarāmāyaṇa, Mālavikāgnimitra, Vikramorvaśīya, Prabodhacandrodaya, Nāgā-

styled '*Svapna-vāsavadatta.*' It can also be termed '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' or '*Svapna-nāṭakam.*" (Preface to Ibid.)

1 Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, No. I.33.17, or R. No. 2778.

This Manuscript was transcribed in 1918-19, from a Ms. of Nārāyaṇa Naṃbūdiri of Kūḍalūr Mana, Nārari, Trittala, Malabar District.

2 गुणदोषविभागज्ञाः सदा गुणपरायणाः।
सचेतसो निरीक्षन्तामिदं नाट्यनिरूपणम्॥
(Śākuntala-vyākhyā, p. 1).

nanda, Cārudatta, Karpūramañjarī, Traivikrama, Bhagavadajjuka, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Kalyāṇasaugandhika, Pañcarātra, Bālacarita, Ratnāvalī, Svapnavāsavadatta, Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Avimāraka, (Tapatī) Saṃvaraṇa,

(ii) and other works: Nāṭyaśāstra, Sāhityasāra, Bharatasaṃgraha, Śrīmahābhārata, Kumārasambhava, Meghasandeśa, Raghuvaṃśa, Śṛṇgāraprakāśa (Bhoja), Rāmāyaṇa,

(iii) and authors: Bahurūpakamiśra, Rājaśekhara, Dhvanikāra, (Amara) Siṃha, Kāmandaka, Divākara, Yādava, Keśava, Vyaktivivekakāra (Mahimabhaṭṭa), Yājñavalkya, Vāhaṭa, and Kauṭalya.

It is a common fact that in all dramas except the thirteen of the so-called Bhāsa the sentence, नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः, could be seen after the benedictory verse at the beginning of the play. But in the case of these thirteen plays the same sentence is put before the benedictory verse in a peculiar manner. Dr. Śāstrin states[1] that this is the peculiarity of Bhāsa's works, and Bāṇa at the beginning of his 'Harṣacarita' described this peculiarity of Bhāsa's works in a verse in which he praises Bhāsa as a great dramatist. This statement of Dr. Śāstrin is not acceptable because even some other dramas such as 'Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa,' 'Subhadrādhanañjaya' 'Mattavilāsaprahasana,' 'Kalyāṇasaugandhika,' 'Bhagavadajjuka,' and 'Traivikrama' bear the same sentence before benedictory verse. In addition to this I have examined several original Mss. of Śakuntala, Karpūramañjarī, and other works. Some of them bear the same sentence before the verse. On this point the commentator states :

बहुरूपकादिभिरनर्घराघवादिषु प्रथमश्लोको नान्दीत्येव कथितः।... ... ... तव तावन्नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधार इत्यर्थं यत्यः प्रथमश्लोकात्प्रागेव किमुपपद्यते उतानन्तरम्? उभयथापि दर्शनात् संशयः। (p. 1).

Commencing in this manner he concludes that if the meaning of the word 'nāndī' is 'vādyavādanakriyā', then the sentence must be before the verse, and if it means the benedictory verse the sentence must be after the same verse.

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1 सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव॥

Bhaṭṭabāṇa in the above śloka qualifies Bhāsa's Nāṭakas; it applies to these plays, for every one of them begins with the stage direction नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः।

(Introduction to '*Svapna-vāsavadatta*' (1912), p. xxi.

It is generally seen that at the commencement of dramas the Sūtradhāra enters the stage and then calls his actress for conversation. But in Traivikrama[1] this is not the order adopted. So he says :—

त्रैविक्रमे तु सूत्रधारेण सह नटाः प्रवेशः कथ्यते—ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः सह प्रियया इति। तत्र चतुरस्यम्। सूत्रधारेण प्रस्तुताचेपी स्वकार्यविमर्शार्थं समाहूतानां नटीप्रभृतीनां पृथक् प्रवेशो युक्तः। अथेह तादृशकार्याभावात् सह प्रवेश इति मन्यते, तत्त्वाधु। सूत्रधारस्य नाट्यप्रयोगात्मकं स्वकार्यं वचनं च नास्तीत्यपूर्वमेतत्। क्वचित् पुनः—"नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः सूत्र—आर्ये तृतीये खलु चितपटे" इत्यादि दृश्यते। तत्रापि सहप्रवेशः सिद्धः, अन्यप्रवेशाकथनात्। नटीनटीत्यन्तरा पात्रनिर्देशात्। तस्य च वचनोपलम्भाच्च। (p. 33).

While referring to the discussion whether Prākṛt or Saṃskṛt is to be preferred for the use on the stage by Sūtradhāra, the work mentions Cārudatta as follows :—

चारुदत्ते पुनः सूत्रधारस्यापि प्राकृतम्। तच्चिन्त्यम्। कर्पूरमञ्जर्यां तु युक्तम् सट्टकस्य प्राकृतात्मकत्वात्। (p. 12).

In another place the same work is mentioned thus :—

यथा चारुदत्ते—तत्र ह्युपवासपारणानिरतनटीप्रार्थनया सूत्रधार आमन्त्रणनिमन्त्रणार्थं कञ्चिद् ब्राह्मणं विचिन्वन् साक्षाच्चारुदत्तस्य वयस्यं मैत्रेयं दृष्ट्वा उपसृत्य निमन्त्रितवान्। (p. 23).

The following passages are the portions in which Bhagavadajjuka, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Kalyāṇasaugandhika, Pañcarātra, and Bālacarita are mentioned in the commentary :—[2]

तत्र विक्रमोर्वशीयादौ नारिषं प्रति अस्य (सूत्रधारस्य) स्वकार्यवचनम्। भगवदज्जुकादौ विदूषकं प्रति। अत्र (शाकुन्तले) नटीं प्रति। ननु दूतघटोत्कचादौ नटादिरहितेन सूत्रधारेण स्थापना क्रियते। एकाङ्कषकेष्वेवमिति चेत्, कथं कल्याणसौगन्धिकादौ अनेकाङ्केष्वप्येवं दृश्यते। कथं पञ्चरात्रे। [अनाटक] एवमिति चेत्, कथं बालचरिते। यद्येवमयं प्रकारोऽस्ति किं न्वेष न साधीयान्। वचनविरोधात्। (p. 14).

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1 *Traivikrama* is a very small drama (prahasana) in one act and is published by K. R. Pisharoti in '*Shamaa*.' The '*Vāmanāvatāra-prabandha*' of Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa includes two verses from this play.

2 *Kalyāṇa-saugandhika* by Nīlakaṇṭha-kavi is published by Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, vol. III, and the same is re-edited with commentary by me in the *Punjab Skt. Series*, but it contains only one act. From this extract we must guess that there must have been a work named '*Kalyāṇa-asaugandhika*' containing several acts which hitherto has not been secured.

Mention is made of Dūta-ghaṭotkaca alone in another place :—

दूतघटोत्कचे स्थापनायां सूत्रधार आह—

यान्त्यर्जुनप्रत्यभिज्ञानभीता
यातोऽर्जुनस्तां दिशमीक्षमाणः[1]
नराधिपाः स्वानि निवेशनानि
सौभद्रबाणाङ्कितनष्टसंज्ञाः ॥ इति । (p. 24).

तदत्र (दूतघटोत्कचे) सूत्रधारस्य निवेद्यतां निवेद्यतामिति नैपथ्यभाषितं श्रुत्वा । (p. Ibid).

The reference to the Viṇāvāsavadatta[1] is given below from the commentary :—

एवं वीणावासवदत्तादौ "यदि वसन्तप्रभृति नियमोपवासैर्भगवन्तं महेश्वरमाराध्य तदभिप्रेताय तां (वासवदत्तां) दास्यामि" इत्यादौ द्रष्टव्यम् । (p. 28).

The commentary explains the meaning of the word 'Sthāpanā.' In that connection Avimāraka is mentioned :—

नागानन्द-चूडामणिप्रभृतौ नट्या सह सूत्रधारेण कृता सूचना स्थापनेत्युच्यते, न तु आमुखमिति । क्वचिदेवमप्युच्यते । यथा—अविमारक-(तपती-) संवरणादौ । मालतीमाधवे पारिपार्श्विकेन सह कृता प्रस्तावनेति कथ्यते, पुनः स्थापनेति कथ्यते अन्यत्र तथापि च कथ्यते । यथा—विक्रमोर्वशीयादिषु । क्वचित् पुनः सूत्रधारेणैव कृता सूचना स्थापनेत्युच्यते । यथा—बालचरित-स्वप्नवासवदत्तादिषु । (p. 30).

The reference to 'Svapnavāsavadatta' from the commentary is given belows :—

तथा स्वप्नवासवदत्तायां—

एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि । अये किन्नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यये शब्द इव श्रूयते । अङ्क पश्यामि ।
(नेपथ्ये)
उज्जयिनी अंका
इत्यादि । उच्यते—अत्र खलु विस्मरणस्य कारणं विज्ञापनव्यय इति साधूक्तम् । कीदृगिदं विज्ञापनं इति चेदुच्यते—भोः सभासदः साम्प्रतमहं स्वप्नवासवदत्तां नाम नाटकं प्रयोक्ष्ये, तदवधानेनानुगृह्यतामिति ।

These quotations from 'Śākuntala-vyākhyā' are to be found in all

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1 A portion (eight pages) of the first act of the '*Viṇā-vāsavadatta*' is published in the *Journal of the Oriental Research*, Madras, as its supplement. An incomplete Ms. copy of the drama which runs up to the third act is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Some fragment palm-leaves of the first to eight acts of the drama are in my possession. This drama has also a peculiar manner as the other thirteen plays of so-called Bhāsa. It mentions no author or place in the Sthāpanā. The sentence beginning with यदि वसन्त which is given here is found in the beginning of the play.

the thirteen plays of Bhāsa. The name 'Svapna-vāsavadatta' is also mentioned in two places. Dr. Śāstrin has given the name in neuter gender but the same appears here in feminine gender.[1] So we may take it that 'Svapna-nāṭaka' is a contracted form of 'Svapna-vāsavadatta-nāṭaka,' as 'Candra' of 'Candragupta,' 'Pratijñā' of 'Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa,' and 'Ketu' of 'Malayaketu,' according to the popular maxim नामैकदेशग्रहणे नामग्रहणम्। Therefore we come to the conclusion that the real name of the Trivandrum Drama is "*Svapna-vāsavadatta*" and not "*Svapna-nāṭaka.*"

V. VENKATARAM SHARMA

The Lumbinī-Pilgrimage Record in two Inscriptions

The votive record of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the village of Lumbinī is preserved in two inscriptions, one incised on a stone pillar (*silāthabha*) and the other on a stone slab (*silāphalaka*). The copy on the *silāthabha* is what is familiarly known as the Rummindei Pillar Inscription and that on the *silāphalaka* may be designated the Kapileśvar Stone-slab Inscription. The Rummindei copy remains incised on the lower portion of a broken pillar of Aśoka which stands "as a mere stump, but still *in situ*", "near the shrine of Rummindêî, about a mile to the north of the village of Paṛariyā, which is about 2 miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsīl of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī."

The Kapileśvar copy, first brought to public notice by Mr. Haranchandra Chakladar of the Calcutta University, was procured in about March 1928 by Mr. Birendranath Roy for his museum at Puri from a farmer of the village of Kapileśvar, situated nearly a mile to the south of the famous Liṅgaraj Temple at Bhuvaneśvar. The farmer had found the inscribed stone-slab set in the mud-wall of his hut. This is all the information which Mr. Roy and others could gather from him.[2]

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1 If we accept the name in feminine gender we have to correct Rājaśekhara's Subhāṣita words as स्वप्नवासवदत्ताया दाहको instead of स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकी।

2 *Pravāsī* (a Bengali monthly), Śrāvaṇ, 1335, B.S. (i.e., July 1928), p. 627.

CORRECTION SLIP

P. 729	l.19	Read	*āthabhagiy*[*e*]	for	*athabhāgiya*
	l.29	„	*silaṭhabha*	„	*sil*(*ā*)*thabha*
	l.32	„	*āthabhāgiy*[*e*]	„	*āthabhāgiya*
	l.37	„	*āthabhāgiy*[*e*]	„	*athabhāgiya*

The Rummindei inscription is beautifully designed in five lines, the first four of which run to the full length, keeping a uniform margin on both sides, and the fifth line, which starts from the same margin on the left, is made up of the six concluding letters. The number of letters is not the same in all the lines, and, in this respect, the design differs from that of the Second and the Third Barabar Hill Cave inscriptions. With this may be contrasted the design of the Kapileśvar inscription, which covers almost the whole of the surface of a piece of stone measuring, if placed vertically, 1′ 7″ in length, 1′ in height and 7″ in thickness. The very appearance of the stone-slab suggests that originally it formed part of a larger whole, the mutilation being clearly perceptible in the upper part. The inscription consists of six lines, and there appears a marked tendency to accommodate fifteen letters in each line, although a slight variation is noticeable in lines 4 and 5, each of which contains sixteen letters. The size of the letters becomes smaller here and there after the second line. As in the Third Barabar Hill Cave inscription, we further notice an attempt to run all the lines between the same margin. In line 6 there are some nine additional letter-forms, four before and six after *athabhāgiya*, which are not to be found in the Rummindei record. Similarly, there are two additional forms at the end of line 5 immediately after *ubalika kaṭa*.

If the text of the Rummindei inscription be taken as the standard, that of the Kapileśvar will be found to present certain variations, slips and omissions, as will appear from the following table:

1. Variations—(*a*) *D[e]vāṇaṃphiyeṇa* for *Devānaṃpiyena*; (*b*) *Piyadashiṇa* for *Piyadasina*; (*c*) *vi*° for *vī*°; (*d*) *Budha* for *Budhe*; (*e*) *j[ā]ta* for *jāte*; (*f*) *saya*° for *sakya*°; (*g*) *kālāph(i)t(ā)* for *kālāpita*; (*h*) *sil(ā)thabha va* for *silāthabhe cha*; (*i*) *u(sa)p[ā]p(i)ta* for *usapāpite*; (*j*) *j[ā]te ta* for *jāte ti*; (*k*) *L[u]minigame* for *Luṃminigāme*; (*l*) *ubalika kaṭa* for *ubalike kaṭe*; and (*m*) *āthabhāgiya* for *aṭhabhāgiye*.
2. Slips—(*a*) *visābhisitena* for *vīsati-vasābhisitena*; (*b*) *āgācha* for *atana āgācha*; and (*c*) *mahīda* for *makīyite hida*.
3. Additions—(*a*) *Īl*°*(v)th*°*(200) 40* between *ubalika kaṭa* and *athabhāgiya*; (*b*) three Kharoshṭhī letters between two uniform devices after *athabhāgiya* in line 6, the devices appearing somewhat like inverted Brāhmī *ma* or inverted nandipada symbols, and the Kharoshṭhī letters reading from right to left *ch(u* or *ṃ) dra ya*.

Examining the letters in the Kapileśvar inscription, we may observe that inspite of certain curious forms such as those of *ṃ*, *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *ṇ*, *m* and *v*, the specimen of the script is, on the whole, not such as to warrant the suppostion that it is not Aśokan. With regard to the curious forms, we may note that *ṃ* is represented by a short vertical upper stroke instead of by a dot (cf. *Devāṇaṃ* in l. 1,); that in line 3, the two sides of *g* do not appear to meet on the top at a sharp angle; that in the same line, the curvature of *ch* is abnormally large and almost appears to be of the same height as the vertical line; that in the same line, the upper portion of the vertical of *k* is somewhat longer than the lower; that the upper and lower curvatures of *j* everywhere look effaced, leaving in the middle only a curve (but not a sharp angle); that in line l. 1, *ṇ* is made up of a vertical line with a rectangular base open in the middle of the top; that, in lines 3 and 5, the intersected portion of the circle of *m* looks effaced, so that the letter appears to enclose a gap from top to bottom; and, lastly, that in the first *v* of line 1, the circle is disproportionately large.

But, on a careful examination of all the letters in the inscription, it will be evident that the really unusual forms are only those of *ṃ*, *ch* and *ṇ*. As regards the other letters, they occur in this very inscription in those forms that are also met with in other inscriptions of Aśoka. In fact, we get two varieties of the form of each of the letters *k*, *g*, *m*, and *y* [cf. *k* (l. 3) with *k* (l. 4), *g* (l. 3) with *g* (l. 5), *m* (ll. 3, 5) with *m* (l. 2) where there is a clear evidence of original intersection of the curves, *y* (l. 1) with *y* (l. 3)]. Chanda has noted the occurrence in this inscription of unusual forms of *n* and *s*.[1] We have to point out that the form of the dental *s* is all right, and the sibilant in line 1, which may strike one as unusual, is but a regular Brāhmī form of the lingual sibilant *sh*, and not of the dental *s*; and that the letter which he specifies as a curious form of the dental nasal *n*, may not be a curious form of *n* but of the lingual nasal *ṇ*. So far as it can be judged from the form of the dental nasal employed in this inscription, there is nothing unusual about it. In the case of each of the letters *k*, *ch*, *g*, and *v*, the form which we have pointed out at the outset as unusual is not so,

1 See Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda's note on the newly discovered Kapileśvar inscription, in the Bengali monthly, *Pravāsī*, Āśvin, 1335 B.S. (i.e., Oct. 1928), pp. 806-7.

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because it is also met with in some of the other inscriptions of Aśoka, for instance, *k* with the vertical longer in the upper portion occurs in the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E. I; the disproportionate size of the curve of *ch* is amply illustrated by the *ch*'s in the Delhi-Mirath copy of R.E. II, *e.g.*, in the words *sache*, *sochaye* (l. 2), *chilaṃṭhitikā* (l. 6); *g* (l. 3) has its parallel in *go* of *nigohakubhā* in the First Barabar Hill Cave inscription; the rather disproportionate circle of the first *v* in line 1 finds its parallels in the First and the Second Barabar Hill Cave inscriptions; the form of *j* similarly has its counterpart in the last named inscriptions and also an interesting parallel in the *j* of *Jaṃbudīpasi* in line 3 of the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E. I; as to the parallels of *m* and *y*, they are too numerous to require any reference here, it being borne in mind, with regard to the former, that the opening in the middle is perhaps due to the surface of the stone being worn out.

If the question be raised as to whether it was possible for the same scribe, as here, to design different forms of one and the same letter in the same inscription, our duty should simply be to refer the questioner, first to the three copies of M.R.E. I, which we definitely know to have been inscribed by one and the same scribe, *viz.*, *Chapaḍa* and particularly to the Brahmagiri copy where the *j* of line 3 differs entirely from the *j* of line 6 and the first *m* of line 3 from the second *m* as well as the third; and secondly, to the Lauriya-Ararāj copy of P.E. I, where the letter *y* occurs throughout in two forms, as in the Kapileśvar inscription, nay, even in one and the same line.

The three Kharoshṭhī letters between the two devices shaped like inverted Brāhmī *ma* in the right half of line 6, which have hitherto escaped notice, have an importance all their own. The word represented by them is *Chudraya* or *Chu(ṃ)draya*. One may be tempted to read, from left to right, the first two letters as Brāhmī *ga* and *ja* and the third doubtfully as Brāhmī *ma*, but, to guard against such a precipitate course, it must be pointed out that nowhere in this inscription the Brāhmī *j* or the Brāhmī *m* hangs below the level of the line or of the accompanying letters, as the second and the third letters (read from left to right) do here. All the features of the three letters are properly accounted for, if we read them as Kharoshṭhī. It is easy to understand that the purpose of inserting the word between the two symbols was to keep it distinct from the text of the inscription. Like *Chapaḍa* of M.R.E.I, *Ch(u)ṃdraya* may be regarded as the name of the scribe. Considered in this light, it enables us to set down this inscription

as a Brāhmī record in the extreme north of India wherein the name of the scribe appears in Kharoshṭhī just as the word *lipikara* does in the Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara copies of M.R.E. I in the extreme south. It is to be noted that in the three south-Indian inscriptions, the colophon of the text consists of a complete sentence, *Chapaḍena likhitaṃ* (or °*te*) *lipikareṇa*, 'written by Chapaḍa, the scribe', the first two words of which are in Brāhmī and the third word in Kharoshṭhī; whereas in the present inscription such a full statement could not be made apparently for want of space, and consequently the name *Chu(ṃ)draya* stands alone enclosed by the two symbols. The subscription of the name in Kharoshṭhī at the end of a Brāhmī inscription proves, precisely as in the case of the three south-Indian inscriptions, that the scribe himself hailed from the north-western part of India where Kharoshṭhī was the prevalent script, or that, at any rate, his own script, like that of *Chapaḍa*, was not Brāhmī but Kharoshṭhī.

Since the publication of Chanda's note on the new find (*Pravāsī*, Oct. 1928), doubting the genuineness of the record, the general impression has been that it is a forgery. Those who have read his note, which is in Bengali, will, we think, agree with us that he has cast a doubt without a sifting examination of individual letters of the inscription in relation to one another as also to the letters of other Aśoka inscriptions, particularly those in South India, which, as is well-known, are incised in Brāhmī by a scribe whose habitual script was Kharoshṭhī. If our contention bears scrutiny, that is to say, if there occurs between the two devices a word represented by three Kharoshṭhī letters, whatever may be its final reading and interpretation, then the whole question as to the genuineness or otherwise of the Kapileśvar record will have to be reopened and approached in the light of the new aspect that it has now gained. Now, if from the occurrence, in a purely Brāhmī record, of a colophon in Kharoshṭhī, the right inference be that it was incised by a professional scribe who had been brought up in the tradition of north-west India, it becomes necessary to enquire whether and how far in the Brāhmī portion of that record the letter-forms and the language have been influenced respectively by Kharoshṭhī and the dialects of the north-west region where Kharoshṭhī was prevalent, that is to say, by the letters and dialects of Aśoka's Rock inscriptions at Shahbazgarhī and Mansehra, and further, whether in other well known Brāhmī inscriptions of Aśoka we can discover traces of influence either in respect of letter-forms or in that of language.

With regard to letter-forms, the distinction between the dental and lingual nasals would not have struck us at all, had we not in mind the tendency in Kharoshṭhī to form the *ṇ* by a loop at the base (cf. the *ṇa* of *lipikareṇa* written in Kharoshṭhī in the colophon of the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E. I). If we bear in mind how such a long habit of writing might exercise a sub-conscious influence on the scribe when he was engaged in incising an inscription in Brāhmī, to which he was not much accustomed, it becomes easy to understand how the figure of the Brāhmī lingual *ṇ* could be drawn at the base describing a rectangle with the appearance of a oblong loop, so to say. Evidently, the scribe was labouring under a disadvantage, and the same impression gains ground in respect of the scribe of the three aforesaid South-Indian copies of M.R.E. I, when they are compared with the present inscription generally.

As regards language, the orthography followed in the Kapileśvar inscription bears traces of influence of the north-western dialects, perceptibly in the substitution of the lingual *ṇ* and *sh* for the dental *n* and *s* (*Devāṇaṃphiyeṇa Piyadashiṇa*),—a feature which is altogether absent in inscriptions to the east of Kalsi and south of Girnar. Such a substitution is, we think, also due to the same sub-conscious influence, on the scribe, of the orthography of the north-western dialects, and looking for parallels, we discover in Chapaḍa's copies of M.R.E. I at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara that the lingual nasal occurs in place of the dental of other copies, notably in the words *pakamiṇeṇa* (Brahmagiri) and *sāvaṇe* (in all the three copies). However much Chapaḍa might have restrained himself in the Siddāpura copy in respect of the dental in *pa*[*kamine*]*na*, his lurking predilection for the lingual was so potent as to make him use it twice in the Brahmagiri variant, *pakamiṇeṇa*, where he should have used it only once, consistently with the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra dialects. Chapaḍa's performance, such as it is, will surely absolve the scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription from the guilt of having spelt the word *Devāṇaṃ* with a lingual *ṇ*.

Further evidence of such an influence can be gathered from the Kalsi record of the Fourteen Rock Edicts. As regards orthography, the Kalsi version has, down to almost the end of R.E. IX, maintained harmony with Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, and inclined, from the concluding portion of R.E. IX down to R.E. XIV, to resemble Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. From R.E. X to R.E. XIV the inscription is by a different hand. It is in this portion that we discern a marked pre-

ponderance of the lingual and the palatal sibilants (*sh*, *ś*), although in respect of the dental nasal (*n*), sufficient care seems to have been taken to maintain the orthography of the texts in the preceding portion. Notwithstanding the fact that the scribe of the second portion of the Kalsi record did not emulate Chapaḍa by using Kharoshṭhī to provide a tangible proof of his connection with, or knowledge of, that script, it is not difficult to surmise from the aforesaid evidence that he, too, was a man of north-western tradition. As to the contrast between Chapaḍa and the Kalsi scribe of the second portion, we find that while the former has shown his north-western predilection for *ṇ*, the latter has done the same in respect of *ś* and *sh*. Then, where is the harm if the scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription has inclined towards both the lingual nasal and the lingual sibilant, when he, too, was as the Kharoshṭhī colophon *Chuṃdrayo* shows, an inheritor of the same north-western tradition?

The additions and slips in the present inscripton constitute the second argument of Chanda for casting doubt on its genuineness. As regards the additions, he has drawn attention to certain expressions represented by six letter-traces between *ubalika kaṭa* and *aṭhabhāgiya* (as he reads it) but he is silent about the colophon enclosed by the two devices. His argument is that there is no scope for any extra expression between *ubalika kaṭa* and *aṭhabhāgiya*' presumably on account of the fact that in the Rummindei copy the sense of the text is complete without it.

But in pressing his argument he has not proved, as he ought to have done, that it was binding on the scribe or persons responsible for the Kapileśvar inscription to strictly adhere to the Rummindei text and not to put in additional matters. If we compare the different versions of the Aśoka edicts, it becomes increasingly clear that they differ in omissions and additions of expressions and in divisions of sentences, as, for instance, in the common portion of the three copies of the Schism Pillar edict at Sārnath, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchi. Again, in the case of M.R.E. I, it will be noticed that the introductory statement (*Suvaṃṇagirīte ayaputaśa.....vataviyā*) of the three South-Indian copies has no counterpart in the remaining ones just as the concluding statement of the Sahasram copy (*Iṃa cha aṭhaṃ.....likhāpayātha ti*) has no counterpart except in the copy found at Rūpnath. Such being the case, one ought to attempt a reading of the extra expression in the Kapileśvar inscription before summarily dismissing it as superfluous. So far as we can make out, the six additional

letters representing the expression offer a reading *Īl*$_{\circ}$ (*v*)$_{\circ}$*th* (*200*) *40*. If this reading be correct, then it must be said that the Rummindei copy is guilty of a very important omission.

Now, with regard to the slips, the palpable and fatal errors, relied upon by Chanda as an argument in favour of the spuriousness of the Kapileśvar copy, it seems that he has tried to impress that the scribes, because they were employed by Piyadasi, were incapable of such slips and errors. On the other hand, Piyadasi himself was fully cognisant of the fact that his scribes were not immune from such faults, and, as a matter of fact, he had to issue an edict, viz., R. E. XIV to excuse himself on their blunder (*lipikarāparadhena vā*) for the incomplete character of his rescripts here and there, and we need not cite here the numerous instances of errors his scribes had committed in different parts of India. The scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription may at first sight appear to be far more guilty than the scribes of other inscriptions. One may point out with Chanda that he is guilty of a slip in °*visābhisitena* for *vīsativasābhisitena*, of the omission of *atana* or *atanā* before *āgācha* and of a serious slip in *mahīda* for *mahīyite hida*. But we think that his °*visābhisitena* may be excused, as the sense (viz. "when he had been consecrated twenty years") can be deduced from it without difficulty ; that the omission of *atanā* before *āgācha* is not important, for the sense of it is implied in *āgācha* itself ; and that the slip in *mahīda*, serious though it may be, jeopardizing, as it does, the word *hida* which is to be connected with the next expression (viz., *Buddha jata*), does not, after all, wholly miss the form or the sense of *mahīyite*. Such thoughtless clipping and patching are, however, not without their parallels, and Chanda, in whose opinion there never occurs an instance of mutilation in the titles and years of coronation of the king, will perhaps be astounded to find that in the very edict (viz. R.E. XIV) in which the king seeks to excuse himself on his scribes' errors, the Shahbazgarhi scribe writes with impunity the king's title as *Devanaṃpriyena Priśina* (!). If this be the sample of slip committed in the execution of a Kharoshṭhī inscription by a scribe who was presumably conversant with the Kharoshṭhī script and familiar with the north-western dialects, the lapses which the scribe of the Kapileśvar inscription becomes guilty of, having had to execute a record in a rather unfamiliar script and an equally unfamiliar dialect, lose at once their serious character on comparison. We do not deny that he was careless to a degree, but that should not

be the reason for doubting the genuineness of a record, far less, of one inscribed under peculiar circumstances. Indeed, before deciding one way or the other, the important point to consider must always be the evidence of the lurking influence of the north-western tradition betrayed by the scribe in the Kharoshṭhī letters of the colophon, and the peculiar orthography of the words *Devāṇaṃphiyeṇa Piyadashiṇa* and *kālāphitā*.

The purport of the third argument of Chanda, in so far as it bears upon the question of forgery, is that if the record on the Rummindei pillar had sufficed to serve the king's purpose, there was no occasion for its reduplication on a stone slab. The purpose of the king was, in his opinion, two-fold : (1) to afford guidance to the future pilgrims in identifying the actual spot of Buddha Śākyamuni's birth, and (2) to provide his revenue-collectors at Lumbinī with a direction, by drawing their attention to the immunities and privileges granted to the village. These constitute the basic fact of his argument. We may certainly entertain them as inferences, but there are other considerations which must not be lost sight of. The text read as a whole embodies a vivid record of the memorable deeds of merit done by a devout pilgrim on his visit to a spot which for him had a great fascination as the birth-place of Buddha Śākyamuni. None can mistake that in the expressions of the record the august majesty of Piyadasi has been transcended by the genial grace of the devotee. And the purpose which spontaneously comes out of the text does not differ from that of other devout pilgrims or benevolent persons whose natural desire have sought satisfaction in labelling their individual works of piety with a commemorative personal record. Speaking of Piyadasi himself, such a desire has found expression also in his edict on his second queen's donations. In fact, the Rummindei text enumerates broadly two types of pious deeds, each illustrated by two similar acts, namely,

(i) Memorial stone-work : *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita* and *silāthabhe cha usapāpite* ; and

(ii) Benevolence : *Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe* and *aṭhabhāgiye cha*.

The inscription on the Rummindei Pillar (which is the *silāthabha*, the first type of work), is a proof that the royal pilgrim labelled it with a commemorative personal record, but what about the other deed of the first type which has also been mentioned as an action (*silāvigaḍa* etc.) and, as such, might equally be marked out by a label ? If it be contended that the work implied in *silāvigaḍa* etc. is

not different from that involved in *silāthabhe* etc., then what about the distinguishing tablet or tablets for the royal acts of benevolence representing the second type of work? If it was found expedient to include in the record on the *silāthabha* the fact not only of the erection of the pillar itself but also of the disposing of the *silāvigaḍa* and the dispensing of the acts of benevolence, why should it be found inexpedient to make a full record in each of the other two cases? If *silāvigaḍa* be a carving in stone apart from the *silāthabha*, can we reasonably say that there was no occasion for another inscription of a similar kind? In the case of the immunities and privileges granted to the village of Lumbinī, is it, again, unreasonable to imagine an occasion for necessarily two additional records, one for the guidance of the king's revenue-collectors and the other to be used by the villagers themselves as a documentary safe-guard against possible encroachment on their rights? If there be any doubt about the possibility of such a royal procedure, viz., of multiplying the records, it may at once be removed by a reference to the Sārnath Schism Pillar inscription, which fortunately embodies the detailed instruction of Piyadasi to his Mahāmātras as to the method to be followed by them for circulating the royal measure to all persons or groups of person whom it might concern, and this was to be done by means of as many copies as possible. If so, where is the difficulty in regarding the Kapileśvar copy as one of the possible additional records at Lumbinī?

It can be pertinently asked, how is one to account for its find in a village in Bhuvaneśvar in remote Orissa? One of the following two explanations are possible:

(i) that it was just a copy sent by Piyadasi to Tosali, the principal head-quarters of his Kaliṅga province, for the information of his official representatives about his pious acts in Lumbinī;

(ii) that the record itself was in later times removed from Lumbinī to Kaliṅga through some unknown agency.

The first explanation, which has been offered by Chakladar, is ably refuted by Chanda, who argues that the subject-matter of the record, pertaining as it does to the village of Lumbinī, has but a local interest and that there is nothing in the text of the inscription to necessitate its circulation in a far-off province like Kaliṅga.[1] With regard to

1 Chanda, *op. cit.*

the second explanation, the only point for consideration is whether the removal of the inscribed stone slab from Lumbinī to Orissa was at all possible, and, if so, when, by whom, and for what reason ?

The contingency of transference does not at all strike us as impossible, especially when we have recorded instances of the removal of Aśoka's monoliths to long distances. It may be contended that those monoliths were removed on account of their artistic importance and that the inscribed stone slab of Kapileśvar had apparently no special attraction to have induced any one to remove it. History, however, does not bear out that things of this kind were without their importance. The famous Hāthigumphā inscription of the powerful Jaina king Khāravela of Kaliṅga, on the Udayagiri hill, only five miles from Bhuvaneśvar, which is an epigraphic record assignable to as early a date as the second quarter of the first century A.C.[1] (not to say that its date may be pushed even further back to the first[2] or second century B.C.[3]), expressly mentions that Khāravela triumphantly brought back to Kaliṅga the seat of Jina, the pride of the people of Kaliṅga, which had been carried off (no doubt as a trophy) by one Nandarāja (*Naṃdarāja-nītaṃ Kāliṃga-Jināsanaṃ*).[4] An idea of such seats can be formed from the numerous pre-iconic representations in ancient sculptures of the Buddhists and the Jains, notably those at Barhut, Bodh-Gayā and Udayagiri. They are so many cubical carvings of wood or stone, and, the inscribed stone slab of Kapileśvar, so far as its present form goes, may very well pass as a good example of them. Whatever the size or the material of the *Jināsana*, the fact remains that it was in that distant age carried from and back to Kaliṅga as a signal proof of victory. In the case of the Kapileśvar stone slab, even without imagining a contest of rival kings bringing about its transference, we can fancy the possibility of its removal under quieter circumstances, say, for instance, by some pious pilgrim or chance visitor ; for, after all, its size was not unmanageably large, nor was its conveyance difficult, on account of the proximity of Lumbinī to Kapilavastu, the halting place along

1 Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 22, 45, 260.

2 Chanda, *MASI.*, No. 1, pp. 14-15 ; Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of India*, pp. 239-40, 258-59.

3 Jayaswal and R. D. Bannerji in *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 495-497 *et seq.*

4 Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, vol. IV., pt. iv, p. 403 ; and Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 22, 260.

the great caravan route from Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, to Patiṭṭhāna on the bank of the Godāvarī,[1] and also on account of the facility of communication between Magadha and Kaliṅga[2] both by land and sea, the land-route being expressly mentioned in the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*. Thus, by whatever tests the Kapileśvar record be judged, whether of palæography, or of orthography, or of the Kharoshṭhī colophon, or of the possibility of multiplication of records, or of the chances of transport, one cannot see eye to eye with Chanda in respect of the charges he has preferred against the document.

So much about the Kapileśvar inscription. We shall now proceed to the interpretation of the two Lumbinī-Pilgrimage records, and begin with the word *mahīyite*. It is to be noticed at the outset that the nominative of the verb *mahīyite*, which means 'was worshipped,' is wanting in both the texts; the object of worship may, however, be deduced from the expressions *hida Budhe jāte Sakyamuni*, *hida Bhagavaṃ jāte* and *Luṃmini-gāme*. In other words, the thing worshipped is the spot of Buddha Śākyamuni's nativity in the village of Lumbinī. But, is this all the bearing that the term *mahīyite* has in the text of the inscriptions? We think not. The whole text is epitomised by the introductory expression *atana āgācha mahīyite*; this is what is technically called the 'Uddesa' or the theme of the text, and what follows is the 'Niddesa,' or its exemplification in specific terms. The full sense of the expression *atana āgācha mahīyite* is not covered but only typified in the 'niddesa', that is to say, the idea of the magnitude of the pious action implied in the 'uddesa' is to be understood in the light of the two sets of typical examples, namely :—

1. (a) *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita*,
   (b) *silāthabhe cha usapāpite*; and
2. (a) *Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe*,
   (b) (*Luṃmini-gāme*) *aṭhabhāgiye* (*kaṭe*).

If we confine ourselves to the 'uddesa' portion, the graceful solemnity of the occasion will be suggested by the august presence (*atana agācha*) of the pilgrim, His Gifted Majesty and Grace, the King himself (*Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā lājinā*). Further, the mention of the particular regnal year, viz., the twentieth (or, the twenty first), imparts a special character to the magnitude of the occasion, because it represents

1 *Sutta-nipāta*, Bk. v. (*vatthugāthā*); *Buddhist India*, ch. V; Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 218.

2 See also *Si-yu-ki*.

that period of Piyadasi's reign when he was at the zenith of his glory. Thus do the introductory statement and the illustrations hang about the term *mahīyite* which is the all-important word in the text, and, therefore, for a fuller comprehension of its import, we should like to push our enquiry a little further.

There is a word *mahīyate* in the *Upanishads*[1] which occurs in the sense of *pūjita, archita*, 'honoured, adored, worshipped,' as also in the hymns of the Ṛg-veda. The word is also to be found in the Buddhist texts in this very sense.[2] *Mahīyite*, as it occurs in the inscriptions under notice, may be taken to carry with it the idea of *maha, makha* or *magha*, i.e., *yajña*, a ceremonial performance, a formal demonstration of an act of faith, such as is referred to in the following verse of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 405) :—

Mauryaḥ sabhṛtyaḥ sajanaḥ sapauraḥ sulabdhalābhārtha-
suyashṭayajñaḥ/
Yasyedṛśaḥ sādhujane prasādaḥ kāle tathotsāhi kṛtaṃ
cha dānam//

Considered in this light, the *mahīyanā* by Aśoka was not a mere salutation with folded hands but a pious demonstration of the great sanctity of the spot itself and the village of Lumbinī in which it lay—a demonstration commensurate with the exalted memory of Buddha Śākyamuni and the sublime majesty of king Piyadasi. It is through this specific sense of *mahīyanā* that we can account for the mention of the stone-works and the grant of immunities and privileges, which are to be regarded as the necessary consummation of the royal pilgrimage and act of worship. In fact, the whole tenor of the text of the Lumbinī-Pilgrimage inscriptions can be shown to have been fully reflected in (i) the account in the *Kāliṅgabodhi-jātaka* of the *mahā-*

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1 Chāndogya III, 17. 6 ; VII, 2. 1-10 : *tena sampanno mahīyate.*

2 Dīgha, II (*Mahāparinibbāna sutta*), where we come across *mahīyati* in the sense of 'pūjitā' and *mahenti* in the sense of 'pūjenti' :

Ekā hi dāṭhā tidivehi pūjitā
ekā pana Gandhārapure mahīyati/
Kāliṅgarañño vijite pun' ekaṃ
ekaṃ puna Nāgarājā mahenti//

For *mahāyanā* in the sense of 'pūjanā,' see Fausbŏll's *Jātaka*, vol. IV (Kāliṅgabodhi-jātaka). The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 389) uses *archeyam*, a verb from the root *arch*, to mean the act of homage performed by Aśoka to the holy spots of Buddhism.

yanā of Sambodhi (the great Bo-tree) by a king of Kaliṅga, and (ii) the vivid account in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 389-90) of Aśoka's pilgrimage to, and act of worship at, Lumbinī. The following verses from the Jātaka, just mentioned, furnish a picture of a royal *mahāyanā* of Bodhimaṇḍa, the spot of the Buddha's Enlightenment :

> Mahāyitvāna Sambodhiṃ nānātūriyehi vajjamānehi/
> mālāvilepanaṃ abhiharitvā pākāra-parikkhepaṃ kāresi//
>
> Saṭṭhivāhasahassāni pupphāni sannipātayi/
> pūjesi rājā Kāliṅgo Bodhimaṇḍamanuttaraṃ//

It will be seen that the specific acts performed were two :

(i) the worship (under the direction of a religious guide) of the Bo tree and the terrace (*Sambodhiṃ, Bodhimaṇḍaṃ*), accompanied by various kinds of music and profuse offerings of flowers and scented unguents ; and

(ii) the railing in of the terraced Bo-tree by a suitable enclosure. With regard to (ii), the gloss has the following details : (*a*) the setting up, in the terrace, of a golden pillar, eighteen cubits in height (*Bodhimaṇḍe aṭṭhārasa-hatthaṃ suvaṇṇa-thambhaṃ ussāpesi*) ; (*b*) the construction of a jewelled cubical altar in front of the Bo-tree (*tassa satta-ratanamayaṃ vedikaṃ kārāpesi*); and (*c*) the erection of a jewelled gate chamber (*satta-ratana-mayaṃ dvāra-koṭṭhakaṃ kārāpesi*).

And the details to be gathered from the *Divyāvadāna* are :

(i) that the pilgrimage to Lumbinī and other Buddhist holy places was undertaken by Aśoka to satisfy the yearning of his heart to worship those sacred sites which were hallowed by the association of the Buddha, the Blessed One, and to mark them out by visible signs in order to afford guidance to future visitors (*Ayaṃ me manoratho : Ye Bhagavatā Buddhena pradeśā adhyushitās tān archeyaṃ chihnāni cha kuryāṃ paśchi-masyāṃ janatāyām anugrahārtham*) ;

(ii) that the king proceeded to the spot in a triumphal procession with perfumes, wreaths and flowers for worship, accompanied by Upagupta as his religious guide (*rājā chaturaṅga-balakāyaṃ saṃnāhya gandha-mālya-pushpam ādāya sthaviropagupta-sahāyaḥ saṃprasthitaḥ*) ;

(iii) that the garden of Lumbinī was the first place visited by the king (*rājānam Aśokaṃ sarva-prathamena Lumbinī-vanaṃ pra-veśayitvā*) ;

(iv) that, arriving at Lumbinī, Upagupta dramatically pointed out the spot of the Buddha's nativity in the words, *asmin mahārāja pradeśe Bhagavāñ jātaḥ*, which echo the words of the inscriptions, *hida Bhagavaṃ jāte.*

(v) that the king fell prostrate on the spot and stood up with folded hands and tears of rapturous joy (*rājā sarva-śarīreṇa tatra pādyor nipatyotthāya kṛtāñjaliḥ prarudann uvācha*) ;

(vi) that the king's faith in the reality of the momentous event of the Buddha's birth on that very spot was intensified by the corroborration of the tradition by a female deity, who, as an eye-witness of the scene of nativity, gave a vivid description thereof in the following words: *Mayā hi dṛishṭaḥ kanakāvadātaḥ prajāyamāno dvipada-pradhānaḥ padāni sapta kramamāṇa eva śrutā cha vācham api tasya śāstuḥ||*

(vii) that the king laid the foundation of a fitting memorial shrine (*chaityaṃ cha pratishṭhāpya*), a statement which reminds the expressions of the inscriptions—*silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita, silāthabhe cha usapāpite* ; and

(viii) that he made a grant of a hundred thousand in money to the place of the Buddha's nativity (*rājñā jātyāṃ śatasahasraṃ dattaṃ*), which, again, calls to mind the passage of the inscriptions—*Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye cha.*

The full bearing of the significant word *mahīyite* is now clear to us.[1]

Our next point of enquiry will be about the expression *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita silāthabhe cha usapāpite.* This is a statement of the first type, as already pointed out, of Piyadasi's specific acts of piety and the work is recorded in the inscriptions under notice as belonging to his twenty-first regnal year. A similar work of piety, in another connexion but done in the same regnal year, finds mention also in the Niglīvā Pillar inscription[2] in the words *silāthabhe usapāpite,*

1 It is worth while to note that the *Mānasāra-Śilpaśāstra* (ch. xv, concluding portion) makes mention of ceremonies, essentially ritualistic, in connexion with the erection of columns (Āchārya, *Indian Architecture*, p. 46.)

2 The Niglīvā Pillar inscription also records a previous work of piety, viz., the enlargement of a stūpa of Konāgamana in Piyadasi's fifteenth regnal year (*Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasavasābhisitena Budhasa Konākamanasa thuḅe dutiyaṃ vaḍhite*), but clearly that has got nothing to do with the *silāthabha* of that very inscription.

but the expression *silāvigaḍabhīchā kūlāpita* does not occur there. Is the *silāvigaḍa*, then, some work of art distinct from the *silāthabha*? We could definitely say 'yes', if we were sure that *vigaḍa* had nothing to do with the stone pillar. We ought, therefore, to find out what at best it signifies.

The opinion of scholars is sharply divided over the interpretation of the Lumbinī additional clause *silāvigaḍabhīchā kālāpita*, and the difference is based mainly upon two points: (i) whether or not *chā* of *bhīchā* is a conjunction, and (ii) whether or not the act implied in the whole expression is a part of, and not distinct from, the act of setting up the stone pillar. The opinion is divided also as to whether *chā* being regarded as a conjunction, *bhī* in the sense of *bhṛt* is a part of the word *silāvigaḍa*, or it is only an optional form of the expletive *hi*. As for treating *chā* as a conjunction squaring with *cha* of the next clause, we cannot deny its possibility, although we are of opinion that a form like *cha* instead of *chā* would have been more symmetrical here. Against treating it as such, it may be argued with some reason that in the construction of the next statement *ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgiye cha*, the connexion has been expressed by a single *cha*. Amongst those who regard *chā* as a conjunction, there are some who are inclined to equate *silāvigaḍabhī* with *śilāvigardabhī*, 'a stone-made she-ass', Charpentier, amongst those who take *chā* as a conjuntion and *bhī* as equivalent to Sk. *bhṛt*, "bearing," has sought to explain *silāvigaḍabhī* as "bearing on its top the stone-figure of an active horse," evidently meaning the *silāthabha* or the Lumbinī Pillar (*vigaḍa* being equated by him with *agaḍa*, which, he argues, is a shortening from *agalitāśva*, *galita* meaning 'unbroken, idle, inactive')[1]; and Barua, challenging the tenability of the outwitting way of equating *vigaḍa* with *agaḍa* and then regarding *agaḍa* as a shortening from *agalitāśva*, suggests that the word *silāvigaḍa* is a substantive, that it "represents indefinitely the crowning stone-figure" of the Lumbinī Pillar, and that *bhī* is "just an expletive particle = *hi*."[2] On the other hand, Mookerji, regarding *chā* as a conjunction and *bhī* (which he equates with Hindi *bhi*) as an expletive (meaning "also") thinks that *silāvigaḍa* signifies "a stone bearing a figure", *vigaḍa* being derived from *vigaḍha* = vigarha = vigraha, "the well-known word for a figure", rather than from *vikaṭa* = *vikṛta*, which, according to him, is "phonetically rather impossible." He differs

1 *IA*, 1914, pp. 17, f. 11.
2 *Asoka Edicts in New Light*, pp. 86-7.

from Barua in the derivation of the word but agrees with him in a way as to its meaning but not as regards its identity, for he suggests that it is a work in stone, quite distinct from the Lumbinī stone pillar and that it may more reasonably be taken to refer to the ancient sculpture which represents the scene of Buddha Śākyamuni's nativity and is now enshrined in the Rummindei Temple.[1] In other words, the clause, according to Mookerji, who reads it *silā-vigaḍa-bhī chā kālāpita*, is to be interpreted as a clear proof of Aśoka having caused this piece of sculpture to be carved in stone as early as his twenty-first regnal year. Again, amongst those who regarded *bhīchā* as a word by itself, there were Fleet and R. G. Bhandarkar who equated it with Sk. *bhittikā* and explained the expression *silāvigaḍa-bhīchā* as signifying "a stone wall, a stone enclosure". Hultzsch was at first inclined to take it to mean "a brick wall decorated with stone," and Chakladar would have it rather as a "large stone foundation"

We must say that the interpretation first mentioned above (*vigaḍa-bhī=vigardabhī*, 'she-ass') does not require refutation, for however phonetically close *gaḍabhī* may be to *gardabhī*, *vigardabhī* has no meaning, and it will be ludicrous to suggest that Piyadasi could think of no better figure than that of a she-ass to signalize the most sacred spot of the Buddha's nativity. Charpentier's interpretation (*vigaḍa=agaḍa*, 'an active horse'), which is apparently suggested by Hwen Thsang's account which describes the Lumbinī Pillar as bearing the figure of a horse on its top, may be disposed of by Hultzsch's remark: "that *vigaḍa* means 'a horse' remains to be proved by more substantial evidence."[2] Barua agrees with Charpentier in so far as he is inclined to regard *silāvigaḍa* as a crowning construction of the stone-pillar itself. But his main contention seems to be that *silāvigaḍa* is apparently the same as *silāvikaṭa*, *silāvikata*, *śilāvikṛta*, which signifies some figuration in stone. He has cited a number of Pāli compouds with *vikaṭikā* (e.g., *guḷa-vikaṭikā*, *pāsāda-vikaṭikā*, *pilandhana-vikaṭikā*), the term being explained by Buddhaghosa as *sīhabyagghādirūpavichitto uṇṇāmayo attharako*, i.e., "a linen coverlet beautifully designed with the figures of lions, tigers and the like," and he has quoted from the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xxvii. 30) a description of the pillars surmounted by such figures:

Sīha-byagghādi-rūpehi devatā-rūpakehi cha
Ahu ratanamayeh' esa thambhehi cha vibhūsito.

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1 Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Asoka*, pp. 201-4.

2 *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 164.

He thus takes the word *silāvigaḍa* in the sense of *silārūpaka* and as "an integral part of the monolith". Hultzsch's old interpretation, 'a brick wall decorated with stone' was perhaps suggested by the fact that when the pillar was discovered, it was found surrounded by a brick wall; but, as we know, it was without any stone decoration to justify his interpretation. As regards the change of *bhittikā* (meaning 'a wall') to *bhīchā*, upheld by Fleet and Bhandarkar, it may suffice to say with Charpentier that it is "wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prakrit dialects."[1] As Chakladar does not discuss the word but simply understands that *silāvigaḍabhīchā* signifies 'a large stone foundation,' we are hardly in a position to think of any discussion of such a suggestion.

Turning now to Mookerji's interpretation, it seems rather unusual that both *bhī* as an expletive and *chā* as a conjunction should occur in the first clause instead of in the second. As regards his derivation of *vigaḍa* from *vigaḍa*=vigarha=vigraha, it is to be pointed out that metathesis of *r* in an instance like this would be extremely irregular and the change of *r* to *ḍ* is unusual—(it is the other way about)—and loss of aspiration would be unwarranted at such an early epoch and in a Gangetic dialect. Hindi and Bihāri have retained their aspiration up till now. It is only in late Middle Bengali (post 1500 A.C.) that aspiration came to be dropped.[2] But he has certainly raised a very important issue in that he is inclined to identify *silāvigaḍa* with the sculptural representation in stone of the scene of the Buddha's nativity, which now forms the sanctum of the Rummindei Temple. In the absence of any inscription on the sculpture itself, it is, however, difficult to say anything definitely about its identity with *silāvigaḍa* if at all the latter be a work quite distinct from the *silāthabha*. That the stone carving in the temple is a very old sculptural representation of an event, that it is not merely an icon, has been acknowledged on all hands, but whether it is a carving of Aśokan age remains to be proved. Nevertheless, there are certain arguments which may be relevant to the proferred identification, and, to our mind, these are:

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1 *I.A.*, 43, 17.

2 I am indebted to Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterji for this piece of information. See his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pt. I, pp. 44, 54, 353-55, 483, 490-91, 495-97.

(i) that just as the carving of the Wheel-symbol placed upon the lion-capital of the Sarnath Piliar was an additional work of art to indicate that the pillar was set up on the very spot where the Buddha had set the Wheel of Law in motion, even so an appropriate symbol to indicate the importance of Lumbinī as the place of the Buddha's nativity might be felt necessary in addition to the stone pillar, no matter whether it was placed on the ornamented capital or disposed separately ;[1]

(ii) that the tenor of the *Divyāvadāna* account, referred to above, seems to suggest that some such concrete representation had been attempted during Aśoka's visit to Lumbinī in order to create a realistic impression on the mind of posterity ;

(iii) that Hwen Thsang has left a description, apart from that of the Lumbinī Pillar, of a stone-made figure of a deity with "the appearance of rising in a bent position", installed in a sanctuary then known as the 'temple of Īśvaradeva', which was believed to have existed from before the birth of prince Siddhārtha as a national shrine of the Śākyas,—a figure which Beal found reason to identify with the large figure rising bendingly in the sculptural scene of the Rummindei Temple ;[2]

(iv) that the whole statement of Hwen Thsang concerning the temple of Īśvaradeva and its sanctum seems intended to embody the then current interpretation of the details of the sculpture, namely, that it represented a scene of the visit of Śuddhodana (on his way back from Lumbinī) and the nurse (i.e., the foster-mother Gotamī) with the new-born Śākya prince, Siddhārtha, to that temple, the national shrine of the Śākyas, to pay homage to the presiding deity of the temple, who rose up in honour of the prince (instead of receiving homage from him),—a tradition, which, though saying nothing

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1 We are reminded of the word *gaṇḍa* which the Indian lexicographers mention as 'part of a horse's trappings, or a stud or button fixed as an ornament upon the harness'. One may very pertinently ask if there was any symbol on the back of the horse of the Lumbinī pillar (as Hwen Thsang saw it) like the Wheel of the Lion-capital of Sarnath. Is *vigaḍa* in any way related to *gaṇḍa* in this sense ?

2 Beal's *Records*, vol. II, p. 23, f. n. 59 ; Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxix, upper disc.

about Aśoka, connects the sculpture with a scene of the Buddha's nativity and treats it as a very ancient piece of work ;

(v) that, if it be contended that had it been a representation of the scene of the Buddha's nativity, it would have been effected by the figure of an elephant, it may be pointed out that such a figure has nothing to do with the Buddha's birth as a Śākya prince, although it has significance as a symbol of the 'descent' (*okkanti*) of the Bodhisatta, which evidently is not the case here ;

(vi) that although in early sculptures, such as at Barhut, Sāñchi and and Bodh-Gayā, there is a predominant tendency not to represent the Buddha in his final existence by a human figure, there are, on account of the exigency of narrative art, certain exemptions, for instance, in the Barhut scene of the forecast of the Bodhisatta's birth[1] as a human child as also in the scene of the descent of the Buddha from the Heaven of the Thirty-three by a ladder, where the artists have been compelled to introduce respectively the figure of a child and foot-prints suggestive of human figure—a feature of narrative art which may account for the child figuring in the ancient sculpture (which, however, represents the scene of the Buddha's nativity and not of the Bodhisatta's descent), for without it the scene would be meaningless ;

(vii) that *vigaḍa* has been equated with *vikaṭa* (=*vikṛta*), and curiously enough, the *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, though a later lexicon, gives *Vikaṭā* as the name of 'Māyādevī', who is mentioned as a Buddhist goddess (*sā cha Bauddha-devī-bhedaḥ*).[2]

So much about Mookerji, who has interpreted *bhī* as an expletive, *chā* as a conjunction and *sīlāvigaḍa* as a substantive. All these different interpretations suggest that *silāvigaḍa* may admit of a construction either as an adjective or as a substantive. If we construe

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1 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, Pl. xv. (outer face), identified in Barua and Sinha's *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 49.

2 *Vikaṭā* in another sense, viz., of 'hall, courtyard' occurs in the Harsha Stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 121, 123) :—

(i) *Prāṃtaprāsādamālā-virachita-vikaṭā-Pāṇḍuputtrābhirāmam* (verse 12) ; and

(ii) *Stenedaṃ dharmmi-vittaiḥ sughaṭita-vikaṭaṃ kāritaṃ Harsha harmmyam* (verse 33).

it as an adjective, for instance, on the analogy of Pāli *suvaṇṇa-vikatā* in the Jātaka expression *nāvā cha suvaṇṇa-vikatā*,[1] we shall have to look for an appropriate noun which it should qualify, and our only alternative will be to take the word occurring after *silāvigaḍa* as representing the noun, the visible form of which is *bhī* or *bhīchā*. But, then, so long as one is not sure whether *bhīchā* really stands by itself or is the representative of any word forming sandhi with *silāvigaḍa*, and so long as the technical bearing of that contemplated word remains unsettled, it is impossible to make any sense out of *silāvigaḍa-bhīchā* on the analogy of *suvaṇṇa-vikatā-nāvā*. Again, if with Barua we construe the expression as a substantive (=*silārūpaka*) and *bhī* as an expletive (=*hi*) with *chā* as a conjunction, the interpretation will be open to the same objection as applies to Mookerji's.

Pischel, however, construed *vigaḍabhī* as an adjective qualifying *silā* (*gaḍa* 'obstacle', *vigaḍa* 'free from defect' +*bhī* fem. of −*bha*, on the analogy of *sthūla-bha*, and *gaṇḍa-śaila*, a technical term for rough block of stone).[2] Although this is the best and safest of all the interpretations hitherto suggested, it appears that *vi* and *bha* enclosing *gaḍa* have not received their due share of support by more substantial evidence from literature. In the circumstances, we have to look for a suitable expression answering to *vigaḍa* etc. There is a word *vikaṇḍa-* (*kaṃ*), used as accusative singular, in Fausböll's *Jātaka* (vol. I, p. 491), which, as its context implies, means 'post' or 'pestle' (*bhittiyam vikaṇḍakaṃ pissanto viya paṇhikāya naṃ hadaye pahari*). *Vigaḍa*, so far as can be judged from its form, is a perfect Aśokan counterpart of the Pāli *vikaṇḍa* (°kaṇḍa—°*gaṇḍa*—°*gaḍḍa*—°*gaḍa*), and *vigaḍa-bhīchā* will admirably answer to a Pāli *vikaṇḍa-bhichchā* i.e., *vikaṇḍa-bhittiyā* [*bhichchā* being the same as *bhittiyā* (instr. or loc. of *bhitti*), cf. Skt. *marttya*—Pāli *macca*], 'in or upon the post-base'. *Silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāpita* will, accordingly, mean 'stone was worked in or upon the post-base'. This will practically imply not only the scarping of rough block of stone but also the raising of the stone-pillar, compassing at once the sense conveyed by Pischel's interpretation. In other words, *silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāpita* will constitute a part of the work which resulted in the stone-pillar being set up, and this view

1 Fausböll, *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 147, whereon the gloss is : *suvaṇṇa-vikatā, suvaṇṇa-khachitā*.

2 See Woolner, *Asoka Text and Glossary*, pt. II, p. 145.

is strengthened by the Kapileśvar reading which has *va* instead of *cha* (cf. 'silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāphitā sila-ṭhabha *va* usapapita').[1]

Next, with regard to the second type of the royal acts of piety, the two expressions that require explanation are *ubalike kaṭe* and *aṭhabhāgiye*. As for *ubalike kaṭe*, rightly equated by Barth and others with *udbalika-kṛtaḥ*, Thomas has conclusively proved that the word *ubalike* (*udbalikaḥ*) is on a par with *uchhulkaḥ* occurring in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. That *bali* and *śulka* denote two specific kinds of royal taxation can be easily granted, the former signifying 'religious cess' and the latter 'duties levied on the commodities of trade.' A difference of opinion arises according as one takes *bali* of the inscriptions in the specific sense of 'religious cess' or simply as 'taxes in general.' There is also a difference of opinion as to whether *aṭhabhāgiye* means *āshṭabhāgikaḥ* or *ārthabhāgikaḥ*. As to *āshṭabhāgikaḥ*, Fleet takes it to mean " 'entitled to an eighth share,' which the king is permitted by Manu (VII. 130) to levy on grains", and Thomas, "paying an eighth share of the produce", on the strength of the expression "caturtha-pañcha-bhāgikāḥ" (*Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, p. 116,—"paying a fourth or fifth share of the produce"). As *ārthabhāgikaḥ*, the word is taken to mean 'partaking of riches' by Barth, Bühler and Neumann, in accordance with the legend in the *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka made a grant of one hundred thousand in gold to the place of the Buddha's nativity (*jātyām*), that is to say, to Lumbinī-vana or Lumbinī-gāma. If *ubalike* be taken to have been used in the general sense of exemptipn from all taxes, the interpretation of *aṭhabhāgiye* offered by Thomas will lose its point and the word will have to be equated with the form *ārthabhāgikaḥ*, necessarily signifying that the king performed an additional act of grace by making a money grant.[2] But if *ubalike* be interpreted in its specific sense of 'exemption from religious cess', then, we think, there is the necessity of understanding *aṭhabhāgiye* to mean 'paying an eighth share of the produce' (*āshṭa-bhāgikaḥ*) instead of the usual one-sixth.

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1 See foot-note 8, under the translation of the Kapileśvar text at the end of this article.

2 It reminds one of *vīragala* or *vīraśāsana*, stone monument of later times, erected in memory of a hero. It is worth noting that the raising of such monuments was accompanied by ceremonies and grants of land (see *Mānasāra*, pp. 440, 441, 561, quoting *IA*, vol. IX, p. 96; also *Ep. Carnat.*, vol. VII, p. 42).

Lastly, with regard to the six additional letters which we reconstruct as *Īla vuthe 240*, the Kapileśvar copy seems to have a unique importance in the whole set of Aśoka inscriptions. For, here for the first time we have a lithic document where we find along with the mention of Aśoka's regnal year (*visābhisitena*) an enigmatic expression *vuthe 240*, preceded by the word *Īla* (= *Īlā*), hitherto unknown in the inscriptions of Aśoka. *Īla* may be taken to echo the sense of the Vedic *Īḷe* (cf. *Agnim īḷe*, 'I invoke, pray or worship Agni', R.V., I, 1, 1). An expression *vyūthena* (*vyuṭhenā*, *vivuthena*, *vivuthā*) *256* (*200 50 6*) is met with in M.R.E., I, where, however, the regnal year is absent. Without repeating the well-known details of the discussion about *vyuṭhenā 256*, we may only point out here that if *vyuṭha*, like Kauṭilya's *vyushṭa*, be a technical term signifying a statement of date in term of an era (for instance, the Buddha era, as suggested by Bühler[1]), the Kapileśvar text will enable us to establish the correspondence between Aśoka's twenty-first regnal year and the 240th year of that era and also to prove in the case of M.R.E., I that the 256th year of the same era coincided with Aśoka's 37th regnal year. Further, it will be noted that the figure 240 of the Kapileśvar record almost tallies, for practical purpose, with the Pāli tradition which says that Aśoka usurped the throne of Magadha 218 years after the Buddha's demise (483 B.C.[2]) and that his consecration took place about three years thereafter. If this be granted, then M.R.E., I, considered in this light, will be the latest and not the earliest record of the Maurya king. But if *vyuṭha* or *īla vuthe* mean 'days or nights passed in prayer or on tour',[3] the question of correspondence would not arise at all.

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1 See Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 169.

2 Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of India*, p. 139.

3 With regard to *īla*, it is to be noted that no other word with an initial ī has been met with in the Aśoka inscriptions so far. Meaning as it does 'worship', 'prayer', its relevancy in a pilgrimage record is striking indeed. Has it anything to do with the goddess *Ilā* (R.V., vii, 3, 44), who is related to *Agni* and *Ushas* (= Dawn)? [Or, does it mean 'tour', 'religious tour'? Can it be related to Skt. *īryā*, which, according to the later Sanskrit lexicographers, means 'the wandering of a religious mendicant'? In either case, we would expect that the word should be followed by a statement suggestive of the days or nights spent on pilgrimage. For the

I. The Rummindei Pillar Inscription

A. Text[1]

1 Devānap(i)yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasâbhisitena
2 atana āgācha mahīyite [.] Hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunî ti
3 silā vigaḍabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite [:]
4 hida Bhagavaṃ jāte ti Lumini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha [.]

B. Translation

[This holy spot] was worshipped[2] by His Gifted Majesty and Grace, the King, who came himself (here on pilgrimage) when he had been annointed twenty years. [Reflecting] that here (on this very spot) was born Buddha Śākyamuni,[3] stone was caused to be scarped to smoothness[4] and a stone pillar was caused to be set up: [Reflecting again] that here (on this very spot) was born the (Divine) Lord, the village of Lumbinī was made free of taxes[5] and (made) a partaker of (the royal) bounty.[6]

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correspondence of the forms, cf. Sk. *paryaṅka*, Pāli *pallaṅka*, Vernacular *pālaṅg*; also Sk. *paryastikā*, Pāli *pallatthikā*. In a passage of the Vinaya Piṭaka *iriyā* (Skt. *īryā*) is given as a variant of *chariyā*, 'religious conduct, practice', cf. Mahāvagga, i. 6. 13: *tāya pi kho tvaṃ āvuso Gotama chariyāya* (=*iriyāya* in the Sinhalese Ms. of the National Library, Paris), although it is generally used in the Pāli literature in the sense of 'deportment, posture', whether sitting, walking, lying and the like.]

1 Read from the fac-simile in Hultzsch's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. We have differed from Hultzsch in the division of sections even against the authority of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, which he has quoted. We think that the words from *Hida* (l. 2) to the end must be taken together and kept apart from the preceding text, as constituting the illustration of *Mahiyanā*.

2 Lit. 'magnified'.

3 Lit. 'the Enlightened One, the Sage (the scion) of the Śākya race'.

4 Lit. 'made free from deformities', as Pischel interprets.

5 Or, 'free of religious cesses,' as Thomas interprets.

6 Or, 'paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce as revenue),' to accept the interpretation of Thomas.

II. The Kapileśvar Stone-Slab Inscription[1]

A. Text

1 D[e]vāṇaṃphiyeṇa Piyadashiṇa l(ā)jina vi-
2 sā(bh)isitena āgācha mahīda Budha j[ā]ta
3 Sayamunî ti silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāph(i)-
4 t(ā) sila-ṭhabha[2] va u(s)ap[ā]p(i)ta [:] hida Bhagava
5 j[ā]tet[i] L[u]mini-game ubalik[e] kaṭ[e] [—] Īla
6 (v)uth(e) (200)[3] 40[4] [—]ātha-bhāgiy[e][5] cha ∩[6] Chu(ṇ)draya[7] ∩[6]

B. Translation

[For ll. 1-3 (down to 'Sayamunī ti'), see *Rummindei*] stone was caused to be worked upon the post-base, and[8] the stone pillar was

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1 The fac-simile on page 752 is reproduced from a photo prepared by our friend and colleague Mr. Indubhusan Bannerji of the History Department, by kind permission of Mr. Birendranath Roy of Puri.

2 There is a very faint trace of a dot in the middle of the circle of the Brāhmī letter read *ṭha*. In that case, the word will read °*thabha*.

3 The letter looks like Brāhmī *su* (which, as is well-known, also functions for the numerical figure 200; cf. the letter in the Brahmagiri copy of M.R.E., I.); though the right curvature and the *u*- stroke are somewhat shady, they are not untraceable.

4 This numeral has not been met with in Aśoka inscriptions so far. Should the figure be read 70 ? It more resembles the type of 40 than that of 70 of other inscriptions (e.g. Nāsik, Kshatrapa and Kushāṇa).

5 The *ā*-stroke of the initial letter can be traced, and in the middle of the second, there is a faint trace of a dot which is more clear than in the case of °*thabha* (fn. 2). Accordingly, we shall have to interpret the word as being equivalent to Sk. *ārthabhāgikaḥ* (*arthabhāga*+*shṇika*), 'partaking of bounty.'

6 There are two devices somewhat like inverted Brāhmī *ma*, enclosing the three Kharoshṭhī letters.

7 This word is in *Kharoshṭhī*. Should it be read *Chadraya* or even *Mudraya* ?

8 Lit. 'that is to say' (*va* meaning 'or,' 'in other words'. The occurrence of *va* instead of *cha* in the expression *silaṭhabha va usapa-*

set up : [*from* 'hida' *to* 'kaṭe' *as in Rummindei*]—worship (offered), vutha 240—(*then, as in Rummindei*) ∩ Chuṃdraya ∩

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pita suggests that *chā* as a conjunction will be out of place in the preceding expression, which is, therefore, construed as *silā vigaḍa-bhīchā kālāphitā*, the idea being 'stone was worked upon the post-base and the result was that there arose a stone pillar. Similar instances of showing the action first and then the result are met with in the following inscriptional passages :—(i) Inscription of Khāravela § 15 : *varākara-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojanāhitāhi..... silāhi silāthaṃbhāni.....kārāpayati* (Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 26) ; and (ii) Barhut E. Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti : *kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ, silākaṃmanto cha upaṃṇa* (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, No. 1 ; note the place of *cha* in this expression).

Vigaḍa-bhīchā, therefore, becomes equivalent to Pāli *vikaṇḍa-bhichchā* (loc. *bhitti*, 'base') on the strength of such expressions as Pāli *bhittiyaṃ vikaṇḍakaṃ pissanto* (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 491, fn., where the expression occurs as a variant and means 'pounding a post or pestle into the floor or base') or such compouuds as Sk. *gaṇḍa-bhitti*, i.e., the elephant's temple, wherefrom juice exudes, serving as a seat for the bees' [*Raghuvaṃśa*, v. 43 : 'nirdhauta-dānamala-gaṇḍa-bhittiḥ' (=*gajaḥ*) ; and xii. 102 ; also Bhartṛhari, i, 49].

That the stone pillar should stand on a stone base we can understand, although the base of the Aśokan pillar, may not, as our friend Mr. Jitendranath Banerji of the Department of Ancient History points out, necessarily be like a mortar or pot (and this is still a matter for investigation) like the earlier Persian pillar-bases (for which see Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia*, p. 89, fig. 30). It is, however, interesting to note that the *Jātaka* (v, p. 49) mentions posts being fixed on the top of stones like mortars (*udukkhala-pāsāṇānaṃ upari thambhe patiṭṭhāpetvā*), but we are not in a position to say if this applies to Aśokan pillars. [For *bhitti* also meaning 'floor, base or surface for incising letters or drawing figures,' cf. *bhittiyā akkharāni likhitvā* (Fausböll, iv, p. 489) and *medavaṇṇaka-pāsāṇa-bhittiyaṃ yeva ujjalā vijjullatā appitā* etc. (*Mahāvaṃsa* 30, v, 96). See also *Divyāvadāna*, p. 300. 8 and p. 547. 6-8].

On some Tāntrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja

I

The inscription of *Sdok kak Thom*[1] (discovered in the province of Sisophon, Cambodia) mentions that introduction of the mystic cult of Devarāja along with some Tāntrik texts in Kambuja during the reign of king Jayavarman II who came to the thorne in śaka 724 (=802 A.C.). The inscription is a long one and contains the chronicle of the religious foundations of Kambuja during a period of about 250 years. The inscription is not dated, but the last date mentioned therein is śaka 974 (=1052 A.C.). The king Jayavarman II came from Java to rule over Kambuja, and the new cult was introduced shortly after his ascent to the throne. The story of this introduction is told in some details in the inscription.[2] The high priest of Jayavarman was a Brāhmaṇical sage named Śivakaivalya. This Brahmin was enjoying a piece of land in the village of Bhadrayogi in Indrapura given to his family long ago by the kings of Bhavapura (founded by Bhavavarman who was ruling about the middle of the 6th century).

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1 BEFEO XV, pp. 70-71.

2 *Ibid*:—

A xxvi (51) Hiraṇyadāma-dvija-puṅgavo' gryadhīr
ivāvjayoniḥ karuṇārdra āgataḥ/
(52) ananya-lavdhāṃ khalu siddhim ādarāt
prakāśayāmāsa mahībhṛtaṃ prati//

xxvii (53) sa bhūdharendrānumato' grajanmā
sa-sādhanāṃ siddhim adikṣad asmai/
(54) hotre hitaikānta-manaḥ-prasattiṃ
saṃvibhrate dhāma-vivṛṃhanāya//

xxviii (55) śāstraṃ Śiraścheda-Vināśikhākhayaṃ
Sammohanāmāpi Nayottarākhyaṃ/
(56) tat Tumvuror vaktra-catuṣkam asya
siddhyeva vipras samadarśayat saḥ//

xxix (57) dvijas samuddhṛtya sa śāstra-sāraṃ
rahasya-kauśalyadhiyā sayatnaḥ/
(58) siddhīr vvahantiḥ kila devarāja-
bhikhyāṃ vidadhre bhuvanarddhi-vṛddhyai//

He was the guardian priest of a *śivaliṅga* installed in a temple in that village. Śivakaivalya, chosen as the priest by the new king, subsequently accompanied him to different cities founded by the latter. Now, a brahmin named Hiraṇyadāma came from Janapada (supposed to be some place in India) to the court of the new king Jayavarman and began to exercise a great spiritual influence on him. The king then authorised him to teach the new lore to Śivakaivalya, and to initiate the latter to the new cult. Then Hiraṇyadāma gave Śivakaivalya—*Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara*—the four śāstras which were the four faces of Tumvuru. Śivakaivalya was also initiated to the cult of *Devarāja* (*Kamraten Jagat ta rāja* in Cambodian). Thus the new cult was introduced in Kambuja. The king Jayavarman, much attracted by it, accepted it as the religion of the kingdom, and ordered that the *yatis* of the *mātṛvaṃśa*[1] of Śivakaivalya only would be the legitimate guardians of this cult and would have the power to perpetuate it in future. The *Devarāja* was a *śivaliṅga*, and it was one of the most celebrated deities of Kambuja. But nothing is known as to the "four "*śāstras*" mentioned which prescribed this cult. Dr. B. R. Chatterji is the first to make some suggestions about their identification.[2] He relies on the informations supplied by Avalon,[3] and says, "There were three regions each with its special Tantras and that among the Tantras of the *viṣṇukrāntā* region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the *Sammohana* and the *Niruttara* Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (*Sammoha* and *Nayottora*) taught by Hiraṇyadāma. The Tantras *Muṇḍamālā* and *Chinnamastā* mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as *Śiraścheda*—the third text taught to the Kambuja priest. The word Tumvuru (of which, according to the inscriptions, the four texts constitute the four faces) is the name of a gandharva, and there is a *Gandharva Tantra* in the *Viṣṇukrāntā* group."

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1 BEFEO, XV, pp. 70-71 :

B xxxi (1) tan mātṛvaṃśe yatayas striyo vā
jātā vi(dyā-vi)kra(ma)-yukta-bhāvaḥ//
(2) tad yājakās syur na kathañcid anya
iti kṣitīndra-dvija-kalpanāsit//

2 *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 273-4.

3 *Arthur Avalon, Principles of Tantra*, I, Intro., pp. lxv-lxvii.

The classification, according to the *krāntās*, is not seen in the oldest Tāntrik texts, for example the *Yāmalas*, as far as I know. On the other hand, such classification seems to be arbitrary and of late origin. The names of 64 *tantras* attributed to each of these *krāntās* seem to be fictitious to some extent. So they do not throw much light on the texts introduced into Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. It is therefore necessary to go back to older and more authentic sources.

According to the oldest traditions known to me[1] the Tāntrik literature is classified according to the *Srotas* (=current; tradition), *pīṭhas* and *āmnāyas*. The *Srotas* or currents are three-fold: *dakṣiṇa* (right), *vāma* (left) and *madhyama* (middle). These are the three forces (*śakti-trayaṃ*) of Śiva. Besides these three currents which issue from Śiva, we have reference to other currents: like *Bhairava-srotas* from which distinctive tantras have issued forth. The classification into *pīṭhas* is four-fold: *vidyāpīṭha*, *mantrapīṭha*, *mudrāpīṭha* and *maṇḍalapīṭha*. The third classification, *viz.*, that into *āmnāyas*, is more common than the first two. The number of *āmnāyas* varies. But generally they are accepted to be five in number, issuing from the five mouths of Śiva.[2] Śiva is represented as having four faces turning towards the four cardinal points and one on the top. The eastern (*pūrva vaktra*) spoke the Vedas, the western (*paścima*), southern (*dakṣiṇa*), northern (*uttara*) and the upper (*ūrddhva*) mouths spoke the different kinds of Tantras. There is no trace of any classification according to the *krāntās*. The faces of Śiva represent his five aspects. They are known as *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta*, *and Īśāna* facing the *north*, *east*, *south*, *west* and *top* and representing the aspects of *Īśa*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara*, *Brahmā* and *Sadāśiva* respectively. The original Śaiva canon, the āgamas, are classified according to the faces which proclaimed them. (See *Hindu Iconography*, II, pt. II, pp. 366 ff). We should note in this connection that the *Sadyojāta* mouth

1 This discussion is mainly based on the 39th chapter of the *Brahmayāmala* called *Srotanirṇaya*. The Ms. of this *yāmala* which I have examined is that preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. It was copied in the Nepal Saṃ. 172=1052 A.C.

2 Bhāṣkara Rāya in his commentary on the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* (See *Ānandāśram Ed.*, p. 24) quotes from Bhagavān Paraśurāma "*Pañcāmnāyān paramārtha-sārarūpān praṇināya iti.*"

which represents the *Brahmā* aspect is the western face, and naturally proclaims the *Paścimāmnāya*.

One of the oldest Tāntrik texts preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library is the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā* written in the Gupta script of the 8th century A.C.[1] It is a collection of five *sūtras* which form a complete whole but each can be also counted separately and has its own chapters. These five sūtras are (1) *Laukika-dharma*, (2) *Mūlasūtra*, (3) *Uttarasūtra*, (4) *Nayasūtra* and (5) *Guhyasūtra*. The last of these five is more extensive than the others together, and the first *Laukika dharma* is really ignored by the text itself in counting in folio 27b of the text:

prathamaṃ mūlasutrantu dvitīyam ādisajñitaṃ/
tṛtīyaṃ prathamaṃ nāma caturthaṃ pūrvasūtrakam//

Thus the four texts are called: (1) *Mūlasūtra*, (2) *Ādisūtra* = *Uttarasūtra* (3) *Prathama* = *Nayasūtra* (4) *Pūrva* = *Guhyasūtra*. The *Uttarasūtra* contains the names of 18 old *Śiva-śāstras*:

vijayaṃ prathamaṃ [hy e]ṣāṃ niśvāsaṃ tadanantaraṃ/
svāyambhuvam ataś caiva vāthulaṃ tadanataraṃ//
vīrabhadram iti khyātaṃ rauravaṃ mākuṭās tathā/
virasaṃ candrahāsaṃ ca jñānaṃ ca mukhavimbakam//
prodgītaṃ lalitañ caiva siddha-santānam eva ca/
sarvodgītaṃ ca vijñeyaṃ kiraṇaṃ pārameśvaraṃ// (fol. 24a).

The same list with some slight variations is given by the *Brahmayāmala* of which a Ms. written in 1052 A.C. is preserved in the Darbar Library.[2] In the 39th chapter (fol. 869b) we find mention of the following texts:

vijayaṃ caiva niśvāsaṃ svāyambhuvam ataḥ paraṃ/
vāthulaṃ [vīrabhadraṃ ca rauravaṃ mākuṭāstathā]//

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1 The Exalted Raj Guru Hemarāja Śarmā who has handled these Mss. for a long time is also of the same opinion. Mahāmahopadhyāya H. P. Śāstrī has noticed it in his catalogue, *Darbar Library Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 137. In his introduction to the Catalogue, p. LXXVII he also says that this Ms. "is written in transitional Gupta character which may be a century older than the *Pārameśvara Tantra* copied in 859 A.C."

2 See H. P. Śāstrī, *Nepal Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 60.

vīreśaś ca tathā cānyaṃ tata ūrdhvaṃ nibodhata/
candrajñānañ ca vimbañ ca prodgītaṃ lalitaṃ tathā//
siddhisattvānakaṃ caiva sarvodgītam ataḥ paraṃ/
kiraṇaṃ ca mahādevi pārameśvara eva ca//

The second list is corrupt to some extent, though the Ms. of the *Brahmayāmala* which we have examined is generally a very correct one. Apparently the tradition about these texts was more living in the time when the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā* was composed, but it was not so when the *Brahmayāmala* was copied. In the interval the Tāntrik literature had become a fairly extensive one. The Tantras which were therefore considered to be authoritative in the 8th century and even prior to it were: (1) *Vijaya*, (2) *Niśvāsa*, (3) *Svāyambhuvamata*, (4) *Vāthula*, (5) *Vīrabhadra*, (6) *Raurava*, (7) *Mākuṭa*, (8) *Virasa*, *Vīreśa* (?), (9) *Candrahāsa*, *Candra* (?), (10) *Jñāna*, (11) *Mukhavimbaka*, *Vimba* (?), (12) *Prodgīta*, (13) *Lalita*, (14) *Siddhi*, (15) *Santāna*, *Sattvāna* (?), (16) *Sarvodgīta*, (17) *Kiraṇa*, (18) *Pārameśvara*.[1]

The second text of the list: the *Niśvāsa* seems to be the same as the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā*. We have already noticed that the independent chapter-division of the 4 sūtras constituting the text points to the fact that they were studied separately. The word *saṃhitā* also may indicate that it was simply a compilation of different texts. Amongst the four texts, the *ādi* and the *prathama* are the *Uttara* and *Naya sūtras*. Their very position in the traditional computation: *mūla*, *ādi*, *prathama* and *pūrva* point out to their intimate mutual relation. It seems quite probable that they together constituted our *Nayottara* introduced in Kambuja in the beginning of the

1 The same list occurs also in the *Kāmikāgama* (p. 1), published from Madras by Alagappa Mudaliar. Cf. Also Gopināth Rao. *Hindu Iconography*, II, part I, pp. 367-368. Some of these texts exist in very old mss. The *Kiraṇa* and *Pārameśvara tantras* are preserved in Nepal. The *Kiraṇa* was found by H. P. Śāstrī in a private collection at Bhatgaon. The ms. is very old and was copied in 924 A.C. See *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. xxiv and p. 99. The *Pārameśvaramatatantra* is preserved in the Darbar Library. That ms. was copied between the 11th and 12th century A.C. (Śāstrī, *ibid.*, p. xxi and p. 46). Prof. Bendall mentions an older ms. of that tantra copied in 859 A.C. preserved in the University Library, Cambridge.

9th century (802 A.C.) The contents of these two sūtras amply show that they were indispensable for the guidance of the priests. We can understand from them how the *Nayottara* could be useful to Śivakaivalya of Kambuja for conducting the newly introduced cult of Devarāja. The *Uttara sūtra* has five sections: (i) *śivālayasthāpana, mūṭṛkā, homa,* (ii) and (iii) *abhiṣeka* and *dīkṣā*, (iv) and (v) *jñānayoga*. The *Nayasūtra* has 4 sections: (i) *yāsa prakaraṇa* (?), (ii) *prakṛtivicāra*, (iii) *rūpavicāra*, (iv) *paramāmṛta-sadbhāvavicāra* (cf. also Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, pp. 138 f.; his notice is however incomplete). Their date of composition cannot be ascertained at present. But it was certainly composed long before the date of compilation of the four texts together, which also was done much earlier than the date of copying the present text. Thus roughly it may be said that the *Nayottara sūtras* were composed in the 6th and 7th centuries A.C., and compiled with the other two texts in the 7th and 8th centuries A.C.

The *Brahmayāmala* (*loc. cit.*) says that the *Niśvāsa* and the other Tantras mentioned above came out of the middle current and were communicated by the upper mouth of Śiva (*madhyasrota-sambhūtā ūrdhvavaktrāt vinirgatā*). In another place (fol. 200*a*) the *Brahmayāmala* distinctly says that the three texts known as *Sammoha, Nayottara* and *Śiraścheda* issued from the left current (*vāmasrotas*)

Sammohañ ca tathā proktaṃ tathā caiva Nayottaram/
[Śīraśchedaṃ][1] tathā proktaṃ vāmasrotād vinirgatam//

The same texts are also mentioned in a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* namely the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Śāstrī*, I, ch. 40 see *infra*):

savyasrotasi siddhāni śiraśchidra[2] bhayātmakam/
nayottaraṃ mahā-raudraṃ mahāsammohonaṃ tathā/
trikam etat mahādevi vāmasrotasi nirgataṃ/

The fact that the *Nayottara* is here attributed to the *vāmasrotas* (left current) whereas elsewhere it is, as a part of the *Niśvāsatantra*, attributed to the *madhyama srotas* (middle current) should not be considered as a serious obstacle in accepting the identification proposed. We have actually mention of texts coming out of the combined current

1 Though this portion is indistinct in the ms. the reading is supported by the text of the supplement, which repeats the same tradition.

2 It is evidently a mistake of the copyist for *śiraścheda*.

of *vāmamadhyama* (*Vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathaiva hi—Brahmayāmala*, fol. 200a). There are reasons to believe that the classification according to *srotas* was not very well defined.

The texts already discussed, as we have seen, mention two other texts viz. the *Sammoha* and the *Śiraścheda* of the 4 texts introduced in Kambuja. We should not therefore suppose that the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatantra* list were the only Tāntrik texts known in India in the 8th century A.C. According to the *Brahmayāmala* we are led to believe that these were the texts handed down by one tradition only, that of the *madhyasrotas*. The same text refers to the *Yāmalas* coming out from the Bhairava tradition: *Bhairava-srotas*. These *yāmalas* are: (1) *Rudra*, (2) *Kanda* (=*Skanda*) (3) *Brahma*, (4) *Viṣṇu*, (5) *Yama*, (6) *Vāyu*, (7) *Kuvera*, (8) *Indra*[1] It is true that these *Yāmalas* are not mentioned in the *Niśvāsa tantra*, but in the *Brahmayāmala* of which we get a ms. copied in 1052 A.C. So they all had come into existence long before this last date. But it is possible to determine the date of their composition more precisely.

The *Brahmayāmala* has its supplements and two of them are preserved in the Darbar Library (1) *Piṅgalāmata* (2) *Jayadrathayāmala*. The latter is a very extensive work containing about 24000 ślokas divided into 4 *ṣaṭkas* of 600 *Ślokas* each. The ms. of the *Piṅgalāmata* was copied in the Nepal Saṃv. 294=1174 A.C. There can be no doubt about the fact that it is a supplement[2] to the *Brahmayāmala* and is connected with the *Jayadratha*°. In the very first chapter of the *Piṅgalāmata* (fol. 26) it is said: *asya tantrasya Piṅgalāmatasaṃjñā. Pratiṣṭhākalpaṃ Jayadrathādhikāraṃ Brahmayāmalasya anuyāti, Piṅgalābhaṭṭārikāyāḥ nimittaṃ*. The *Piṅgalāmata* therefore presupposes the existence of the *Jayadrathayāmalaṃ* and professes to be inspired by the *Brahma*°. The *Jayadratha*° was therefore written long before 1174 A.C.

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1 *Brahmayāmala*, ch. 39, *Srotanirṇaya*, fol. 169a:
Rudrayāmalam anyañ ca tathā vai Kandayāmalaṃ/
Brahmayāmalakaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalam eva ca//
Yamayāmalakaṃ cānyaṃ Vāyuyāmalam eva ca/
Kuverayāmalañ caiva Indrayāmalam eva ca//
Bhairavāṣṭāṣṭam eta [°ṣṭakam etat] Vidyāpīṭhād vinirgataṃ/
Yāmalāni tathā cāṣṭau nirgatāni na saṃśayaḥ//
The names of the eight Bhairavas also mentioned in this connection, are: *Sacchanda Bhairava, Krodha*°, *Unmatta*°, *Ugra*°, *Kapālī*°, *Jhaṅkāra*°, *Śekhara*°, *Vijaya*°.

Through the two mss. (*ṣaṭkas* I and II) noticed by H. P. Śāstrī are of the 16th and 17th centuries.[1]

The *Jayadrathayāmala* is distinctly called *Śiraścheda*. We have already discussed the texts which mention *Śiraścheda* as being handed down by the left current (*vāmasrotas*) and communicated by the *vāmavaktra* (the mouth turning towards the left). All the colophons of the *Jayadrathayāmala* run thus:

> iti Bhairavasrotasi vidyāpīṭhe Śiraśchede ŚrīJayadrathayāmala -mahātantre caturviṃśatiśāhasre Śrīkālasaṃkarṣanyāṃ etc. (cf. Śāstri, loc. cit.)

The frame-work of the present tantra is as follows; "Jayadratha the husband of Duryodhana's sister and the king of Sindhudeśa renounced the world and settled at Vadarikāśrama in the Himālayas for the purpose of practising austerities. He propitiated the goddess Pārvatī who introduced him to Śiva. The interlocution between these three is the substance of the Tantra. The first question asked was the nature of Mukti (salvation) which was explained according to the *Sāṅkhya* system but Śiva said that the telling on rosary the formula of *Kālasaṅkarṣaṇī* was the easiest and the shortest way to salvation" (Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 2). As regards the names mentioned in the colophon Śāstrī remarked in 1905 (*Catalogue*, I, p. xii) that these are "a string of names, the import of which, if it existed at all, is lost"

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1 Of the 4 *ṣaṭkas* of this text, preserved in the Darbar Library Śāstrī has noticed only two I, and II. The ms. of the *ṣaṭkas* I is dated Nepal Saṃ. 843 = 1723 A.C. (and not Nepal Saṃ. 847 as stated by Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Cat.*, II, p. 1) and the ms. of the *ṣaṭka* II is dated N. S. 762 = 1642 A.C. The writing of *ṣaṭka* III appears to be of the same period but the *ṣaṭka* IV is preserved in an older ms. The colophon of this ms. (fol. 339b-340a) runs thus:— adhigata-sakalaśāstrasya yoginīvṛndavanditacaraṇayugalasya—vividha-vidyāvidyotitāṃ tatkaraṇasya mahākāruṇikasya mahārājādhirājaśrī-majjayacandradevapūjitasya Kulācāryaśrīdharaṇipādevanāmadheyasya śiṣyeṇa paṇḍitaśrījomadevena likhitam iti. Jayacandra here mentioned seems to be the same as king Jayacandra of Kanauj who fell before the Muhammadans towards the end of the 12th century. The ms. was therefore copied either towards the end of that century or the beginning of the 13th century A.C. The script supports it. The Rājguru Hemarāja śarmā would attribute to the script used in this ms. a *Kanaujiyā* character (*Kānyakubjīya-srotas*).

but in 1915 (*Catalogue*, II, p. 114) in connection with the *Tattvasadbhāvatantra* he explains them thus, "It is called *Bhairavasrotas* because Bhairava is the speaker and his speech began after he had snatched away the topmost head of Brahmā and put it above his four heads. It is called *Vidyāpāṭṭha* (sic. *vidyāpīṭha*) because it treats of the goddess *Sundarī*." But this explanation is not quite correct. (i) *Bhairavasrotas*, as we have already seen, means the Bhairava current or tradition. There are 8 Bhairavas from whom emanate the 8 *yāmalas*. So other Tantras of the *Bhairavasrotas* either must have been supplements to these 8 *yāmalas* or inspired by them. The *Jayadrathayāmala* emanates from the same Bhairava (viz. the *Unmatta Bhairava*) who narrated the *Brahmayāmala*. Bhairava is conceived as an aspect of Śiva. (ii) We have already discussed the significance of the 4 *pīṭhas*. *Vidyāpīṭha* is that method of *sādhanā* which relies on the *vidyā* or *mantras*. In the case of the *Jayadrathayāmala* it is the *Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī mantra* which is of importance. (iii) The significance of Śiraścheda is still unknown to me. I have not been able to trace the explanation offered by Śāstrī anywhere in the texts but some Paṇḍits of Nepal who are acquainted with the Tantras confirm his explanation. Some of the Purāṇas indeed preserve the story of Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but in a little different way. In the *Kūrmapurāṇa* it is stated that Brahmā was once boasting himself as the greatest of the universe. Śiva appeared on the scene and claimed that place for himself. Brahmā was, however, obstinate. Thereupon Śiva got angry and ordered his Bhairava to cut off that head of Brahmā which was reviling him. Śiva thereby committed a sin of which he got rid by going to Benares. The story of this rivalry between the Brahmā, Śiva, and also Viṣṇu is told also in the the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Śivapurāṇa*. In those texts, however, there is no question of cutting the head of Brahmā but Śiva establishes his superiority over the other two as the greatest architect of the universe and proved that Brahmā and Viṣnu were only his different aspects. (See Gopinath Rao : *Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part I, p. 105ff. and p. 296ff.). The same story evidently taken from the Purāṇas is told by Alberuni (Sachau II p. 147): "Brahman was in shape four-headed. Now there happened some quarrel between him and Śaṅkara i.e. Mahādeva—and the succeeding fight had this result that one of the heads of Brahman was torn off.....Thus the head of Brahman was dishonoured by the hand of Mahādeva, who took it always with him wherever he went and

whatever he did.....After he had entered Benares the head dropped from his hand and disappeared." This is briefly the story about Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but I have not yet found any reference to Śiva's putting it on his own head and communicating a class of Tantras through it. But it seems probable that the legend has some bearing on the *Sadyojāta* face of Śiva, which represents his Brahmā aspect and through which he told some Tantras. (See Gopinath Rao, *loc. cit.*, part II, p. 366-367).

It is now quite clear that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is a *Śiraścheda* text. Not only the colophons of the text but the text itself clearly speak of it. Thus towards the end of the *ṣaṭka* III (fol 215a) we find the following text :—

Evam etan mayākhyātaṃ tantram etad anuttamaṃ/
Vasiṣṭhena purādhītaṃ naranārāyaṇair api//
Brahmaṇā matsamīpe tu śiraśchedaṃ mahābalaṃ/
Bahumantraguṇākīraṇaṃ tavādya prakaṭīkṛtaṃ/

Here the text is quite clear about the identity of the *Śiraścheda* and the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Now the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as we have seen, is mentioned in the *Piṅgalāmata* (of which we have a ms. dated 1174 A.C.), and apparently in the existing version of the *Brahmayāmala* (chap. 39, fol. 169a) as "*catuṣkaṣaṭkabhedas tu.*" (This ms. of *Brahma*° is dated 1052 A.C.). A part of the *Jayadratha*° itself is preserved in a ms. of the 12th-13th century A.C. If we admit that it is this *Śiraścheda* which was taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century (802 A.C.) then the date of its composition would go back to the 8th century A.C., and necessarily the earlier versions of the *Brahmayāmala* and other *yāmalas* would go back to a still older period.

An apparently later tradition mentions another work as Śiraścheda. It is the *Karavīrayoga*,[1] also called *Parātantra*. A ms. of this *tantra*

1 *Karavīra* means a cremation ground cf. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV. 55—"*śmaśānaṃ karavīraṃ syāt.*" But the word is also used as the name of particular *śmaśānas* at least in two places. In Nepal a *śmaśāna* was known as *karavīra*, (cf. S. Lévi,' *Le Nepal*, II, p. 282). In the Tibetan texts we find *Karavīra* as the name of a *Vihāra* in the city of Mālapura (Maṅgalapura ?) in Uḍḍiyāna (*Pag. Sam Jon Zang*, p. 137, index. iii ; cf. also Tāranāth, tr. Schiefner p. 324). It seems probable that in Uḍḍiyāna also there was a parti-

written in śaka 1681 = 1603 A.C. is preserved in the Darbar Library. The colophons of some of its chapters are to be noticed in this connection :

> fol. 21b—iti śrīmahāsrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātantre krama (?) dvādaśasāhasrikāyāṃ kālikramanirṇayasūtraṃ ; fol. 25a—iti śrībhairavasrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātantre paramārthanirṇayaḥ ; fol. 30a—iti śrī bhairavasrotasi śiraśchede mahākaravīrayoge parātantre kālikulakramaḥ samāptaḥ. On fol. 1a the following words are put into the mouth of the goddess:

Sarvasrotodbhavaṃ jñānaṃ tvā[ṃ] prasādā[t] vrutaṃ mayā/
yāmalāṣṭakapūravantu tattvāny ekavidhānita (?) //
śiraśchedaś ca bahudhā mahā-santhāna-ṣaṭkakaṃ/
parātantraṃ ca citkāra (phetkāra ?) sāgarāmbhāmahāsanaṃ.../
caturviṃśati vai lakṣāḥ śrutāḥ sarveṇa tu dhāriṇī//

In this list the *Karavīrayoga* apparently mentions the texts of the school to which it belongs. It mentions the original *Śiraścheda* : the *mahāsanthānaṣaṭkakaṃ*. The text here referred to seems to be no other than the *Jayadrathayāmala* containing the extensive *ṣaṭkas*. Thus it is evident that the original *Śiraścheda* text was the same as the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The *Karavīrayoga* apparently drew its inspiration from that text.

We have already seen that the *Jayadrathayāmala* came out either of the *vāmasrotas* or the *vāmamadhyamasrotas*. We should rather consider it to be issuing from the *vāmamadhyamasrotas* which was spoken by the western mouth *Paścimavaktra* because the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself speaks of its western origin [cf. *ṣaṭka* III, fol. 215a : *tadākṣa* (?) *paścimajanma jñātavyaṃ narasattamaiḥ*]. We have also seen that it is the *sadyojāta* face (= Brahmā) which turns westward. Thus we understand why the *Jayadrathayāmala*, communicated by the *paścimavaktra* is called *śiraścheda*.

As regards the third text *Sammoha* introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.C. nothing can be definitely stated at the present moment.

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cular cremation ground with that name which has been wrongly called a *vihāra*. Some Tāntric practices were to be performed only in the *śmaśānas*. Traces of such practices are also found in Buddhist sources. cf. *Laṅkāvatāra* (Nanjio) p. 308.

śunyāgāre śmaśāne vā vṛkṣamūle guhāsu vā/
palāle 'bhyavakāśe ca yogī vāsaṃ prakalpayet// verse 336.

We have already discussed the references to this text in the *Brahmayāmala* (ms. copied in 1052 A.C.). There is no doubt that the *Sammoha* (var. *Sammohana*) mentioned therein was the same as that introduced into Kambuja. So it was known in India long before 802 A.C. when it was taken to Kambuja. It is difficult to determine if this *Sammoha* had to do anything with the *Sammohanatantra* we get at present. One *Sammohanatantra*, as has been already pointed out by Dr. Chatterji, is attributed to the *Viṣṇukrāntā* region. A *Sammohinītantra* belongs to the *Rathakrānta* region, (see Avalon, *Principles of Tantra* I, lxv, lxvi). We have besides a *Sammohanatantra* preserved in a late ms. in the Darbar Library. Śāstri (*Catalogue*, II, p. 183) also has noticed this ms. as a new one. The text is written in incorrect Sanskrit. All these texts of the *Sammohanatantra* might have been inspired by the original *Sammohatantra* which still remains to be discovered.

On the last and the 4th text taken to Kambuja in 802 A.C. viz. the *Vināśikha*, no light can be thrown at present. In the *Jayadratha yāmala* (*Saṭka* I) we find a list of Bhairavas who had attained success through the *Kālasaṃkarṣāṇī vidyā*. Amongst these Bhairavas we find the names of *Śikhā* and *Vināśikha* Bhairavas. There are *tantras* issuing from some of the *Bhairavas* of this list. There is the name of *Phetkāri Bhairava* from whom issued the *Phetakara tantra*. Consequently we are justified in supposing that there was a *tantra* named *Vināśikha tantra* which was connected with the name of *Vināśikha Bhairava*. If this identification is accepted then the *Vināśikha tantra* was intimately connected with the *Śiraścheda*, i.e. the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as the Kambuja inscription also would make us believe.

The texts thus being identified, it remains to be seen which is the god mentioned as *Tumvuru* and why are the four texts called "the four faces of Tumvuru." Dr. Chatterji says that Tumvuru is the name of a Gandharva and thinks that he had something to do with the *Gandharva tantra*. But the context has no bearing on any *tantra* connected with the name of *Tumvuru*. The inscription would have us believe that all the four texts were connected with that god. Tumbaru or Tumburu is recorded in all the lexicons as the name of a Gandharva but no detailed information is available on him. It is the name of one of the Yakṣa worshippers of the Jina (See Hemacandra—*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, I, 41 where the commentator explains the word as *tumbati ardati vighnān tumburuh*). The Buddhist texts mention him as the king of the Gandharvas. Thus

in the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*Dialogues of Buddha*, part 2, p. 288) amongst the Gandharva chieftains are mentioned Pañcaśikha and Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru. Then again in the *Sakkapañha suttanta* (*ibid.*, pp. 302, 303) Buddha being enchanted by the music of Pañcaśikha questions him whereupon the latter tells him the story of his love for Bhaddā Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru, the King of the Gandhabbas. In this story Pañcaśikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow *Beluva* wood. The Gandhabba Timbaru is also mentioned in the *Pāsādikasuttanta*. In the Chinese translations of those Sūtras the name of the Gandharva is transcribed as *Tan-feou-lu* = *tām-bieu-ru = **tamburu* and as *Teou-feou-lou* = *Teu-bieu-ru = **tu(m)buru*. [cf. *Tripiṭaka*, New Tokio Ed. vol. I, pp. 80, 633]. These forms show that in the corresponding Chinese versions the names presuppose the forms *Tamburu*, and *Tumburu* and not *Timburu* as preserved in the Pāli texts. The Mahābhārata refers to Tumburu on several occasions: in Ādiparva (65.51): *supriyā cātibāhuś ca vikhyātau ca hāhā hūhūḥ/ Tumburuś ceti catvāraḥ smṛtāḥ Gandharvasattvamāḥ//* and again *Ādi* (159.54): *Gandharvaiḥ sahitaḥ śrīmān prāgāyataś ca Tumburuḥ*. In the first verse Tumburu is evidently used as a general designation of the four Gandharvas: *Supriyā, Atibāhu, Hāhā, Hūhū*, whereas in the second verse it is used in all appearance, as the name of one particular Gandharva, who was a musician. Whatever it may be, the number four seems to have been connected with the name of Tumburu, though it is difficult to determine at present whether it was originally the generic name of the four Gandharvas or the name of a particular Gandharva with four faces.[1] But there is no doubt that Tumburu

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1 There seems to have been a time when Śiva was four faced. The Mahābhārata preserves its traces (*Anuśāsana* 141. sl. 5ff. *Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda*). Śiva tells Umā that it was simply to see her that he became four-faced through yogic power:

tāṃ didṛkṣur ahaṃ yogāc caturmūrttitvam āgataḥ/
caturmukhaś ca saṃvṛtto darśayan yogam uttamam//
pūrveṇa vadanenāham indratvam anuśāsmi ha/
uttareṇa tvayā sārdhaṃ ramāmy aham anindite//
paścimaṃ me mukhaṃ saumyaṃ sarvaprāṇisukhāvahaṃ/
dakṣiṇaṃ bhīmasaṅkāśaṃ raudraṃ saṃharati prajāḥ//

In the *Ādiparva* (216, śls. 22-28, Cal. Ed.) Maheśvara is stated to have done the same thing i.e. assumed four faces through *yoga* to

was *par excellence* a musician. He is mentioned as an authority on the musical science.

The *Saṃgītāloka*, while mentioning the oldest authorities on music cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are : (1) Brahmā, (2) Śiva, (3) Nandikeśvara, (4) Śivā, (5) Rambhā, (6) Tumburu, etc. (.....*Śivanandikeśvara śivārambhāsthatā tumburuḥ*.....cf. Śāstri, *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 72 and also *Introduction*, xxxv). These are the names of *gods* who revealed music to the mortals. Nandikeśvara is another name of Śiva ; Tumburu is the Gandharva. A stringed musical intrument, *Tamburā* is connected with his name. Though there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than *Śiva* himself. Both of them are represented as having four faces, and both of them are authorities on music. If this identification is accepted then a new light can be thrown on the text of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom. The four tantras : *Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara* are said to be *Tumvuror vaktracatuṣkam*, not because they constituted the four faces of that god but because they issued forth from or were communicated by, his four mouths (*vaktra*). Besides we should note that *vaktra* really means mouth and not face. The four Tāntrik texts therefore seem to have represented four different *āmnāyas*, connected with the four

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see the newly created Tilottamā from all sides—"*evaṃ caturmukhaḥ sthāṇur mahādevo'-bhavat purā.*" In the sculptural representation also, though Mahādeva should have according to comparatively late texts five faces, the figures of the four-faced Śiva are not rare. Gopinath Rao in his *Hindu Iconography* (vol. II, part II, pl. cxv and p. 373) reproduces the image of a Sadāśiva-mūrti coming from Ellora. The image has four faces. Mr. Rao for making it agree with traditional form of Śiva says that. "The figure has four faces and since all its arms are broken, it is not possible to say how many it originally possessed." But there is no mark of a broken face and there is no difficulty in admitting that it was from the beginning four faced. At Yun Kang in North China, the Buddhist sculpture which was directly inspired by Indian art there is a representation of Maheśvara with four faces. It belongs to the 5th and 6th centuries A.C. Maheśvara is sitting on a bull. The four faces are turning to four directions. Somebody is standing near him carrying a trident (*triśūla*). See Siren—*Chinese sculpture*, vol. II, Pl. 34.

faces of Tumburu, who was in all appearance, an emanation of Śiva himself like the Bhairavas.

The introduction of the four texts throws some light on another problem viz. that of the relation of Kambuja with northern India. Dr. Chatterji has already tried to trace some of the elements of Kambuja culture to North Indian origin (*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* p. 253 ff.). Now there are reasons to believe that the four Tantras brought to Kambuja by Hiraṇyadāma were of North Indian origin. The *Piṅgalāmata* which we have seen to be a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* and to be connected with the *Śiraścheda-Jayadratha-yāmala* is very clear on this point. On *folio* 5b we find mention of the country where the *Śiva-sādhanā* was in vogue. It is no doubt the country of the Āryas—the *Āryâvarta*:

Vindhyottaragatenaiva Magadhāccāpareṇa tu
Himādre dakṣiṇe bhāge pañcālāt pūrvatas tathā
Āryāvarta iti khyātas tadbhavācāryasādhakau
Agrajanmakulodbhūtaḥ sarvasādhāraṇo yataḥ
Viśeṣaṇañ ca tathā brūmi agraṇīśaktivācakaḥ
Śaktyantaṃ janitaṃ janma janmāgrety abhidhīyate
Ka-pūrvāṣṭavinirmukt[ā] anyadeśodbhavāvapi
Kāmarūpañca kāśmīrau kāliṅgau koṅkaṇodbhavau
Kāñcīkośalakāveryā-rāṣṭrajāvapi varjayet
Kimarthaṃ cet tatsidhyarthaṃ-mokṣārthaṃ sarvajau śubhau,
Śivavratadharācāryo nātidīrgho'tihrasvakaḥ etc.

This passage mentions the countries of which the people are unfit for *Śivasādhanā* on account of their physical deformities. These countries all begin with *ka*: Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñci, Kośala, Kāverī-rāṣṭra (?). This shows that the oldest Brāhmaṇical *tantras* which included the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatattva-saṃhitā*, the 8 *yāmalas* and their supplements, all originated in Northern India. The four texts, the *Nayottara*, *Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha* and *Sammoha*, taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. would therefore be of North-Indian origin.

Thus we see that the four Tāntrik texts mentioned in the Inscription of Sdok Kak Thom as having been introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.C. during the reign of Jayavarma II are partly preserved in old mss. in the Nepal Darbar Library. The *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya-* and *Uttara sūtras* which form a part of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* now preserved in a ms. of Gupta writing of the 8th century A.C. It was composed much earlier than the date of

the ms. and may be safely placed in the 6th—7th century A.C. ; The *Śiraścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadratha-yāmala* of which an extensive text copied in the 12th-13th century A.C. exists in the Darbar Library. The *Vināśikha* seems to have been a supplement to the *Jayadratha yāmala* and the *Sammoha*, the original, on which the later Tantras of that name were based. The four Tantras were of North-Indian origin.

Tumbaru appears to have been an emanation of Śiva himself, who is represented as having communicated the four texts through his four mouths.

P. C. BAGCHI.

MISCELLANY

The Rasārṇavālaṃkāra of Prakāśavarṣa

Students of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra-śāstra are indebted to Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma of the University of Madras for publishing in the *IHQ*, vol. V, pp. 173f. the text of Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* along with an excellent account of the work in English. During a week's stay in Madras in 1924 I had an opportunity of examining an imperfect manuscript-copy of the work in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (which Pandit Venkatarama appears also to have utilised); but, as I could not devote much time to it, my examination was necessarily cursory, and the brief account which I gave of it in *BSOS*, iv, pt. 2, p. 283 was not only incomplete but incorrect in one particular in the description of the work. Pandit Venkatarama has now published the text, as well as a fairly full account, from two manuscripts, and I must thank him for the correction he has made of my error; but I still find from a careful study of the published text that I was not mistaken in regarding this work as a comparatively late composition, belonging to a period probably later than that of Bhoja.

Pandit Venkatarama Sharma claims that the *Rasārṇava* of Prakāśavarṣa is "the earliest work on Poetics after the Nāṭyaveda" of Bharata, and that "Prakāśavarṣa must have flourished before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and after Bāṇabhaṭṭa, i. e., between 650 A.C. and 750 A.C." But it appears to me that the learned Pandit is entirely on the wrong track in his views about Prakāśavarṣa's relation to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Apart from the very elaborate treatment of *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra*, which one can hardly expect in such a presumably early work, there is a distinct reference in it to *dhvani*, and in most of his definitions and apparently novel classifications Prakāśavarṣa appears to follow very closely the school of opinion which is represented in Sanskrit Poetics by the work of Bhoja. If Pandit Venkatarama had closed his Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and opened his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* he would have at once found out the source of most of Prakāśavarṣa's information, and would have seen that, like Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa does not hesitate in appropriating and copying verses from Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, a procedure which appears to have misled his editor.

I have already attempted to shew in my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, pp. 261f. that Bhoja, like the author of the *alaṃkāra*-section of the

Agni-purāṇa, follows a tradition of thought and speculation which is different in many respects from that of the earlier established writers on Poetics, although his work is essentially an eclectic compilation, which conforms to the teachings of no particular orthodox school but gathers its material from all sources. The importance given to *rasa* in conformity with the general standpoint of the earlier Rasa and Dhvani schools (in spite of a somewhat elaborate treatment of *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* which are not directly correlated to *rasa*) as well as the presence of verses culled from different older writers (especially Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha) need not surprise us in such a work. Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* is marked by the same features, and he shows the same reverence to Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, whose works supplied to him, as to Bhoja, a large number of unacknowledged quotations and ideas. The very fact that he refers to and quotes from a Bhāmaha or a Mahābhāmaha (although these quotations are not to be found in Bhāmaha's known work) precludes us, apart from every other consideration, from placing Prakāśavarṣa before Bhāmaha.

Coming to the subject-matter of the work itself one can see at once that there is a close agreement in the definitions and classifications of *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* between Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava*, No doubt, Prakāśavarṣa here and there adds to or rejects a *guṇa* or an *alaṃkāra* from the enumeration of Bhoja. Thus, of the 24 *śabda-guṇas* mentioned by Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa accepts 22, leaving aside *gati* and *prauḍhi* mentioned by Bhoja; and to the 24 *arthālaṃkāras* of Bhoja Prakāśavarṣa adds four more. Apart from such legitimate additions and modifications, the *guṇas*, *doṣas* and *alaṃkāras* in Prakāśavarṣa are named, defined, classified in the same way and mentioned almost in the same order (but for exegencies of metre) as in Bhoja. But the agreement is more than that. The definitions and classifications are mostly copied *verbally* by Prakāśavarṣa from Bhoja. Some of the classifications and definitions are peculiar to Bhoja, mentioned by him for the first time, and some are mentioned by no other rhetoricians. All these are also copied by Prakāśavarṣa. It would be futile, therefore, to compare Prakāśavarṣa's treatment with those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and it is not surprising that Pandit Venkatarama has found more points of confusing divergence than agreement in such a procedure.

As the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* is a well-known and easily avail-

able text, it is not necessary for me to cite here all the points of agreement occurring throughout Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* wherever the topics dealt with are common to the two works. But I adduce here a few typical instances in support of the statements made above. The general scheme and classification of *guṇas* and *doṣas* are almost identical in Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa, and the same ideas and terminology are employed throughout. The division of *doṣas* into three classes (as relating to *pada*, *vākya* and *vākyārtha*), which is accepted by both, is indeed much older; but while Bhoja, for the sake of a certain symmetry and uniformity of treatment, enumerates sixteen *doṣas* respectively of *pada*, *vākya* and *vākyārtha*, Prakāśavarṣa accepts from them only fourteen *pada-doṣas*, fourteen (but really fifteen) *vākya-doṣas* and sixteen *vākyārtha-doṣas*, using nearly the same nomenclature and almost identical definitions. We give them here in parallel columns, so that the striking agreements, as well as the slight differences, will be clear at a glance:

Bhoja[1]	*Prakāśavarṣa*
1. *Pada-doṣas* (16 in number)	1. *Pada-doṣas* (14 in number; slightly different order)
asādhu (śabda-śāstra-viruddhaṃ yat)	asādhu (śabda-śāstra-viruddhaṃ yat)
aprayukta (kavibhir na prayuktaṃ yat)	aprayukta (na prayuktaṃ kavīndrair yat)
kaṣṭa (padaṃ śruter a-sukhadam)	kaṣṭa (śravaṇa-durbhagam)
anarthaka (pāda-pūraṇa-mātrārtham)	anarthaka (pāda-pūraṇa-mātraṃ yat)
anyārtha (rūḍhi-cyutaṃ padaṃ yat)	[To this really corresponds Pkv's asamartha, see below.]
apuṣṭārtha (yat tu tucchābhidheyaṃ syāt)	apuṣṭārtha (vācya-tucchatayā kliṣṭaṃ)
asamartha (asaṅgataṃ padaṃ yat)	asamartha (yad baddhaṃ rūḍhi-vartma-vyatikramāt)— cf. Bhoja's anyārtha

1 The references are to the Kāvyamālā edition (Kāvyamālā 95, Bombay, 1925) of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, but A. Borooah's edition (Calcutta, 1884) has also been consulted.

Bhoja	*Prakāśavarsa*
apratīta (tad uddiṣṭaṃ prasiddhaṃ śāstra eva yat)	apratīta (śāstra eva prayuktaṃ yat)[1]
kliṣṭa (dūre yasyārtha-saṃvittiḥ)	kliṣṭa (pāramparyeṇa cārthasya sūcakam)
gūḍhārtha (aprasiddhārthaṃ prayogam)	gūḍhārtha (aprasiddhārtha-sambaddham)
neyārtha (sva-saṃketa-prakḷptārtham)	neyārtha (svayaṃ kalpita-saṃketam)
sandigdha (na yat padaṃ niścayakṛt)	sasaṃśaya (yatrārthāntara-sambandhaḥ)
viparīta (viruddhārtha-prakalpanam)	
aprayojaka (aviśeṣa-vidhāyakam)	aprayojaka (vivakṣita-prameyasya nopakāri)
deśya (avyutpattimat padam)	deśya (deśa-rūḍhi-gataṃ padam)
grāmya—(a) aślīla or asabhyārtha (b) amaṅgala and (c) ghṛṇāvat, 3 kinds.	grāmya—(a) asabhya (b) amaṅgala and (c) ghṛṇākara, 3 kinds.

The agreements are no less close and striking in the case of *vākya-doṣas* :

2. *Vākya-doṣas* (16 in number)	2. *Vākya-doṣas* (14 in number but really 15; slightly different order)
śabda-hīna (apaśabdavat)	śabda-hīna (bhinna-bhāṣā-padāviddham)
krama-bhraṣṭa (ārthaḥ śābdo vā yatra na kramaḥ)[2]	krama-bhraṣṭa (śabdārtha-vyutkramo yatra)
visandhi (visaṃhito virūpo vā yatra sandhiḥ)	viśandhi (viruddha-sandhi niḥsandhi)
punaruktimat (padaṃ padārthaś cābhinnau yatra)	punaruktimat (tādṛk pada-padārthānāṃ nibandhe)
vyākīrṇa (mitho yasmin vibhaktīnām asaṅgatiḥ)	vyākīrṇa (aneka-pada-santāna-vyāhata-smṛtibhiḥ padair yojanā yatra)

1 The reading actually is *śāstras.....yuktaṃ yad* (with lacunae).

2 I prefer this reading of A. Borooah's text : the Kāvyamālā edition reads *ārthaḥ śābdo vā yatra tatkramaḥ*.

saṃkīrṇa (vākyāntara-padair miśram)	saṃkīrṇa (vākyāntarapadonmiśram)
apada (vibhinna-prakṛtisthādi padayukti)	
vākya-garbhita (vākyāntara-sagarbhaṃ yat)	[vākya-] garbhita (vākyāntara-sagarbhaṃ yat)
bhinna-liṅga (yatropamā bhinna-lingā)	bhinna-liṅga (aliṅgatvād upamānopameyayoḥ)
bhinna-vacana (yad bhinna-vacanopamam)	bhinna-vacana (yasmin vacana-vaiṣamyam upamānopameyayoḥ)
nyūnopama (nyūnam upamāna-viśeṣaṇaiḥ)	nyūnopama (nyūnair upamāyā viśeṣaṇaiḥ)
adhikopama (adhikaṃ yat punas taiḥ syāt)	adhikopama (viśeṣaṇādhikau-pamyam)
bhagna-chanda (yac chando-bhaṅgavad vacaḥ) / bhagna-yati (asthāne viratir yasya)	bhinna-vṛtta (chando-lakṣaṇa-hīnam) 2 kinds, tad varṇa-yati-bhedena dvidhā
a-śarīra (kriyā-pada-vihīnaṃ yat)	khañja (kriyā-virahitaṃ vā-kyam)
a-rītimat (guṇānāṃ dṛśyate yatra śleṣādīnāṃ viparyayaḥ) 9 kinds, according as each doṣa is a viparyaya of each of the corresponding 9 guṇas with the exception of samā-dhi.	śleṣādi-guṇa-hīnam—10 kinds, in the same way as in Bhoja, but samādhi-guṇa is included.

Those who are not yet convinced by these instances will find the scheme and classification of *vākyārtha-doṣas* even more strikingly close:

Bhoja	*Prakāśavarṣa*
3. *Vākyārtha-doṣas* (16 in number)	3. *Vākyārtha-doṣas* (16 in number)
apārtha (samudāyārtha-śūn-yaṃ yad vacaḥ)	apārtha (samudāyārtha-śūnyaṃ yat)
vyartha (gatārtham yat, yacca syān niṣprayojakam)	vyartha (yad aprayojakam[1] yacca gatārtham)
ekārtha (uktyabhinnārtham)	ekārtha (uktyabhinnārtham)[2]

1 The text reads: *aprayojanam.*

2 The reading *uktābhinnārtham* is obviously a mislection.

sasaṃśaya (sandigdhārtham)	sasaṃśaya (yatrārthasya na niścayaḥ)
apakrama (vākyaṃ yat tu krama-bhraṣṭam)	apakrama (paurvāparya-viparyayaḥ)
khinna (jātyādyuktāvanirvyūḍham)	khinna (jātyādyuktāvanirvyūḍham),[1]
atimātra (yat sarva-lokātītārtham)	atimātra (lokātīta ivārtho yaḥ)
paruṣa (yat tu krūrārtham atyartham)	paruṣa (ati-krūras tu vākyārthaḥ)
virasa (aprastuta-rasaṃ yat)	virasa (aprākṛta-rasam)
hīnopama (hīnaṃ yatropamānaṃ syāt)	hīnopama (hīnaṃ yatropamānaṃ syāt)
adhikopama (tad eva yasminn-adhikam)	adhikopama (yatropamānam adhikam)
asadṛśopama (yat tv atulyopamānam)	visadṛśopama (atulyam upamānaṃ cet)
aprasiddhopama (aprasiddhopamānaṃ yat)	aprasiddhopama (aprasiddhopamānaṃ cet)
niralaṃkāra (yad alaṃkārahīnam)	niralaṃkāra (alaṃkāra-vivarjitam)
aślīla (aślīlārtha-pratīti-kṛt)	aślīla (yad asabhyārtha-sambaddham)
viruddha—3 kinds (a) pratyakṣa-viruddha (b) anumāna-viruddha and (c) āgama-viruddha, each of which again is of three kinds—9 kinds in all.	viruddha—3 kinds (a) pratyakṣa-viruddha (b) anumāna-viruddha and (c) āgama-viruddha, each of which again is of three kinds, as in Bhoja —9 kinds in all.

It may be urged that most of these *doṣas* and their descriptions will be met with in other writers, and that in the definition and arrangement of *doṣas*, which are more or less standardised, the verbal or other agreements need not be taken as absolute proofs of borrowing. But when we come to the treatment of *guṇas*, the case is more convincing. It is well-known that in spite of the influence of Daṇḍin and his school, as well as of the tradition of opinion followed in the *alaṃkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja adopts a terminology and

1 The text has lacunae here.

scheme of *guṇas*, which are peculiar to himself and which differ in many points from those of his known predecessors ; but here also Prakāśavarṣa follows him pretty closely. To the orthodox ten *guṇas* of *śabda* and *artha* respectively of Vāmana, viz., *śleṣa*, *prasāda*, *mādhurya*, *samatā*, *saukumārya*, *artha-vyakti*, *ojas*, *kānti*, *udāratā*, and *samādhi* (which are, however, sometimes defined slightly differently by later writers who accept them), Bhoja adds *aurjitya*, *udāttatā* *preyas*, *suśabdatā*, *saukṣmya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saṃkṣepa*, *vistara*, *sammitatva*, *bhāvikatva*, *rīti*, *ukti*, *gati* and *prauḍhi*, thus enumerating 24 *guṇas* in all ; which unique arrangement gives us perhaps the largest number mentioned by any author. Prakāśavarṣa accepts the nomenclature and definition of the first 22 almost verbally, omitting *gati* and *prauḍhi* from his list.

Bhoja	*Prakāśavarṣa*
Śabda-guṇas, (24 in number)	*Śabda-guṇas* (22 in number)
śleṣa (su-śliṣṭa-padatā)	śleṣa (yatra bandho'ti-saṃśliṣṭaḥ)
prasāda (prasiddhārtha-padatvam)	prasāda (prasiddhārtha-pada-nyāsaḥ)
samatā (yan mṛdu-prasphuṭonmiśra- varṇa- bandha- vidhiṃ prati a-vaiṣamyeṇa bhaṇanam)	samatā (bandho mṛdu-sphuṭonmiśra-varṇa-janmā, na saṅkaraḥ)
mādhurya (yā pṛthak-padatā vākye)	mādhurya (arthocita-vaco-bandhaḥ)
sukumāratā (aniṣṭhurākṣara-prāyam)	sukumāratā (akaṭhorākṣara-nyāsaḥ)
artha-vyakti (yatra sampūrṇa-vākyatvam)	artha-vyakti (sampūrṇa-vākyatā)
kānti (yad ujjvalatvaṃ bandhasya)	kānti (bandhasyojjvalatā)[1]
audārya (vikaṭākṣara-bandhatvam)	audārya (bandha-vaikaṭyam)
udāttatā (ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yogaḥ)	udāttatā (ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam)
ojas (samāsa-bhūyastvam)	ojas (samāsa-bhūyastvam)
aurjitya (gāḍha-bandhatā)	aurjitya (bandha-gāḍhatvam)
preyas (priyatarākhyānaṃ cāṭūktau)	preyas (preyārtha-pada-vinyāsaḥ)
suśabdatā (vyutpattiḥ sup-tiṅāṃ yā)	suśabdatā (yā subanta-tiṅantānāṃ vyutpattiḥ)

1 The text has lacunae here.

samādhi (anya-dharmāṇāṃ yad anyatrādhiropaṇam)	samādhi (anya-dharmasya bhaved anyatra ropaṇam)
saukṣmya (antaḥ saṃjalpa-rūpatvaṃ śabdānām)	saukṣmya (śabdānām antaḥ saṃjalpa-rūpatā)
gāmbhīrya (dhvanimattā)	gāmbhīrya (dhvanimattā)
vistara (vyāsenoktiḥ)	vistāra (vyastam)
samkṣepa (samāsenābhidhānaṃ)	samkṣepa (abhidhānaṃ samāsena)
sammitatva (yāvadartha-padatvam)	sammitatva (yāvadartha-padatvam)
bhāvikatva (bhāvato vākya-vṛttir yā)	bhāvikatva (bhāvābhivyañjakā vāṇī)
gati (kramo yaḥ syād arohāvarohayoḥ)	
rīti (upakramasya nirvāhaḥ)	rīti (upakramasya nirvāhaḥ)
ukti (viśiṣṭā bhaṇitir yā syāt)	ukti (arthāntareṇa[1] cārthasya bhaṇanāt)
prauḍhi (ukteḥ prauḍhaḥ parīpākaḥ)	

It is not necessary to dilate on this point further and mention the *artha-guṇas* which betray similar parallelism. Prakāśavarṣa's discussion as to how *doṣas* sometimes become *guṇas*, which follows this topic, closely copies from Bhoja. Indeed the borrowing goes on practically throughout the whole work. It is a pity that the *rasa*-chapters, which give the name to the work, are incomplete in Prakāśavarṣa's published text; if we had the whole of it, we would perhaps have seen the same influence not only of the somewhat unique *rasa*-chapters of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* but also probably of his much larger and more exclusive *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. Coming to the treatment of the *alaṃkāras*, one finds that Bhoja's classification of figures as *bāhya*, *ābhyantara* and *bāhyābhyantara* is also accepted. In order to preserve a certain uniformity and symmetry of treatment (which is also noticeable in his classification of *guṇas* and *doṣas*), Bhoja mentions six kinds each of *rīti*, *vṛtti chāyā*, *mudrā*, *ukti*, *bhaṇiti*, *gumphanā*, *śayyā* and *paṭhiti*, which are included in the treatment of *śabdālaṃkāras*. Most of these are admitted and dealt with in the same way by Prakāśavarṣa; but as in the case of *guṇas* and *doṣas*, he is eclectic with regard to the number he accepts, in many cases omitting one or two kinds from the enumera-

1 The text has lacunae here, which is supplied by the editor as *vināntareṇa*.

ion of Bhoja. Of the six *rītis* of Bhoja, Prakāśavarṣa accepts five, mitting *māgadhī*; to the four orthodox *vṛttis* Bhoja adds two ıore, but Prakāśavarṣa mentions only five. Of the six kinds respectively of *mudrā*, *chāyā* and *bhaṇiti*, again (which are not dealt ith by any of the early writers), only four kinds of each are admitted by Prakāśavarṣa. But Bhoja's six types of *yukti* are repeated ithfully as six by Prakāśavarṣa,[1] who omits altogether the treatıent of *ukti*, *gumphanā* (for which perhaps *ghaṭanā* is substituted ?), *ıyyā* and *paṭhiti*. Coming to *śleṣa* we find Bhoja's six kinds of *'eṣa* are mentioned also by Prakāśavarṣa, while *praśnottara* and *'avyatā* (*śravya kāvya* as Bhoja calls it) are similarly given as six. ome of these classifications and definitions will probably be traced) other writers: but the agreements between Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa 're too close to be mistaken. It is not necessary to cite more in:ances, but what is given above will indicate clearly the sources of ıost of Prakāśavarṣa's information, although it must be remembered ıat the *Rasārṇava* is a much smaller manual than the almost encyopædic *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

Some of the peculiar and characteristic definitions which are, so ır as we know, given for the first time by Bhoja are also to be found in rakāśavarṣa. Instances have already been noticed in the above account, ut one or two characteristic points may be cited here. I have tried) shew elsewhere[2] that Bhoja eclectically arranges the teachings of ıe earlier schools in the light of a tradition of opinion which is pecuar in some respects and different from that of the prevalent schools; ıt he ignores entirely the implications of the *dhvani*-theory, although e does not hesitate to appropriate *kārikās* from the *Dhvanyāloka*. hat Bhoja was aware, however, of the concept of *dhvani*, which must ave been fully established in his time, is indicated by the fact that e attempts to include the idea in the *śabdaguṇa gāmbhīrya*, which is efined by him as *dhvanimattā*. This definition is verbally reproduced y Prakāśavarṣa.[3] Again, Bhoja admits the philosophical idea of *)amāna* (as a means of knowledge) in a poetic figure of that name

1 The editor (p. xvii) makes a slip when he speaks of *chāyā*, inead of *yukti*, as six.

2 *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, *loc. cit.*

3 The definition is also copied by Vidyānātha who is one of the w writers who follow Bhoja's elaborate classification of *guṇas*, hough Vidyānātha accepts *dhvani* as essential

and distinguishes it as a figure from the more well-known *upamā*.[1] This is a treatment peculiar to himself and is accepted by no writer on Poetics (so far as I know) except Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Kuvalayānanda*. The figure *upamāna*, as conceived and defined by Bhoja, is also to be found in Prakāśavarṣa.

This wholesale similarity of phraseology and ideas occurring throughout in the two works (even in the matter of peculiar schemes and treatment of characteristic points) cannot indeed be explained as accidental coincidences, or mere repetition of standardised technicalities. It may be contended, however, that what is said above does not necessarily prove that Prakāśavarṣa has actually borrowed from Bhoja ; for it is possible to hold that Bhoja might have modelled his bigger compilation upon the smaller manual of Prakāśavarṣa, or that both of them, belonging to the same school of thought, probably drew upon the same source. All this may be argued, but it cannot be maintained that Prakāśavarṣa is a very early writer, earlier even than Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. The supposition, however, of Bhoja's borrowing from Prakāśavarṣa appears to me to be very unlikely. While Bhoja's work displays a systematic and elaborate treatment (in spite of its peculiar theoretic standpoint), reinforced by abundant wealth of illustrations, which lifts it much above an average compilation, Prakāśavarṣa's work is nothing more than a short compilation of definitions and classifications. The *Rasārṇava* has the appearance of having been a practical manual or text book, and as such it is not unlikely that it was compiled chiefly by wholesale appropriations from Bhoja's standard work, with just a few pieces of supplementary information culled from other sources. In whichever way the question of borrowing be decided, it is clear, however, that Prakāśavarṣa, like Bhoja, belonged to a tradition of opinion which is distinct from that of the established schools, and of which the earliest known example is to be found in the *alaṃkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa*. The date of this section at least of the Purāṇa cannot be fixed too early, and I have tried to shew elsewhere that it probably belongs to the 9th century A. C. Prakāśavarṣa must at any rate be later than this date. He must also have been later than Ānandavardhana who established the *dhvani*-theory in the struggle of the schools ; for Prakāśavarṣa, like Bhoja, is aware of the concept of *dhvani* and includes it, as we have already seen, in the *śabda-guṇa gāmbhīrya*. The very elaborate treatment of

1. See *Sanskrit Poetics* [illegible]

guṇa and *doṣa* would by itself place him later than Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, upon whose scheme this treatment attempts in its own way to improve, while the treatment of the *alaṃkāras* in the same way supports and confirms this conclusion. The statements, therefore, that Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇava* is "the earliest work on Poetics after the Nāṭyaveda" and that he "must have flourished before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin" appear to me to be misconceived and uncritical.

Nevertheless, the work is interesting and important as representing, like Bhoja's work from which it draws its material, a peculiar line of speculation different in some respects from accepted views of the established schools of Sanskrit Poetics. As such, its publication has been well deserved.

S. K. DE

A Note on the Salaries and Allowances detailed in the Kauṭilīya

Ṛtvij (sacrificial priest) Ácārya (teacher) Mantrin (councillor) Purohita (royal priest) Senāpati (commander-in-chief) Yuvarāja (crown-prince) Rājamātṛ (king's mother) Rājamahiṣī (queen)	48,000 (paṇas)[1]
Dauvārika (gate-keeper) Antarvaṃśika (superintendent of the ladies' apartments) Prasāstṛ (superintendent in charge of royal writs) Samāhartṛ Sannidhātṛ	24,000 „

1. Per month. For discussion of this [illegible]

Kumāra Kumāramātṛ Nāyaka Pauravyāvahārika Kārmāntika Each member of the Mantriparişad Rāṣṭrapāla Antapāla	12,000 (paṇas)
Śreṇīmukhya Hastimukhya Aśvamukhya Rathamukhya Pradeṣṭṛ	8,000 ,,
Pattyadhyakṣa Aśvādhyakṣa Rathādhyakṣa Hastyadhyakṣa Dravyavanapāla Hastivanapāla	4,000 ,,
Rathika Anīka Cikitsaka Aśvadamaka Vardhaki Yonipoṣaka	2,000 ,,
Kārtāntika Naimittika Mauhūrtika Paurāṇika Sūta Māgadha Purohitapuruṣa Each superintendent (adhyakṣa) of a department	1,000 ,,
Skilled Pādāta Saṃkhyāyaka	500 ,,

Kuśīlava	250 (paṇas)
Tūryakara	500 „
Kāru Śilpin	120 „
Catuṣpada-paricāraka Dvipada-paricāraka Pārikarmika Aupasthāyika Pālaka Viṣṭi Bandhaka	60 „
Āryayukta Ārohaka Māṇavaka Śailakhaṇaka	500 to 1,000 „
All teachers and learned men for their services	500 to 1,000 „ each
Dūta of medium quality	10 paṇas for each Yojana up to 10 Yojanas and twice that amount for each Yojana up to 100 Yojanas
One who represents the king in the Rājasūya and such other sacrifices	3 times the amount paid to others in the Govt. service similar to him in learning
Sārathi (charioteer) of the king in the sacrifices	1,000 (paṇas)
pies: Kāpaṭika Udāsthita Gṛhapatika Vaidehaka Tāpasa	1,000 „
Grāmabhṛtaka Satrin Tīkṣṇa Rasada Bhikṣukī	500 „

Cārasañcārin	250 (paṇas) or in proportion to work done

Dr. R. Shamasastry considers that the amounts mentioned above are the annual salaries of the members of the staff against whose designations they appear. But I think that he has not taken into account the difficulty that this assumption may land us in. The minimum wages in the list is 60, i.e., 60 paṇas.[1] According to the direction given in the *Kauṭilīya*[2] for commuting the salaries into those in kind [ṣaṣṭivetanasyāḍhakaṃ kṛtvā hiraṇyānurūpaṃ bhaktaṃ kuryāt i.e., '60 paṇas = 1 āḍhaka of the staple food-grains' (such as rice, or wheat)], the salary of 60 paṇas can purchase or be substituted by only 32 seers, or at most, 2 Mans (Maunds) of the staple food-grain.[3] This can hardly be the living wages of a man for a month, not to speak of a year, whereas the *Kauṭilīya*[4] says that the amounts mentioned in the text are such as can keep the employees contented and above temptation to do harm to their master. Hence, all the amounts stated above as salaries are for a month and not for a year.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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1 In the list of figures representing the salaries, the denomination of the coins has been mentioned only in connection with the remuneration of the Dūta (messenger), viz., '10 paṇas for each Yojana up to 10 Yojanas, etc.'

2 *K.*, V. ch. 3, p. 249.

3 According to *K.*, II, ch. 19, 1 Āḍhaka = ¼ Droṇa. It is found in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (s. v. Droṇa) that one mode of calculation has 1 Droṇa = 4 Āḍhakas = 1024 Muṣṭis, and another mode has 1 Droṇa = 2 Āḍhakas = 64 Seers. Hence, if we rely on the traditional practice of taking 8 Muṣṭis as the equivalent of 1 Seer, we find that both the aforesaid modes support 1 Āḍhaka as equal to 32 Seers. Even if we take the equivalent of the measure as it obtains in Bengal (See Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, s. v. Āḍhaka), 1 Āḍhaka can come up to only 164 lbs. avds. or 2 Mans.

4 *K.*, V, ch. 3, p. 247.

Dr. Acharya on "Fine Arts"

Regarding the article "Fine Arts" by Dr. P. K. Acharya, M.A., PH. D., D. LITT., published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. V, no. 2 (June 1929), I beg to differ from the learned writer on some points :

Dr. Acharya referring to the arts in connection with the schooling of Mahāvīra quotes the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, ch. XXI, 6, 7 and states that—"He (Mahāvīra) studied the seventy-two arts..... His father procured him a beautiful and beloved sweet-heart Rūpiṇī, with whom he amused himself in his pleasant palace, like a Dvicundaka God." But, in fact, this chapter of the Uttarādhyayana has nothing to do with Lord Mahāvīra and it relates no phase of his life. The chapter is named as "Samuddapāliyam," and in it has been depicted the birth, early life, renunciation and the attainment of salvation by Samudrapāla, the son of Pālita, the merchant of Campā and a Śrāvaka of Mahāvīra. The two stanzas quoted by the learned writer describe the education, marriage, etc. of Samudrapāla and not of Lord Mahāvīra. Moreover it is a well-known fact that the name of Lord Mahāvīra's wife was Yaśodā and not Rūpiṇī, as mentioned in that article (see Ācārāṅga, S. B. E., vol. XXII,, Bk. II, lec. 15. 15, p. 193 ; Kalpa Sūtra, p. 256).

Again in the introductory paragraph the writer states that art is the subject-matter, primarily, of Śilpaśāstras and then adds that the traditional list of sixty-four arts is referred to in three other classes of our literature of which the Jaina group is represented by the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. But we cannot agree with him in this respect. In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra we get mere mention of the number of arts (and this can also be found in other Jaina Sūtras) but the description of these 72 arts is nowhere given in this Sūtra. The learned writer has also noted this and in spite of this he wants to make it (the Uttarādhyayana) represent the Jaina group. In the Kalpa Sūtra, ("Life of Ṛṣabha"), Arhat Ṛṣabha is related to have taught, "during his reign, for the benefit of the people, the seventy-two sciences of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important and the knowledge of the omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts and the three occupations of men" (Jacobi, Kalpa-Sūtra, S. B. E., vol. XXII, p. 282). Here, also, in the original text, we neither get the full list of the 72 arts of men nor that of sixty-four accomplishments of women. But the commentators have given the list in full. One thing worth noting here is that the 72 arts were prescribed for men

and sixty-four for women. Again in the Samavāyāṅga, the fourth Aṅga Sūtra of the Jainas, we have the full list of the 72 arts in the text (Samavāyāṅga by Āgomadaya Samiti, p. 82) and we wish to refer this to the writer for further information.

From a perusal of the article it appears that Dr. Acharya considered the Kalās only from the point of view of beauty and culture of beauty. In fact, from the meaning he wants to make out of the stanzas of the Uttarādhyayana which he has wrongly connected with Lord Mahāvīra, it is clear that he makes the 72 *arts* as compatible with youth and youthful mind and the enjoyment of the pleasures of life. With all due deference to the learned writer, we are constrained to say that the stanzas do not mean anything of the sort. The attainment or knowledge of the 72 arts was no doubt made in the prime of life by Samudrapāla, but that had nothing to do with his marriage or his beauty or his amusing himself like a Dvikundaka God. These were subsequent to his learning the 72 arts that are described in detail in the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra as mentioned above. The 67 arts are enumerated by the learned writer and collected from the Kāmasūtra do not all tally with the 72 arts mentioned in the Samavāyāṅga or in the annotation of the Kalpasūtra. It is apparent that at different times different authors gave a different list of these 72 arts. But the Samavāyāṅga being the older work and having greater authority, the 72 arts mentioned there should be carefully considered for finding out whether they fit in with the ideas of Dr. Acharya about youth and beauty being the *sine qua non* of the knowledge of the 72 arts. In the Samavāyāṅga not only the finer arts are mentioned but the art of preparing the battle-field and of fixing the position of the enemies, the art of warfare, etc. are also mentioned. Every well-to-do man and every son of a king or general or minister was required to learn these. Dr. Acharya has also taken the liberty of questioning the appropriateness of the word *Niyikoviya*, and the rendering thereof by Dr. Jacobi. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākṛt word is नीतिकोविद and the true meaning would be one versed in *worldly laws*. *Nīti* as in धर्मनीति, राजनीति, समाजनीति means the rules or laws, and one well-versed in the worldly laws may be called नीतिकोविद. We fail to understand how the writer could suggest that the word is not appropriate. On the other hand, it is apparent from the context that the word *Niyikoviya* is the most appropriate word there, considering the sense in which it is used.

PURAN CHAND SAMSOOKHA

Mr. Kavi's Edition of the Nāṭya-Śāstra

I do not know if it is permissible to allow criticism of a criticism in a journal, but since Mr. Kavi's animadversions on my review of his edition of the Nāṭya-Śāstra in the I.H.Q., vol. iii, 1927, pp. 859f. have appeared in it in the form of an article, I presume that the learned editor will also permit me to say something on it. I am glad that it has given Mr. Kavi an opportunity of expressing his views, but any one who reads through his article can see that it hardly adds any information *as an article* (with the exception of what he says about his manuscripts), and constitutes (apart from irrelevant and personal matters) a somewhat excited reply on points on which there is likely to be extreme divergence of opinion.

I do not feel myself called upon to make a rejoinder, for I am not convinced that Mr. Kavi has been able to make an effective reply to the main issues raised by me. A controversy of this nature is bound to be interminable, and never wholly pleasant or profitable in the interest of scholarship. But there are one or two points on which I would like to remove apparent misapprehension or misunderstanding. The animus which underlies Mr. Kavi's so-called reply is regrettable, but more regrettable is the fact that he seems to have entirely misunderstood my attitude as a reviewer. I am sincerely sorry if my review has wounded his feelings, and I would like to assure him that it was never my intention to be merely fault-finding. If my review has been somewhat severe and plain-spoken, it was the result of my anxiety to see such an important text properly edited and my great disappointment to find it otherwise. I have never minimised the enormous difficulties of the task, and have given Mr. Kavi the credit of his boldness; but I have only wished that with the great mass of material which Mr. Kavi claims to have collected, something more scholarly and critical should have been produced. It is possible that I have in places misunderstood him, or have myself made mistakes, and it is conceded that Mr. Kavi has a right to differ from me on many points; but I would rather leave the allegations and rebuttal as matters of controversy, upon which every one will give judgment according to his personal predilection on the materials that are already before him. But I must say that even after reading Mr. Kavi's somewhat rambling reply carefully, I have, on the whole, found nothing in it as yet to change my views.

Mr. Kavi himself lays down his own views about what he calls an ideal edition of a text thus : "An ideal edition requires that complete photographs of the originals with their transliteration (?) should supplement an edition which must be in a consolidated form as some of the best Western publications are. The variants given should be so arranged and so full that every one of the original manuscripts can be reconstructed without difficulty. Introduction, notes, indexes, and parallel passages are the greatest desiderata." Judged by this test, and in the light of what I have said in my review and Mr. Kavi in his reply, or even apart from them, I would like to ask the competent reader of his edition to judge how far Mr. Kavi's work makes any approach to the requirements so wisely laid down by himself. No doubt, Mr. Kavi makes excuses which are admissible, but surely one would expect from a scholar like Mr. Kavi a better executed and more scholarly work with the enormous mass of material at his disposal.

It was as undesirable as irrelevant to quote in this connexion from my editions of different works to prove that I have also made mistakes. I can never say that I have not made mistakes as much as others have done, although I am not prepared to admit that the instances cited by Mr. Kavi are all mistakes. In Mr. Kavi's case I have already admitted in my review (p. 868) that such mistakes are inevitable in a difficult text like the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and one need not be unnecessarily fault-finding. This point is not very material and really obscures the issue. Proneness to mistakes is human, but it certainly does not exonerate an editor from conforming to certain standards and methods of critical scholarship which are obligatory on all.

In regard to Mr. Kavi's references (which form the bulk of his article) to my edition of a small part of Abhinava's commentary published in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume and prepared as early as 1921 from very imperfect materials, I cannot say that Mr. Kavi has been fair to me. I have made admissions there, as well as in my review under discussion, about the very defective and unsatisfactory nature of my tentative text. The text was prepared from only one manuscript which was not only hopelessly incorrect and corrupt in many places, but which was itself a badly executed copy. Perhaps I was not wise to put forward even a tentative text on such insufficient material ; but I made this clear when I wrote as a preface to that text : "The text, offered here, being based on such imperfect material, is indeed defective and unsatisfactory ; but we have ventur-

ed to publish it in this tentative form not only out of consideration of its importance but also with the expectation that better readings may be determined in future with the help of more correct manuscripts." The value of this *editio princeps* may well be doubted, but surely Mr. Kavi on his own showing possesses ampler materials, greater experience and better opportunities. The same remarks apply more or less to my *editio princeps* of the *Vakroktijīvita* and *Locana IV*, to which also references are made in an unjustifiable digression. I can assure Mr. Kavi that no deliberate unauthorised corrections have been made in the text, as he alleges, but that the readings in my printed text are (except for inadvertence) such as they are to be found in the unique transcript on which it is based and which was supplied to me in 1920 by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library to which Mr. Kavi himself belonged at the time.[1] If there are, as Mr. Kavi supposes, any mistakes or differences of reading in the copy, the fault was not mine. Mr. Kavi seems to have access to a Palm-leaf Manuscript of the text in Malayalam character (the Madras Library manuscript, which I have seen, is only a recent Devanāgarī copy) from which he cites readings; but it is strange that I was never made acquainted with this fact (the Palm-leaf Ms. would have helped me greatly in fixing a more correct text) in the course of my correspondence on this subject with Mr. Kavi himself since 1923.

It is somewhat unfair to quote *disjecta membra* from my extensive review and criticise them by themselves. I do not feel it necessary for me, as I have said, to enter into an unprofitable controversy over them at length, for the competent reader has enough material before him to judge for himself. With regard to questions about recensions and other matters arising out of Mr. Kavi's preface, I must say that Mr. Kavi in his "reply" has furnished no new information to solve the doubts and difficulties referred to by me. Perhaps he will do it later on in his promised larger introduction. I would not have discussed the questions at all, had not his preliminary Preface provoked them. Mr. Kavi forgets that I wrote in my review: "The questions raised

1. Mr. Kavi refers to the first edition of this work published by me in 1922 from the Madras transcript; he seems to be unware of the fact that this edition was subsequently revised and enlarged with the help of another manuscript from Jesalmere and published in 1928.

in the preface require some detailed consideration. It would be perhaps fair to suspend our judgment on this very meagre and unsatisfying preface, for the editor has promised a more extensive introduction at the end of the work. But one feels that this preliminary preface raises some important questions relating to textual matters, which challenge criticism and which should therefore have been dealt with more fully and critically." Unfortunately no fresh light has been thrown on these questions in Mr. Kavi's "reply," nor has it entirely disarmed criticism. One must still wait for the completion of the edition and for the extensive introduction he promises. He has now given us some information regarding his sources of Bharata's text (though not of the Mss. utilised for Abhinava's text), but fuller details are necessary to satisfy a critical scholar. I would therefore reserve all discussion on these questions till the appearance of his fuller introduction and more detailed *apparatus criticus*.

Mr. Kavi's excuse regarding his unacknowledged alterations and emendations from Hemacandra is hardly convincing. It is not merely a case of completion of incomplete verses, but of unauthorised incorporation into Abhinava's text of words and passages from other sources, as revealed by a comparison of Mr. Kavi's text with those of two other independently published manuscripts (see pp. 865-66 of my review). I was indeed prepared for the defence, which Mr. Kavi now makes, that some of Mr. Kavi's manuscripts do actually read as Hemacandra does, as well as for the allegation that these cases constitute unmarked omissions both in the Madras Library copy used by Dr. S. C. Mukerjee and Dr. Jha's copy supplied to me. In my review therefore I wrote: "Mr. Kavi may reply that some of his Mss. do read as Hemacandra does; in that case he ought to have noted the alteranative readings or given us an indication of the fact. Even if it is conceded that Hemacandra's paraphrase or alteration gives us better readings of the passages in question, there is still the duty of the editor to establish the text of his author as best as he can, and whenever an alteration or emendation is made from other sources that fact should be clearly indicated along with the original readings of the author as found in the Mss." I have no doubt that some of these alterations are made with the best of intentions; but as they are not clearly indicated, they raise an undesirable suspicion as to the unreliability of the entire text.*

S. K. De

* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

Concerning Bhagavadgītā III, 15

Regarding again my paper "The Sacrificial Wheel taught in the Bhāgavadgītā" (I.H.Q., vol. V, pp. 173 ff.),[1] I find that it wants a supplement on the view, mentioned but not discussed by me, that the word *brahma* in Bh. G. III, 15, may mean *prakṛti* in the sense of the *mahad brahma* of Bh. G. XIV, 3 : *mama yonir mahad brahma.*

The neuter word *brahman* appears in the Bh. G. in two different meanings. There it generally means the *paramātman*, but a few times (XIV, 3, 4, and perhaps, V, 10) the *avyakta* or *mūla-prakṛti* of the Sāṅkhya, not, however, as an independent entity but as the material side ("body" or "consort" of later times) of the Lord. This *prakṛti* (sometimes called *māyā*, see esp. VII, 14), which is co-existing with the Lord as his instrument and material for creating the world (IX, 8 : *prakṛtiṃ svām avaṣṭabhya* ; cf. IV, 6, etc.) can not for this very reason be created. The *vyaktayaḥ* are said to emerge from and resolve into the *avyakta* (VIII, 18), but the *avyakta* itself is *akṣara, acala, dhruva* (XII, 1, 3). Its being referred to in our śloka (III, 15) is therefore (in spite of V, 10) excluded by the word *samudbhavam.* It is excluded, or at least improbable, also for the following reason : There can be no doubt (cf. esp. XI, 37 : ... *garīyase brahmaṇe ... tvam akṣaram ...*) that the *akṣara* of our śloka is none but the Lord himself. Now, *sarvagataṃ brahma* of the second half of the śloka must refer either to *brahma* or to *akṣara* of the preceding half. In the former case, if *brahma* meant *prakṛti*, there would be no reason left for mentioning *akṣara* at all, while in the latter the word *sarvagataṃ* could not have been used for contrasting *akṣara* with *brahma=prakṛti* which is also *sarvagata* (XII, 3). The only contrast imaginable here is the one with the personal god Brahmā. Did, then, the original Gītā read *samudbhavaḥ* ? Perhaps so ; but the conjecture seems unnecessary. For, the neuter can be account-

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1 In which the following corrections should be made : P. 176, l. 10 : for *brahmākṣra* read *brahmākṣara* ; p. 179, l. 20 : for *of* read *or* ; p. 180, l. 6 (from bottom) : for *will* read *he will* ; p. 180, l. 2 (from bottom) : delete *not* ; p. 181, second line should read : or (viz., in VIII, 16, 17, and XI, 15, 37) in that of the lower or masculine Brahma ; p. 181, l. 3 : delete the bracketed passsage ; p. 181, l. 16 ; insert *the* before *yajñacakra* ; p. 181, signature : for J read F.

ed for by an association, in the author's mind, of the god Brahmā with the *śabdabrahma* of Bh. G. VI, 44 on which I have already expressed my opinion (p. 180). I may still recall the fact (see Monier-Williams' Dict., s. v. *brahman*) that the neuter word *brahma* means also the Brāhmaṇical caste of which god Brahmā is the highest representative, and sometimes even an individual Brahmin.

F. OTTO SCHRADER

Commentary on Śāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa is not a Myth but a Reality

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June 1929 (vol. V, no. 2, p. 347), Mr. K. S. Ramasvamy Śāstrin writes a note on the non-existence of a manuscript-commentary on the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya under the heading "*A Mythical Commentary on Śāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa*" in which he states that he was engaged in editing for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series the above work and in that connection had to consult Mr. S. K. De's work on *Sanskrit Poetics* where he learnt that a manuscript-commentary on the *Bhāvaprakāśa* was available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Learning this he examined the manuscript and discovered that the alleged commentary was not a commentary on the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya which deals with dramaturgy, but with a work of the same name on Grammar. Therefore, he infers that Mr. De made a mistake in alluding to the work in question as a treatise on Dramaturgy.

It should not, however, be thought that there is no commentary extant. Ten years ago the late Dr. Ganapati Śāstrin secured a manuscript of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* the merits of which I came to learn when I heard some extracts from the work read to me. In 1924, I was fortunate to obtain another manuscript of the above work and a commentary on the same in Central Travancore. The commentary struck me as an exceptional work which could bear comparison with the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of King Bhoja. Some friends of mine have transcribed passages from these manuscripts.

In 1927, I learnt that the Baroda Oriental Research Institute was preparing an edition of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* for their series and that

by that time nearly 200 pages of the text had been printed. Learning this, I informed Mr. B. Bhattacharya of the Institute that I had a copy of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* which I was willing to lend them. In my letters, I think, I must have mentioned the existence of the manuscript-commentary also.

As I think that the manuscript-commentary is a fine work, I append hereto a few extracts which will give some indication of its nature and merits. I understand that Mr. M. Ramkrishna Kavi of Madras has undertaken the work of publication of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* with the commentary.

EXTRACTS

भावप्रकाशव्याख्या

१ अथ तत्रभवान् शारदातनयो नाम विद्वान् शारदादेवीप्रसादात् कृतसकलशास्त्रपरिश्रमः स्वपरिशीलितसर्वशास्त्रप्रौढिं लोकस्य दिदर्शयिषुः, काव्यमीमांसां सङ्गीतमीमांसां च काव्यप्रकाशे शारदीयाख्ये प्रबन्धे च निरूढाशयविपर्ययं विधाय रसान् भावांश्च मीमांसयितुं भावप्रकाशिकाख्यं नाट्यप्रकरणं चिकीर्षुः, चिकीर्षितस्य प्रकरणस्य निरन्तरायपरिपूर्तये प्रचयगमनाय च शिष्टाचारपरम्पराप्राप्तं मङ्गलमाचरन् सर्वमङ्गलानन्दनिधानं गजाननं नाट्यगतपदार्थरूपैरेव विशेषणैरभिष्टौति—प्रश्चोतन्मदमत्यरित्यादि। ननु चिकीर्षितस्य प्रकरणस्य नाट्यैकविषयत्वान्मङ्गलाशंसनश्लोकोऽपि नाट्यप्रस्तावनैव कर्तुमुचिता, न वृत्तगीतवाद्यानामिति चेत्—सत्यम्; वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकस्य नाट्यस्य पदार्थीभूतावान्तरवाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकेन वृत्तेन विना निष्पत्तेरभावात् नाट्यं प्रति तस्योपयोगः, अभिनीयमानवाक्यार्थादेर्वाचकत्वेन गीतानामुपयोगः, वृत्तगीतगतकालपरिच्छेदकत्वेन वाद्यानामिति तूर्यत्रया अपि नाट्योपयोगित्वात् तत्प्रस्तावनाचोचितैव।

प्रश्चोतत् प्रकर्षेण स्यन्दमानः यो मदस्तेन मत्तरो मन्द्रो भ्रमरिकाझङ्कारः स एव गीतं यस्मिन् कर्मणीति क्रियाविशेषणम्। सुदुर्ललया यद् ब्रंहितं गजगर्जितमित्यभिधानम्, तदेव वादनं वाद्यं तेन व्यतिकरः सम्बन्धो यस्मिन् कर्मणीति च, नृत्यन्नित्यनेन पदार्थाभिनयात्मकं नृत्तमेवोच्यते, न गात्रविक्षेपमात्रमभिनयशून्यं तालत्रयैकाश्रयं शुष्कनृत्यमिति सूचयति—भावोल्लसत्प्रक्रियमिति। भावा विभावादयो वाक्यार्थस्य स्थायिनः पदार्थाः, तदनुगुणसुललिताः प्रकृष्टाः क्रियाः अङ्गोपाङ्गप्रत्यङ्गव्यापारा यस्मिन्निति क्रियाविशेषणम्। एवं नृत्यन् करिमुखो नः सुखायास्तु, गात्रविक्षेपरूपत्वेन क्लेशरूपं नृत्यं विदधानः कथं वः सुखाय स्यादित्याशंक्य अस्य नृत्तस्य नाट्यपर्यवसायित्वात् तत्साधननृत्तकर्तृत्वेन सुखदायित्वमुचितमेवेत्याह—पक्ष्मोपहारैश्चिरादानन्दीति। अनन्दीत्यनेन को रसोऽभिनेयत्वेन सूचित इत्याकाङ्क्षायां गणेशस्य हास्याधिदैवतत्वात् स एवाभिनेय इति दर्शयितुं तद्विभावादीन् सूचयति—पक्ष्मोपहारैरिति। पक्ष्मोपहाराः खण्डलड्डुकादीनि भक्ष्यद्रव्याणि तैरानन्दीति। इत्थं प्रतीतं नटस्य रसनिष्ठत्वं उपमानप्रदर्शनमुखेन निवारयति—नटभावितैरित्यादि। नटोऽपि रसानुभवदशायां सामाजिक एवेत्यर्थः।

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२ अथ विदितसङ्गलाचारः प्रबन्धकर्ता स्वदेशं स्वाभिजात्यं स्वोत्पत्तिपरिशुद्धिं स्वविद्यापारम्पर्यं स्वविद्यावाप्तिनिदानं शास्त्रकर्तृपारम्पर्यं च वर्णयन् साधिकारिप्रयोजनसम्बन्धविधेयं प्रतिजानीते—आर्यावर्तोद्भव इत्यारभ्य भावप्रकाशनं नाम ग्रन्थं करोमीत्यन्तेन।

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३ परगतसुखदुःखाद्यनुभवेन चित्तस्य तदनुकूलतः परगतसुखदुःखानुकूल्येन तद्भावभावनं रामाद्यनुकार्यत्वापादनं येन भवेत्तत्सत्त्वम्। तेन निर्वृत्ता भावाः सात्विका इत्यर्थः। ननु सत्त्वान्निर्वृत्तानां भावानां मन आरभ्यानुभावत्वमुक्तम्। अत एते हि स्तम्भादयः सत्वजत्वादनुभावेष्वेवान्तर्भवन्तु, किं पृथगुपादानेन इत्यत आह—

अनुभावत्वसामान्ये सत्यप्यन्ये पृथक्तया।
लक्ष्यन्ते सत्वजत्वाद्धि तेऽपि स्तम्भादयो मताः॥

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४ अथसञ्चाभिसन्धिः—सञ्चारिणो द्विधा स्वतन्त्राः परतन्त्राश्च, तत्र ये रसान्तरपोषकास्ते परतन्त्राः अनेकविधाः स्वतन्त्राः। तत्र परतन्त्रनिर्वेदो यथा—कुर्युः शास्त्रकथाममी इत्यादि। अत्र निर्वेदस्य क्रोधाङ्गत्वम्। निर्वेदस्य स्वतन्त्रत्वं यथा प्राप्ताः श्रियः सकलेत्यादि। अत्र निर्वेदस्थानन्याङ्गत्वात् स्वतन्त्रत्वम्। नन्वत्र निर्वेदस्य शान्तरसस्थायित्वं कैश्चिदुक्तम्, महाकविप्रयोगेषु तथा दर्शनात्। यथा च भर्तृहरेः—न ध्यातं पदमित्यादि। (अत्र) शान्तरसस्थायित्वात् कथमनन्याङ्गत्वं निर्वेदस्येति चेत्—उच्यते—सन्ति खलु ग्रामे सीमासम्भावनां (?) स्थायित्वं नाम संस्कारपाटवेन पुनः पुनर्नवीभावः। तेन निर्वेदवासनावासितभावकचेतसि नैष्कर्म्ये नाभिमतेषु विभावादिषु तासामयीभूतफलस्य निर्वेदस्योत्पत्तिरेव न सङ्कल्पते, किम्पुनः स्थायित्वम्? किञ्च असति निर्वेदे स्थायिनि शान्तरूपो भावकानां [खोद.....र्थेत्] चित्रगतकदलीफलाखादलम्पटानां राजशुकानां विवेकसहोदरो भवेत्। अतः स्थायित्वमेव तस्य नास्ति, कुतः शान्तरसं प्रति स्थायित्वमिति विशेषः। न ध्यातं पदमित्यत्र तु न शान्तरसस्थायित्वं निर्वेदस्य, किन्तु शृङ्गारदानवीरभक्तिरसान् प्रति व्यभिचारित्वमेवेत्यलम्।

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५ उद्दिष्टान् भावगतान् भावादीन् रसोपादानपर्यन्तान् निरूप्य तद्दर्शनादीन्यवशिष्टान् भावगतभावान् पुरस्कृत्यामीति प्रथमाधिकारं परिसमापयति—

तदर्शनानि तद्दृष्टिर्दृष्टिधर्माः पृथग्विधाः।
परस्परस्य सामर्थ्यं साहचर्यात् क्वचित् क्वचित्॥
रसोदयानुकूल्येन तत्र तत्रैव वक्ष्यति।
तद्दर्शनादयो भावा रसोदयसमये वक्ष्यन्त इत्यर्थः। इति भावनिर्णयाख्यः प्रथमोऽधिकारः।

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All these extracts are taken from the first chapter. Nothing is known about the author of the commentary. He has given illustrations from various works, and mentions many authors and works.

V. VENKATARAM SHARMA

Discovery of a Bone-Relic at an Ancient Centre of Mahāyāna

It has been recently announced by Mr. H. Hargreaves, offg. Director General of Archæology, that a bone-relic of Buddha has been discovered at Nagarjunikuṇḍa, where excavations are now being carried on under the direction of Mr. A. H. Longhurst. The site is close to the famous Amarāvatī stūpa and is situated on the right bank of the Kṛiṣṇā in the Palnad Taluk, District Guntur. In the course of excavations on the northern side of the stūpa, Mr. Longhurst discovered a small round box of three quarters of an inch in diameter, containing a fragment of a bone of the size of a pea together with some gold-flowers. This box was within a silver casket shaped like a miniature stūpa 2½ inches high. In it were originally pearls and garnets.

Since 1926, the excavations carried on at this site have been yielding many important finds including a few Brāhmī inscriptions of the 3rd century A.C. The importance of the discovery of the bone-relic lies in the fact that it goes to confirm the message of the inscription recording the gift of a pillar by the sister of Mahārāja Mādhavi-putra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta to the Caitya, enshrining a *dhātu* of Sammāsambuddha.[1] The fact that this Caitya enshrined a relic of Buddha is also mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[2]

The excavations at Dhānyakaṭaka and its neighbourhood bear ample testimony to the existence of an important Buddhist establishment in this locality. One of the inscriptions of the 3rd century A.C. found recently records that this sacred place was visited by pilgrims from distant places such as Gandhāra, Cīna, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Tambapaṇṇidvīpa, and that for the convenience of the pilgrims, some devotees dug well and constructed a number of caityas and vihāras.[3] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also says that there was a mountain called Śrīparvata, near Dhānyakaṭaka, suitable for Buddhistic practices.[4] Hence, no doubt is left as to the great antiquity and importance of this place as a centre of Buddhism.

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1 *Annual Report of the S. I. Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97; 1926, pp. 70, 92-3; 1927, p. 42.

2 *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, (Triv. Sans. Series)., p. 88: "Śrīdhānyakaṭake caitye jinadhātudhare."

3 *Annual Report of S. I. Epigraphy*, 1927, pp. 43, 71.

4 *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 88.

The inscriptions have further come to our aid by indicating the Buddhist sects connected with this centre. Many years ago, Burgess, on the authority of Hiuen Tsang and the inscription No. 12,[1] referring to the Caityakas, whose branches were the Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas, concluded that it was a centre of the two Śaila schools—the offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

Hiuen Tsang informs us that in the country of Te-na-ka-che-ka (= Dhanakechaka or Dhanakaṭaka), there was a monastery called Pūrvaśaila (Fu-po-shih-lo) on a hill to the east of the capital and another monastery called Aparaśaila (A-fa-lo-shih-lo) on a hill to the west.[2] He also tells us that of the many Buddhist monasteries, only twenty were inhabited by monks and they belonged to the Mahāsaṅghika school.[3] Among the recent finds in the neighbourhood of the place, two inscriptions refer to Puvaseliya (Pūrvaśaila) and Avaras (Aparaśaila).[4] The Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā calls them "Andhakas" i.e. the sects of the Andhra country. These various evidences clearly show that the Buddhist establishments at Dhānyakaṭaka and its neighbourhood belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots. The Mahāsaṅghikas, on account of docetising Buddha and setting up Buddhahood as the goal of a Buddhist, lowering thereby the status of the Arhat, are regarded as the forerunners of Mahāyāna. It is therefore quite natural that the Mahāyānic principles, at least the Buddhological speculations, found favour with the monks residing at Dhanakaṭaka. From the archæological reports also we notice that there is in fact a locality called Nāgārjunikuṇḍa, where the bone-relic has been discovered. The association of this place with Nāgārjuna, the great savant of Mahāyāna and the founder of the Mādhyamika school of philosophy, and the information furnished by Tāranātha[5] that Nāgārjuna resided for some time at Śrīparvata (Śrīśailam) suggest that the establishment became later on a centre of Mahāyāna. Hiuen Tsang also refers to a resident of this establish-

1 Burgess, *Amaravati and Jaggayapeta-stūpas*, p. 102.

2 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 214.

3 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 217: Julien read in the 'B' text *ta-sheng* = Mahāyāna, but the other texts have *ta-chung* = Mahāsaṅgha. Watters prefers the latter view.

4 *Annual Report of S. I. Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97; 1926, pp. 70, 92-3 1927, p. 42.

5 *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 73, 81.

ment named P'o-p'i-fei-ka (=Bhāvaviveka) as a great scholar ("Śāstra-master") and as "externally displaying the Sāṅkhya garb, internally propagating the learning of Nāgārjuna,"[1] and as the author of the *Prajñā-Pradīpaśāstra*, a treatise dealing with "transcendental wisdom." Wassiljew informs us on the basis of the Tibetan work *Siddhānta* that the schools of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas had a *Prajñāpāramitā* in the Prākṛt dialect.[2] In view of the tenets attributed to the Śaila schools by the *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's treatise it is difficult to accept the *Siddhānta* tradition that the Śaila schools possessed a Prajñāpāramitā text, for the chief and only aim of a *Prajñā-pāramitā* text is to establish *Śūnyatā* and *Advayam Advaidhīkāram* as the final Truth. So if we have to believe the information of the *Siddhānta* we must hold that the Śaila schools generally changed their tenets, and ultimately became full-fledged Mahāyānists. This was very likely the case, and we hope that fresh evidences will be forthcoming from the excavations at Nāgārjunikuṇḍa and its neighbourhood to throw light on this great problem—the origin of Mahāyāna.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

Notes on Dravidian

IV

Post-positional "Case"-Terminations in Dravidian

While the case-endings of inflexional languages like the Indo-Aryan and the Indo-European have become *set*, the terminations which express similar relationships in Dravidian are more or less *loose*. It has been postulated by Bopp and re-affirmed by other philologers (though also contested by many) that the case-affixes of Indo-Germanic go back originally to pronominal demonstratives which, in their turn, were originally "local" demonstrative particles.[3] Farrar says that "the

1 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 214.

2 Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*.

3 Says Hermann Paul in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1920): "*Auf diesem Gebiete ist alles zu wenig sicher, als dass es für die Erkenntnis der allgemeinen Entwicklungsbedingungen verwertet werden konnte.*" Nevertheless, the theory of the demonstratives has not been totally rejected. *A priori* reasoning cannot be conclusive; but considering the effective uses to which demonstrative particles,—

case-endings in Indo-Germanic, like the pronouns from which they spring, originally represented only conceptions of space (nearness, distance, presence, absence), but they were afterwards extended to express relations of time, cause, etc. There are three pronominal elements p, q and t or pa, qa, ta which mean primarily *here*, *near* and *there*. The first pa or (ma) occurs in the first personal pronoun; the second qa signifies proximity and occurs in the nominative and dative cases. The third ta denotes distance and is found in the genitive and accusative cases." Though these views do not command any general acceptance, there is no denying the fact that the conception of *place* is a very primitive one, and roots denoting place are some of the most ancient in all languages. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the view that "local" demonstrative particles may have embodied in themselves various significations which gradually made themselves active in creating particular categories along with the development of thought and feeling. Whatever the value of the deictic theory in regard to IGC may be, in Dravidian the activity of "local" demonstratives is conspicuous in some instances of flexional terminations, in the development of the prominent tense-forms, the past and the present, and in the derivation of nouns and adjectives. A demonstrative particle that has in Dravidian played a prominent part in the creation of case-relationships is a ; the other demonstrative particle i appearing in some dialects is probably a derivative from a itself. Another affix in Dravidian is -d, from the neuter demonstrative.

The German philologer Wundt divided case-terminations into two categories, the *inner* and the *outer*, the former being constituted of the accusative, the genitive and the dative and the latter consisting of the other cases, the locative, the instrumental and the ablative. The purpose with which this classification was made was to show

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presumably some of the first intelligent articulate sounds used by man, —could be put, we shall not be unjustified in postulating on the basis of our present knowledge of linguistic growth that demonstrative particles have contributed in some degree at least to the formation of case-endings. The array of objections raised by scholars beginning from Sayce has not yet demolished the "deictic" theory, based largely though the latter is on *a priori* considerations.

Cf. in this connection, the large and varied use of the demonstratives in Semitic (vide V. Christian's article on the "Deictic Elements in Semitic")

that in the most primitive stage of Indo-Germanic, the former set of *cases* which Wundt considers to be the earlier and to be indispensable for every language, were probably expressed without any terminations whatsoever, but that the latter, having arisen at a later stage in the development of thought, could only have been expressed with the addition of certain definite affixes. Wundt's position has been questioned by scholars like Hermann Paul, who maintain that such a classification is arbitrary in the extreme and that it is futile to speculate about the comparative priority of origin of the case-forms. Similarly, Delbruck's classification of IGC case-suffixes as *grammatical* and *post-positional*, has also been attacked as untenable by scholars like Whitney. So far as Dravidian is concerned, as the difficulty of tracing the origin of most of the affixes does not exist and as we could, on close examination, observe the displacement of original affixes in the most prominent case-relationships by other affixes of presumably later origin, it is possible to distinguish roughly between "earlier" and "later" cases. But the basis on which a writer[1] in *Indian Antiquary* (May, 1910) has drawn a distinction between *primary* and *secondary* cases in Dravidian is entirely unsupportable. The arbitrary character of the distinction sought to be made by this writer

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1 The writer in the *Indian Antiquary* takes up several untenable positions. He regards the Nom., Acc., Dat. and Gen. of Dravidian as taking *inflectional suffixes*, on the supposition that the origin of these latter could not be traced. But the origin of most of these *could* be traced, as this article will show: the Acc.. ending -n, -an, -in, etc. should originally have been the locative, -in or -il, the Dat. ku, gu, ki, gi etc., are derivable from kei; and the Gen. affixes either go back to the Loc. il, -in or to demonstratives. The contention that these case-suffixes are not interchangeable will not hold good, in the light of their very usage and origin. Nor can the argument that these case-suffixes are added to the crude base be valid, as illustrations from certain Dravidian dialects will show.

In Dravidian some of the post-positional terminations are closely related to one another, as we shall see below. The same termination does duty in slightly modified forms for different cases in the same dialect, while different significations are attached to the same affix in different dialects. It is interesting to observe that the post-positional terminations of all Dravidian dialects are traceable to a common stock of original particles or roots and their modifications.

between case-suffixes and post-positions in Dravidian will be evident from the following discussion :

I. *The Demonstrative Particles*[1] : a, e are found in the accusative of Tamil-Malayāḷam, old Kannaḍa and Kūi ; and in the locative of Brāhūi. The Kaikadi dialect of Tamil shows e for Acc. by the side of -an, -nna and -ni.

e, I consider, is a modification of a ; e is found in the genitive of Tuḷu plural, the dat. of Brāhūi and the genitive of Burgāndi ;

a is found also in the genitive of Tuḷu sing., Tamil, Kannaḍa (with the increment -d-), and Goṇḍi ;

i-, is the genitive affix of Telugu, Kūi, Kurukh and Malto ;

e also appears as a locative termination of certain Malayāḷam words ending in ṭ or ḍ especially place-names, e.g., Kṛṣṇappāṭṭe (at the place called Kṛṣṇapāṭ) ; and in the acc. of Mal. and Kann. ; cf. also old Tel. locative -a in forms like iṇṭa (in the house), and Gōṇḍi Loc. ē.

-d from the neuter demonstrative also plays a conspicuous part in case-relationships ; in many dialects it has today come to assume the form of an inflectional increment (see below).

II. Ke, ku, gu, ge, are dativel affixes found in all the Dravidian dialects. I have shown in a separate paper of mine (in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, September, 1928) that this affix is traceable to the elementary Dravidian root √kei, *hand* or *to do*. It is found, without exception, in all the Dravidian dialects. In certain dialects like Kolāmi and Naiki it denotes not only the dativel relationship but also the accusative. The opinion that this is only a confusion between the accusative and the dative *on account*

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1 Attempts have been made to explain away many of these post-positional particles as being derived from hypothetical suffixes ; thus Tamil -ai, Mal. -e and Kann. -a (alternatively used in the older dialect) have been traced arbitrarily to an original -am, merely on the ground that this suffix exists in Tamil-Kannaḍa Acc. When we consider how very effectively particles of a demonstrative character could confer flexional relationships, such a postulate as the above which is in itself arbitrary, would stand invalidated ; equally gratuitous is the theory that seeks to trace the genitive affix e and i of Tuḷu pl., and of Kolāmi, Naiki and Burgandi to an original ina, because this latter is favoured by certain major dialects of the south.

of Indo-Aryan influence (an opinion postulated in the Linguistic Survey, vol. IV) cannot be accepted without hesitation ; for the interchange of affixes for different cases is not uncommon in Dravidian itself. An alternation of this kind is illustrated by the Kur. Gen. affix -gahi which shows connection with Dravidian Dative ku (<kai).

III. aḍ, or oḍ and toḍ appear in the conjunctive of Tamil, Malayāḷam, Telugu and Tuḷu ; in the instrumental of Brāhūi and Tuḷu and in the genitive and locative of Tuḷu. aḍ, oḍ and toḍ are closely related to one another and indicate proximity or contact. The great antiquity of these roots, as attested by the existence of numerous developments in all the dialects, is beyond question.

IV. -il and its variant -in (cf. for the interchange of l and n, kēlu, kēnu, etc.) appear in

(1) the locative of Tamil, Malayāḷam, Telugu, Koḍagu and Kurukh (-nu metathetical for -in) ;
(2) the genitive of Tamil and old Kannaḍa (-in, -im) ;
(3) inflectional increment of Kūi standing for the general oblique base in Kui, and for several forms of Gōṇḍi.
(4) the accusative of Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Tuḷu and Kurukh.

The accusative-forming -an, -nu, -n are all variants of an original in or il. That an original locative could be employed to bring out the accusative meaning is clear from the fact that the idea of action on an object (expressed by the accusative) involves the idea of location of the action. Compare in this connection, the accusative of space, distance and time, traces of which are found in Greek and Sanskrit. Mons. Breal states definitely that this use of the accusative should have preceded the ordinary grammatical accusative (*vide Essai sur la Semantique*, p. 229 et seq.).

V. Irndu (beginning from) is the ablative termination for Tamil, In view of the fact that the ablative case should have been a

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1 Is it correct to maintain, as Prof. Vinson does, that toḍ represents the original form and oḍ a secondary form which has lost initial t—, as in some Tamil words tuvarpu, uvarpu (brackishness) etc. ? I think it is not; toḍ and oḍ are independent roots of equal antiquity, in view of (1) the large number of derivatives formed from both and (2) the frequency of admittedly original forms like aḍ, eḍ etc. where the play of dem. particles evidences itself semantically.

comparatively late form, it is possible that an original form corresponding to modern Tamil ir*n*dū has given rise to—*nn*u of Mal., edd of Toḍa -du of Tuḷu, Telugu uṇḍi, Kannaḍa i*n*du and Kurukh i*n*ta. It has been postulated that Kannaḍa i*n*du and Kurukh i*n*ta are from in + adu, but this explanation will hardly be satisfactory to bring out the instrumental and ablatival idea; the idea of *motion from or separation from* is more easily derivable from irndu than from in + adu.

VI. Other forms used are:

(*a*) uḍeiya for Tamil genitive which appears as *ḍ*e or ṭe or ḍe in Malayāḷam and as re (<*ḍ*re<*ḍ*e<de <(u)ḍeiya) in Koḍagu. The root of course is oḍ.

(*b*) yokka in Telugu genitive forms. The root is o (one). Okka is formed with the formative ka. Compare Tamil-Malayāḷam okkuga (to be united) and Mal. okke (all).

(*c*) āl for Gōṇḍi, Tamil and Malayāḷam instrumental. The origin of this affix has not been satisfactorily explained. Āl expresses a conditional meaning in phrases like avan va*n*dāl (if he comes) a variant of which is avan va*n*dēl (when he came). Does not the close connection between the two suggest that al may have arisen from al (place) with which is connected el (place, time)? The vocalic lengthening may have been a later development, as in the Pl. ending ār. Kāl is a locative affix in old Tamil and kal (with short vowel) appears in Mal. Loc. as in puḷakkyal (at or by the river) etc. This kal in Mal. appears only after nouns with final front vowels. Tamil kāl and Mal. kal are certainly related. If kāl is the original, it might be traced to Tamil kāl (place). It is difficult to suggest a conclusive explanation for this post-position. I am not, however, inclined to favour the view that the instrumental āl can be derived from kāl.

(*d*) Modern Telugu cēta for expressing the Instr. relationship is the old Loc. form of *cey* (to do). Tamil, Gōṇḍu etc. (for Instr.) are also recent forms.

The Various Cases

The Nominative

The crude base is employed in all the dialects except in the neuter nouns of the South. In Tamil, the nominative singular and all the plural

forms of many neuter nouns show the affix -am. In Kannaḍa, -im appears in the nominative and accusative singular but not in the plural, while traces of this -am of neuter nouns appear in Telugu words like mrānu (tree) and kolanu (tank). Whence is this -im? Caldwell suggests that it may be an ancient demonstrative corresponding to the interrogative ēmi (what) on the analogy of edu and adu; but ēmi is probably from evi (e+v (hiatus-filler)+i). None of the dialects other than Kannaḍa and Tamil show this suffix prominently; it is absent in the central Dravidian dialects. Even in Kannaḍa it appears in the nominative and accusative singular only. Taking all these facts together, it would not be incorrect to presume that -am was a borrowing from the Sanskrit ending of neuter nouns. Dravidian already had an indigenous post-positional affix -in, which had become so generalised in some dialects as to become an inflectional increment. The existence of this -in and, further, of an emphatic particle -m in Dravidian, might have, by a process of association, made the borrowing of -am easy, especially as we see that in old Kannaḍa the affix -in has an alternative form -im in the ablative and instrumental cases. That this neuter ending -aṃ may have been a late formation is illustrated also by the fact that many Tamil nouns with final -aṃ have alternative forms without -am. e.g., inbu (love), inbam; kaḍal (sea), Kaḍalam etc.

In certain dialects like Kurukh, Kui and Telugu the gender ending is added to the base: in Kurukh, for instance, -os appears in the masculine gender in words like Kukk-os (boy), and this ending is retained for all cases.

In Kui, certain forms which are really appellative and participial nouns add the gender suffix, as in kog-añju (boy) dit-añju (the man that fell down), kog-ari or kog-ali (girl or thing.) This is comparable to similar forms of the southern dialects; these forms with the gender suffixes have become "fixed" in currency as ordinary nouns.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that with the exception probably of Kurukh (which seems to have a more acute sense of gender-distinction—cf. the Kurukh verb) the Dravidian dialects did not uniformly associate gender-distinctions in case-relationships, except in appellative or participial noun-formations.

The concept of the nominative in Dravidian is evidently that of the noun-idea divested of all external relationships, while that of the Indo-Germanic which has a particular suffix of its own is a

comparatively late form wherein "is strikingly exhibited the tendency of the earliest Indo-European language to make every vocable a true form, to give every theme in every relation, a sign of its mode of application, a formative element." This idea denoting a state of high subjectivity, should apparently have been a super-imposition upon the primitive conception which is retained in Dravidian.

The oblique Cases

At a very primitive stage in the development of language, case relationships probably were expressed, not by the use of distinctive affixes but by the mere juxtaposition of words from whose contextual significance the relationships would have been inferred.[1] This stage is indicated in Dravidian in certain dialects. The accusative, for instance, of certain neuter nouns of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu, is represented by the crude base merely; the same is true of the genitive in some cases in these dialects and in Kūi. Similarly, the Nom. stands for the Gen. and the Loc. in Toḍa.

But with the development of thought, this method of representing case-relationships would have been felt to be insufficient; and, gradually, expressive particles were employed for the purpose. At the commencement, a few of these particles were generalised and employed to serve the purpose of obviating ambiguity in all those cases where the particular particles could fit in semantically. The ending -in which appears in Dravidian dialects in such different cases as the genitive, the accusative and the instrumental, was one such particle derived from the "local" root il (place). But at a later stage even this should have been felt to be inadequate to meet the complex relationships of highly evolved ideas, and new affixes were tacked on to the old

1 Cf. Hermann Paul's observation in connection with Wundt's division of cases into *inner* and *outer* varieties. *Richtig ist an dieser Auffassung, dass die syntaktischen Beziehungen, die in den Indo-germanischen Sprachen durch diese Kasus ausgedrückt werden, schon vorher bestanden haben, ehe besondere Zeichen dafür vorhanden wären. Aber es muss einmal eine Periode gegeben haben, in der auch für die Beziehungen, die später durch die Kasus "der äusseren Determination" ausgedrückt werden konnten, die blosse Aneinanderreihung von Wörtern, die aller Deklinationsformen entbehrten, genügen musste.* The suggestion contained here seems to receive support from Dravidian.

ones which thereupon became completely generalised for all the cases and took on, in certain dialects, the nature of what Caldwell describes as the *inflectional increments* or *inflectional augmentations*. Such inflectional increments are found in many Dravidian dialects. :—

(*a*) Tamil: Attu (from adu, the demonstrative neuter) is used in neuter nouns in the case-endings for the singular. Originally it expressed a locative (as in nilattu, *on the ground* etc.) and, in some instances, a genitive meaning also. It may be mentioned here, in passing, that the use of 'attu' is in entire accordance with the large use made of "local" demonstratives in Dravidian for expressing case-relationships.

(*b*) Telugu: The same pronominal demonstrative that developed into 'attu' in Tamil gave rise to ṭi in Gōṇḍi and Telugu in the oblique flectional terminations of the so-called irregular nouns ending in -ḍu, -ru, -lu, -nu, and -y, -ṭ in nouns ending in ḍ is due to the assimilation by t (<atu); while in the other cases the process works out thus :—

l + t, >alveolar *t* >ṭ. The equation usually proposed that l, n, +t=cerebral ṭ i.e. *directly*, is against the usual law of Dravidian.

The Telugu augment ṭ is either a cerebralised form of t when it combines with final ḍ of roots as in peraḍu (yard), peraṭi; nāḍu (country), nāṭi etc., or from an alveolar t which results from the assimilation of dental t to an alveolar sound like l, or n occurring finally in roots, as in rōlu (pestle), rōṭi; modalu, modaṭi etc. The original nature of the increment -t, is preserved in the oblique forms of a few nouns ending in -y, e.g., nūy, nūti; ney, nēti etc., where the original dental plosive has not undergone any assimilative change.

l or n+t (dental)>*t* (alveolar). The alveolar was assimilated by Tamil as *tr* (as in an*dr*u or a*ttr*u etc.), but rejected by Telugu which substituted the cerebral -ṭ. (vide my paper on Alveolar *t* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1928).

(*c*) Kannaḍa[1]: -d used for the singular of the genitive, instrumental, ablative and locative cases of neuter nouns. Caldwell sus-

1 Both Kannaḍa and Tamil use a rare a*r* also as an inflexional increment: (1) plural forms of the neuter pronominals *avai* (they) and words compounded with *avai* like śilavai etc. show the increment a*r* in *oblique* forms, as ava*ttr*ai, ava*ttr*ayin ava*ttr*ayāl etc.; in Mal. colloquial the form ava*tt*a is used as a neuter nominative also; (2) the sing. and pl. forms of neuter words denoting quantity in Kann. like *aḍu*, avu, show the increment a*r* in the instr., gen. and loc.

pects it to be a euphonic hiatus-filler; but since it occurs in so many cases, it is presumably only from the neuter demonstrative, used as an inflexional increment. Tuḷu uses the increment -t or -d (<at) in the genitive singular only.

(*d*) Kui shows a number of such inflectional increments. Friend-Pereira gives the following:— -ni, -i, -ti, -nii, and -tii which appears to be a common factor, is probably the modified form of an old demonstrative which having been used to express case-relationships was regularly used after the use of increments came in.

ni <ini< il+i

ti < ati <atu +i

The Kui terminations are not distinctive today and are sometimes indiscriminately used for all oblique cases though the rule of Gōṇḍi, viz. ni for rationals and ti for irrationals, applies to many instances.

The fact that inflexional increments are still largely employed in this uncultivated Dravidian dialect, without any additional strengthening affixes for denoting case-relationships, clearly indicates the intermediate stage through which several other Dravidian dialects must have passed.

(*e*) Goṇḍi:— -t- used in the flexional terminations of irrational nouns is clearly from *adu* or *atu*; while -n (<in) is the increment used uniformly in the oblique bases of rational nouns.

The Accusative

(*a*) The use of the crude base points to a very early stage in the development of language.[1]

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cases, e.g. adarim, adarol etc. Neither in Tamil nor in Mal. is the use of a*r* compulsory.

Further, Kannaḍa words denoting direction show another increment aṇ in the old dialect in oblique forms.

1 Neuter nouns of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu etc. show, especially in the colloquial, no affix at all in the acc.; compare the similar rule in some of the modern I.A. languages like Bengali, where Dravidian influence has been postulated. The crude base is also sometimes retained for the gen. in Dravidian. The retention of the crude base probably points to the most primitive stage when case-relationships were inferred from mere juxtaposition of words. The reason why the acc. and the gen. alone continue in some dialects even today, to retain the ancient usage, is to be sought in the fact that the transitivity of the

(*b*) The use of -a (or -e), the demonstrative particle, in certain dialects (Brāhūi, Tamil, Gōṇḍi, Malayāḷam) was sufficient at an early stage to draw the attention to the object acted upon. It is probable that -a which appears in Tamil -ai (> ei>e) and in Gōṇḍi, represents the earliest stage and that the Brāhūi e is only a developed form, as in Malayāḷam. It is true that one could not be sure on this matter, as both the proximate and the remote demonstratives would equally have well brought out the accusative relationship ; but the prominence of a in the acc. and the gen. of the southern dialects is significant. It is noteworthy that the stage when the old demonstrative affix was attempted to be superseded by the new -an or -in is indicated in the Karachi dialect of Brāhūi which has an accusative affix -in, by the side of -e.

(*c*) -n, as an accusative affix, appears in many dialects. Caldwell suggests that this accusative ending is the "softened" form of -am appearing in old Kannaḍa. If there is validity in the suggestion that -am in Tamil and Kannaḍa is only a borrowing, then this explanation of Caldwell could not hold good. It may be observed in this connection that -am is never found as the neuter termination in any dialect except in Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa ; so it would be far more reasonable to derive the -n of the accusative from -in, which is so common amongst Dravidian dialects and which has further become so conspicuous in Telugu, Kui and in some cases in Tamil as to have been generalised into an inflectional increment. That -in (<il, *place*) could quite effectively express the accusative relationship is also obvious ; one may compare here the use of -il was a Loc. affix in the Kaikadi dialect, and also the Loc. of Distance in IGC. The Telugu form -nu is probably only a modified form of -in ; Goṇḍi -tun=-t (inflectional increment <atu, neuter demonstrative)+un(<in). Kurukh has -an, and Kannaḍa has -an, beside -am. Kannaḍa should have possessed the -an (<in) as an indigenous affix, and -am should have cropped up purely on account of the analogical resemblance to the nominative singular ending -am (borrowed from Sanskrit).

It may be noted here that attempts have been made to derive the Tamil accusative -ai from -an (through the dropping of final n), and Malto -e from -ne. This is purely fanciful. The history of the de-

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verb in the case of the acc., and the close proximity of the noun governed and the governing genitive sufficiently obviated the necessity for affixes in these particular relationships.

velopment of Dravidian languages in general and of Dravidian in particular, shows clearly the manifold uses to which demonstrative particles were put in the early stage. As the fact that these demonstratives were employed in some cases in Dravidian is admitted on all hands, there is no reason at all why we should reject the demonstrative origin of the accusative affix -e, -ai etc.

The Dative

The most common dative affix is the particle -ku and its variants. I have shown (in the September (1928) number of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*) that this particle is ultimately traceable to the elementary Dravidian base kei which has even today both the signification of a noun and a verb.

Gōṇḍi singular alone has -in for the dative in -tun, while Gōṇḍi plural shows common -k in the plural -kun. The usual Brāhūi dative affix is -e, probably a modified demonstrative particle, but the common Dravidian ending -ku is found in Brāhūi also in -ilka, iska (up to) etc. Mal. dative affix -nnu found in words with final -n is from ṅk, as in Tam. innum (yet) (<inkum<in*d*rkum<irkum).

There is no doubt that the affix -ku is indigenous in Dravidian; prehistoric affinities between Aryan and Dravidian, if investigated, might probably suggest connection between Dravidian ku and kei on the one hand and the kru, kara group of Sanskrit on the other. But of this relationship we have as yet no proof, and judging from the primitive nature of the root *kei* and the dativa1 idea also, we shall not be wrong in thinking that this root as well as the derived particle -ku is purely Dravidian.

The affix -ku, it is worthy of note, has an associative force in Kui (e.g. ābake *with father*), and is also used to denote *motion to* in Kui and in Tamil (e.g. Kui *sōru -ku, to the hill* and Tam. *vīṭṭukku*). These meanings probably arose in close association with the Dativa1 meaning.

The Genitive

(*a*) -a, the demonstrative particle was probably a very ancient affix; this is found in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and probably in Gōṇḍi -in, -a and Telugu Gen. plural -a.

(*b*) The Telugu sing. genitival ending -i is either from -in (with the final n omitted), or it may be a demonstrative particle which

conferred an adjectival idea. It may be proper to derive this -i from an original -a, but we have no convincing evidence that -a alone was used in primitive Dravidian.

(*c*) -e appears in the genitive plural of Tuḷu; the free use of demonstratives to form case-suffixes sufficiently explains the origin of this affix as being directly from Tuḷu sing. gen. -a. It is idle to try to derive it from an ancient -in or -ina, no traces of which exist in Tuḷu.

(*d*) Kurukh Gen. gahi alternating with Kur. dialectal gi, ki, shows the ending -i, combined probably with the dat. -g.

(*e*) -in appears in the genitive in Tamil, Kūi and Gōṇḍi (with -a). The earliest gen. affix was probably the demonstrative -a. The use of ad usually in gen. singular for neuter nouns is also seen; but the affix -in (from the loc. il) which, as we have shown above, was a very powerful affix in Dravidian seems to have largely displaced -a and -adu, except in certain dialects. Later still, the post-position uḍaiya came in. Uḍaiya is from the root uḍ (to join). The genitive relationship being very comprehensive in its significance, the older affixes were found insufficient, and hence we have uḍaiya in Tamil, de in Malayāḷam, re (<*t*re<*d* (e) <uḍ) in Koḍagu, -ata of Tuḷu and the plural -te of Gōṇḍi are probably related to oḍ or uḍ.

The use of the crude base as genitive in Tamil, Kui and Telugu indicates the earliest stage of inflexional development.

The Ablative

This should have assumed the form of a definite case-relationship, probably at a later stage, as we see that the most conspicuous of the Dravidian affixes in all the important dialects is the reduced form of an ancient verbal past participle ir*n*du (ir+n, spontaneous nasal +tu, past affix) meaning *having remained*.

Tamil retains iru*n*du, beside nin*d*ru (nil+tu).

Malayāḷam has i*nn*u<iru*nn*u<iru*nd*u.

Kannaḍa indu also should be traced to irundu.

Koḍagu iñju<i*n*du<ir*n*du.

Kurukh inti also may be traced to irundu. The explanation offerred for inti that it is composed of in+adu fails to satisfactorily account for the ablatival idea.

Tuḷu ḍ, du is composed of aḍ+du (which latter is from indu). The Tuḷu ablative is used for the instrumental and the conjunctive also.

Telugu uṇḍi may probably be the past participle of uḷ, as Caldwell suggests,but uṇḍi may appropriately be traced to *i*ndu, as the cerebralisation of n and d into ṇ and ḍ is possible in Telugu, on the analogy of vaṭṭu (dry) from va*ṭṭ*ru etc. Compare the cerebral values of n and d in Korava instrumental -iṇḍri, and note also the Telugu dialectical nuñchi which should go back preferably to a form with dental plosive.

Brāhūi -an is probably the modification of -in which is employed in old Tamil as an instrumental affix; an alternative explanation is, it is probably cognate with āl, the old Tamil instrumental ending.

The Instrumental

Tuḷu and Koḍagu employ the ablative form also for the instrumental. Kannaḍa employs -in, having the alternative form -im. Telugu na is from -in+a. Brāhūi -aṭ< aṭ signifies *contact.*

Tamil āl, as explained above, is probably the lengthened form of al or el meaning *place* or *time*, which is also used in conditional clauses. Prof. Vinson suggests: "on y (i.e., in āl) voit une alteration de *kāl* (canal, voie); on a aussi propose, mais cela est moins admissible, d'y voir une contraction de *āgal.*" Neither of these explanations could be satisfactorily supported.

The Locative

This case is probably one of the oldest in Dravidian, as we see from the fact that the ending -il becomes generalised early in Dravidian as -in for many other cases.

al, -il, -uḷ,ɪ with their variants -ol, -lo, and alli, are common affixes in the South.

Kurukh -nu <lu <ul <ul.

Brāhūi -ṭi and Tuḷu -oṭu are from the root aṭ (aḍ) or oṭ (oḍ) cf. Tam. dialectal -aṇḍe which has a Loc. force. -attu is locative ending of Tamil and Malayāḷam; Goṇḍi -te, Kui -ti and -ti in lai-ti are related, and traceable to the neuter dem. from which attu (the increment) has already been derived.

The Conjunctive

It is formed with -to (from the root toḍ) in Brāhūi and Telugu while Tamil, Malayāḷam and Tuḷu (-ḍ) have particles derivable from uḍ or oḍ.

Conclusion

I have in the above paper tried to briefly indicate the following important characteristics of Dravidian post-positional affixes;

(1) both *demonstrative particles*[1] and other *primitive roots* should have contributed to the stock of affixes; (2) the use of -n (<il) in so many dialects and in so many cases and as a common inflectional increment in some dialects shows it to be one of the earliest in origin; (3) therefore the *locative* idea should be regarded as marking one of the very early initial stages; (4) the dative affix ku is traceable to the ancient root *kai*; and (5) inflexional increments are only the indurated vestiges of an earlier system of flexional terminations. I give below a conspectus of the part played by demonstrative particles and post-positions in Dravidian, so far as we can do so in our present knowledge;

Prominent Post-positions

(*i*) in (<il): loc., gen., and acc.; and as an increment also.

(*ii*) ir*n*du, i*n*da, i*nn*u, uṇḍi: ablative.

(*iii*) āl (from *el* or *al*): instrumental.

(*iv*) toḍ, oḍ: instrumental and conjunctive; also in Tam. gen. uḍaiya.

Demonstrative Particle:—a (with its variant e)

Accusative	*Genitive*
(Tam., Mal., and Brāhūi)	(Tamil, Kann., Tuḷu)

Dem. ad.

Inflectional increment in Gōṇḍi, Kann., Tel. etc. and Loc. and Genitival value in Tamil. Mal., Kolāmi etc.

A comparative examination of the above would show that demonstratives were active in acc. and gen. which are probably two of the most prominent case-relationships. The dat. and the loc. appear to have employed post-positions at a very early stage, and the suffix for the latter gained sufficient dominance to be able to influence the other case-endings in many dialects.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

1 Numerous other post-positions appear in old Tamil; each has a generalised significance of its own based on its original meaning: kaḍai, vaḷi, māḍu, aṇḍai, pāl, kiṭṭa, aruge, mudal, puḍei etc. etc. Many of these are retained in the modern dialects to render minute shades of locative relationships.

Quotations from the Tattvasamgraha

In I.H.Q., vol. V, p. 354, Prof. Poussin has found out that seven kārikās from the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntirakṣita (and not *Śānta*° as printed) are quoted in Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (Bib. Ind.). But, in fact, there are many more as the following list will show. The kārikās marked with an asterisk are those already traced by Prof. Poussin.

	First pādas of the Kārikās		Pages of the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*	Numbers of the Kārikās of the Tattvasaṃgraha
1	vijñānaṃ jaḍarūpebhyaḥ	...	396	2,000
2	kriyākārakabhedena[1]	...	„	2,001
3	tasmin dhyānasamāpanne	...	419	3,241
4	tābhir jijñāsitān arthān	...	„	3,242
5	anye punar ihātmānam	...	453	171
6	śubhāśubhānāṃ kartāraṃ	...	„	172
7	*vyāvṛttyanugamātmānam	...	„	222
8	*yathāheḥ kuṇḍalāvasthā[2]	...	„	223
9	tathaiva nitya caitanya-	...	„	224
10	*jaiminīyā iva prāhuḥ	...	454	311
11	*caitanyam anye manyante	...	„	285
12	pradhānenopanītaṃ ca	...	455	286
13	*nityajñānavivarto'yam[3]	...	„	324
14	*grāhyalakṣaṇasaṃyuktam	...	„	329
15	*kecit tu[4] saugatammanyāḥ	...	456	336
16	jñānamātrā[5]disambandhaḥ	...	470	176
17	sarvahetunirāśaṃsaṃ	...	541	110
18	rājīvakeśarādīnāṃ	...	„	111
19	yathaiva kaṇṭakādīnāṃ	...	„	112
20	sarvotpattimatām īśam	...	545	46
21	aśeṣaśaktipracitāt	...	562	7
22	yadi tv asad bhavet kāryaṃ	...	„	4
23	sukhādyanvitam etac ca[6]	..	563	14

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1. TS, *bhāvena*.
2. In *b* TS. *tv anuvartate* for *na nivartate*.
3. BCP, *nityaḥ*
4. Omitted in BCP.
5. TS, *patna* for *mātrā*
6. BCP, *etad dhi*.

REVIEWS

BEGRIFFSUNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM NYĀYABHĀṢYA, von Moritz Spitzer, Leipzig, 1927.

The author has studied in this essay some of the notions treated in the Nyāyabhāṣya, and chiefly the notion meant by the word *padārtha* and that expressed by such words as *vyakti*, *ākṛti*, and *jāti*. The research, though of a limited compass, is diligent and shows that the author has good knowledge of the commentary of Vātsyāyana. But it is, I think, a little overloaded with discussions and speculations which can hardly be said to contribute to the interpretation of a terminology which is not always easy to render in the very terms of European philosophy. Moreover it is evident that the research could have been more complete, if treated with reference to the same topics, as discussed in other works and which much contribute to the exact interpretation of the concise statements of Vātsyāyana.

GUISEPPE TUCCI

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA, by the Rev. Henry Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, vol. I (Madras 1927).

It was almost exactly thirty years ago that the illustrious Robert Sewell lifted the veil of obscurity from the history of one of the great Empires of Mediæval India in his justly famous work *Vijayanagara, a forgotten empire*. In recent times, the path opened by his zealous researches has been followed by a number of scholars among whom Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar deserves prominent mention. The present work is a most valuable contribution in this important branch of mediæval history. It takes up the thread of the narrative at the time (c. 1541 A.C.) when the Aravidu family first came into prominence in the counsels of Vijayanagara, and seeks in this first volume to trace its history down to the death of the third king of the dynasty (c. 1585-1614 A.C.). It opens with an elaborate Bibliography (pp. XVII-XLIV) containing exhaustive lists of authorities—which comprise articles contributed to obscure magazines—arranged under the broad

headings of Contemporary Sources (both published and unpublished) and Literature. The work consists of twenty-six chapters in the course of which the long and intricate history of the Empire in its relations with its own feudatories as well as the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan and the European trading companies and the Jesuits, not to speak of its internal administration and the developments of art and literature under its sway, are narrated at full length and with great skill. Among the many points of interest which emerge from the study of these pages only a few may be mentioned. In the first two stages of the battle of Raksas Tagdi (usually known as the battle of Talikota) the success was decidedly on the side of the Hindus, and the tide was turned against them in the third stage only by the treachery of two Mahammadan generals in the employ of Vijayanagara. After the catastrophic defeat of the Hindus the city escaped destruction at the hands of the conquerors, and it became for a short time once more the seat of the imperial capital. The destruction of the city was more due to the ravages of time than of man. The Empire of Vijayanagara which was threatened with collapse after the crushing defeat at the hands of the Mahammadan powers was continued for another century by the vigorous exertions of the kings of Aravidu dynasty. The revival was mostly marked in the reign of Venkata II (c. 1585-1614 A.C), "the most illustrious sovereign of this dynasty, who checked the Muslim raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Nāyakas in the South, caused Rājās of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and fine arts throughout his vast dominions."

The value of the present volume is enhanced by a number of maps, of which two bear the dates 1516 and 1652 A.C. It closes with four valuable Appendices containing, among other things, collections of documents from the Government archives of Portugese India, the private archives of the Society of Jesus and the archives of Roman Catholic diocese of Mylapore. We await the publication of the second volume with great interest.

U. N. G.

THE TATTVASAṄGRAHA of Śāntarakṣita with the commentary of Kamalaśīla edited with an Introduction in Sanskrit by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya and a Foreword in English by the General

Editor Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxx) in 2 vols. (pp. clvii+80+936), with Indexes of the Kārikās, quotations, and names of philosophical schools and writers (97 pp.).

Paṇḍit Embar Krishnamacharya and the great patron of learning H.H. the Maharaja of Gaekwad have rendered an invaluable service to the cause of Buddhistic researches by placing before the public this very important work, the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntirakṣita, along with the equally, if not more, useful *Pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla.

Among the Pāli or Sanskrit Buddhistic works, that have up till now been printed, the *Tattvasaṅgraha* occupies a unique position, containing, as it does, an exposition and a critical examination of the doctrines of some of the prominent schools of Buddhism such as the Sarvāstivādins, Sautrāntikas, Vātsiputrīyas (or Saṃmitīyas), Sāṃkrāntikas (not noticed in the Index), Mādhyamikas and Yogācāras, as also the views of distinguished Buddhist writers like Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, Vasubandhu, Buddhadeva, Saṃghabhadra, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, and Vasumitra.

It also makes a bold stand against the views advocated by the Hindu schools of philosophy, viz., Sāṃkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Yoga, and Cārvāka as also against the Syādvāda of the Jainas. The views of some of the distinguished non-Buddhistic writers like Kambalāśvatara, Uddyotakara, Aviddhakarṇa, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkarasvāmin, Vātsyāyana, Śabarasvāmin, Vindhyāvāsin, Īśvarakṛṣṇa, Ācārya Sūri, Māṭharācārya, Bhāmaha, Bhartṛhari, Bāṇa and Śubhagupta have also been made the target of its polemics. In some of the Buddhistic works like the *Visuddhimagga*, *Abhidharmakoṣa*, *Mādhyamikavṛtti* and *Laṅkāvatāra*, the attention of the authors was directed mainly to the exposition of the doctrines of the schools of Buddhism to which they belonged, with occasional criticisms of the views of some of the contemporary Buddhistic schools. The *Kathāvatthu* may be pointed out as the only treatise written with the exclusive object of refuting the doctrines of schools of Buddhism from the standpoint of the Theravādins. Perhaps in conformity with Buddha's dictum *attānaṃ na ukkaṃseti, paraṃ na vambheti*, which is echoed in the Aśoka inscriptions, the Buddhist writers never thought it worth while to spend their energies on attempts to prove the hollowness of the views of the non Buddhistic schools. But quite contrary to this attitude of non-interference of the early Buddhist authors, the non-Buddhistic writers and commentators have attempted not only to give an exposition of the views of the principal Buddhistic schools, e.g., in the *Sarvadarśana-*

saṅgraha, Sarvamatasaṅgraha, Saḍdarśanasamuccaya, but also make caustic and sometimes unjust criticisms of the Buddhistic views, e.g. in the *Śaṅkarabhāṣya, Tantravārttika,* and *Nyāyavārttika.* Śāntirakṣita is the only Buddhist writer who is so far known to have taken up his pen in the fashion of the non-Buddhists, and has, by his rigidly logical arguments, brought out the excellences of the doctrines of Buddhism, exposing the logical fallacies and unwarranted assumptions of the non-Buddhistic writers. One of the most important features of Śāntirakṣita's treatise and Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* is that they state at the outset *as fully as possible* the views of those from whom they differ, and then proceed to refute them, a feature not found in the non-Buddhistic writings of this class.

The general editor of the Series, Dr. Bhattacharya, has put in a good deal of labour in his lucid English summary (pp. xcvii-clvi) of the diverse views of the various writers, and schools of philosophy, as presented in the *Tattvasaṅgraha,* along with the reasons put forward by Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla in their attempts to refute those views. Every page of the summary bears testimony to a keen study and a thorough grasp of the texts of the Hindu systems of philosophy, without which, it is difficult to make one's way through the tangled skein of arguments used by savants like Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla.

No less commendable is the task accomplished by the editor Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya, a typical example of the old school of Śāstrins,—a school, which to our great regret, is fast disappearing for want of adequate encouragement and patronage. He has given, for the the convenience of readers, the essence of the big treatise of 1100 pages within the small compass of 42 pages, and that in the shape of Kārikās. To reproduce the words of the Editor (Intro., p. 23) :

अन्तःपातमशक्यत्वे व निबन्धाभ्यन्तरस्थितिम् ।
आपाततो दिदृक्षन्ति केचिदायासभीरवः ॥

These Kārikās are redolent of his deep learning, and his ability to express briefly in verses such stiff philosophical topics as find a place in the *Tattvasaṅgraha.*

Śāntirakṣita outlines the whole theme of his work in the first six salutary verses, so ably commented on by Kamalaśīla. The keynote of the verses i.e. of the whole work, is the theory of relative existence (Pratītyasamutpāda), the preaching of which is regarded as the best compliment (stotrābhidhānam, p. 10) one can offer to Buddha.

Śāntirakṣita's reference to the Pratītyasamutpāda as the principal teaching of Buddha in the opening verses naturally reminds us of Nāgārjuna doing the same in his *Mādhyamikakārikās* :

यः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादं प्रपञ्चोपशमं शिवम्।
देशयामास संबुद्धस्तं वन्दे वदतां वरम्॥

It also brings to our mind the memorable verses

ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत्।
तेषां च यो निरोधो एवंवादी महाश्रमणः॥

which effected a change in Śāriputra's views resulting in his conversion to Buddhism. In all Buddhistic works, whether Pāli or Sanskrit, the theory of causation (Paṭiccasamuppāda) has been given the highest place and is identified with the *Dhamma* of Buddha (Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati—*Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 191). In the present treatise, it is regarded as the best utterance of Buddha (pradhānam idaṃ Bhagavataḥ pravacanaratnaṃ) and upon it the author bases practically his whole work. In explaining the object (prayojana) of the work, he says that the *Tattvasaṅgraha* is meant to do good to the world, which consists in the attainment of the highest state. The highest state can be attained by the avoidance of misconceptions (viparyāsa), the root of all afflictions. Thus it follows that the good of the world can be effected by counteracting afflictions, which in their turn depend on the attainment of a state free from misconceptions (aviparyāsa) by realizing that like actions (karma) bear like fruits (phala) and that the individual (pudgala) as much as the things of the world (dharma) are essenceless (nairātmya) i.e. unreal. This realization of the true nature of things removes ignorance (avidyā), the cause of repeated existences as also the screen made up of afflictions (kleśāvaraṇa) and the screen obstructing true knowledge (jñeyāvaraṇa), and leads to the attainment of the final beatitude (apavarga). The true view of things described above can be brought about only by means of the realisation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* i.e. the understanding of the truth that things which are produced by cause (hetu) and condition (pratyaya) are really non-existent, and are only relatively true (saṃvṛti-satya), while the highest truth or the reality (i.e. Nirvāṇa or Tathatā) is uncaused (ahetu) and unconditioned (apratyaya). Śāntirakṣita therefore by taking up the task of presenting an exposition of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* (theory of relative existence) is doing good to the world. He has also another object in view namely to refute the charges made against Buddhism by the non-Buddhists regarding the *Pratītyasamutpāda* as a

viṣamahetu and as a theory unable to stand the test of Pramāṇa (logical proofs). In one word, the object of his whole work is to show the important features of the Law of Relative Existence (Pratītyasamutpāda) as explained by Buddha.

Having set before himself the task of refuting all doctrines with the help of the theory of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, the author proceeds to examine the theory of origin of the world as propounded by the Sāṅkhyas, Naiyāyikas, Pātañjalas, Mīmāṃsākas and others, shows their weaknesses, and concludes in the following words of Buddha, quoted by the commentator Kamalaśīla : स चायमङ्कुरो न स्वयंकृतो नोभयकृतो नेश्वरनिर्मितो न प्रकृतिसंभूतो नैककारणाधीनो नाप्यहेतुः समुत्पन्न इति। [The sprout is neither self-originated, nor produced by both (Soul and Matter), nor made by Īśvara nor produced from Matter (Prakṛti), nor subject to one cause, nor without cause.]. This statement of Buddha is only an illustration or rather an expansion of the theory of causation i.e, that things are relatively existent, and their origin and decay are subject to causes and conditions. To this discussion the author devotes a few chapters, viz., *Pradhāneśvarobhayāhetukaśabdabrahmātmaparīkṣā*. In the seventh chapter (on Ātmaparīkṣā) he discusses the views held by the Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas, Mīmāṃsakas, Sāṅkhyas, Digambaras, Aupaniṣadakas and Vātsiputrīyas.

Admitting that things are causally originated, some may suppose that they are not momentary (akṣaṇika). So the author devotes a chapter to the *Sthirabhāvaparīkṣā* (ch.viii) [examination of the continuance (the general editor says 'permanence') of entities] and concludes that all constituted things have only momentary existence, for permanently existing things cannot have activity (kriyā) ; their appearance itself is their activity (kriyā) as also their doer (kāraka).

Then, if the things have only momentary existence, how can there be actions and their fruits. This leads the author to an examination of the *Karmaphalasambandha* (ch. ix) (Relation of Action with their Fruits), in which he wants to establish that there are actions and fruits, but there is no doer, who leaving aside one set of skandhas produces another,—all are mere symbols (*dharmasaṅketa*), the origination of skandhas and dhātus being due to *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

There are however some schools of philosophy like the Naiyāyikas, Vaiśeṣikas and Āgamamātrakas (evidently refering to the Sarvāstivādins) who contend that guṇas (qualities), dravyas (elementary substances), karma (motion), and so forth are realities and ever existent. To refute this view, Śāntirakṣita devotes six chapters (x-xv) to

the examination of the *Saṭpadārtha* (six categories), and shows that the truth is devoid of them (taiḥ śūnyaṃ rahitam ityarthaḥ).

But if the things of the world be non-existent, is not Pratītya-samutpāda a matter which pertains to the province of mere sound (śabdavikalpa)? This leads Śāntirakṣita to an examination of the *Śabdārtha* (ch. xvi). Sounds (Śabda-vikalpas) have no use unless they refer to upādhis (guṇa, dravya, etc.), which are in fact super-impositions made by Vijñāna upon the external world. In short *śabdārthas* are misconceptions (vikalpas) obstructing true knowledge ; there is no connexion between the word and the meaning. The truth in the highest sense is beyond the scope of *śabdārtha*, and beyond all vikalpas. As the Śabdārthas are accepted in the world of phenomena, the Teacher had no other alternative than to have recourse to Saṃvṛti teaching in order to lead beings steeped in ignorance to the highest truth (Paramārtha), and hence the usefulness of the theory of relative existence.

Then the author proceeds to show by his examination of the *Pratyakṣānumānapramāṇāntara* (chs. xvii-xix) that the logical processes adopted by the non-Buddhistic schools to establish the truth are imperfect (aspaṣṭa) while those of the Buddhists, confined to *Pratyakṣa* and *Anumāna* are perfect (spaṣṭa).

Three chapters (xx-xxii) treat of the utility of Pratītyasamutpāda in the refutation of (i) the Jaina syādvāda (the assertion of possibilities and non-possibilities, (ii) the theory of transference (saṃkrānti) of the Buddhist school of Sāṃkrāntikas, a branch of the Sarvāstivadins, leading to an examination of the *Traikālya* (the past, present and future) and (iii) the Lokāyata view that the world has a beginning and an end. This discussion ends with an examination of the *Bahirartha* (objective world), favouring the views of the Vijñānavādins (see infra).

The next two chapters (xxiv and xxv) deal with the question as to whether the theory of *Pratītyasamutpāda* is apauruṣeya (revealed) like the Vedas, or uttered by Buddha after realisation by him of the truth within his own self. Śāntirakṣita naturally favours the latter view and rejects the revealed character *Apauruṣeyatva* of the Vedas, or their character as self-evident (*svataḥ pramāṇya*) truths. The last chapter (atīndriyadarśipuruṣaparīkṣā) takes up the question of omniscience (sarvajñatva) attained by Buddha though it is also supposed by some of the brāhmaṇic writers to have been attained by philosophers like Kapila. While discussing the Sarvajñatva of Buddha he also deals

with the attainments which distinguish a Hīnayānist from a Mahāyānist i.e. an Arhat from a Buddha.

Now we shall conclude our remarks by referring to one or two points touched in the Foreword and the Introduction in connection with the last chapter. Dr. Bhattacharyya realises the importance of the last chapter on *Sarvajñatva* and has done his best to give us an idea of the contents of the chapter. While explaining 'Sarvajñatā,' he does not distinguish it from 'Sarvākārajñatā' so exhaustively dealt with in the *Abhisamayālaṅkārakārikā*. Then while speaking of the two 'screens', kleśāvaraṇa (screen due to afflictions, such as rāga, dveṣa, moha) and jñeyāvaraṇa (screen obstructing true knowledge), he has missed the point, to which the remarks of the commentator are directed. The *kleśāvaraṇa* is removed by the realisation of the *nairātmya* (essencelessness) of Pudgala (individual beings). This is achieved by the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas (Hīnayānists) by following the Hīnayānic code of discipline and the teachings of the Nikāyas. In other words, the realisation of *Pudgalanairātmya* means the attainment of that state of mind in which one finds the things of the world as mere conglomeration of elements without any essence, the existence of which is wrongly supposed by beings blinded by *Avidyā* (ignorance). Hence a person, on attaining this state of mind, cannot have attachment, hatred etc. The Mahāyānists, however, go further than this. They realise the *Pudgalanairātmya* as above, and then try to realize the *Dharmanairātmya* or *Dharmasamatā*, i.e., they realize that the elements (dhātu, dravya, guṇa and so forth) have in reality no existence outside Vijñāna, they being mere thought-creations or super-impositions made by Vijñāna upon the external world (discussed in ch. xxiii of this work). The realization of this fact makes the perfect beings look upon the whole world as undifferentiable by positive and negative attributes (and hence, sama).

So the difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, or for the matter of that, between an Arhat, a Pratyekabuddha, and a Buddha, hinges not so much on karuṇā (compassion) as stated by the editors, as on the realization of the two nairātmyas. *Maitrī* and *Karuṇā* are counted as distinctive marks of Mahāyāna, but it is really the realization of Dharmanairātmya that distinguishes a Mahāyānist from a Hīnayānist, the latter being incapable of realising it according to the Mahāyāna standpoint. Both the editors have missed this point and made remarks (see Eng. Intro., pp. xlvii ff.; Sanskrit Intro., p. 22) unwarranted by the text.

As stated already the merits of the introductions in English and Sanskrit are many and reflect credit on their writers. The only thing that I would like to observe is that the historical information supplied about Vasumitra, Saṅghabhadra and such other Buddhist writers should have been supplemented by the latest information supplied by the Japanese and French scholars in the oriental journals like the *Eastern Buddhist*, *Toung Pao*, and *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*. The works of Burnouf and Wassiljew, though old, are still invaluable for the biography of the creators of the post-Christian Buddhistic history. To give a few instances, he does not refer to Masuda's article in the *Asia Major* (1925, p. 7) while speaking of Vasumitra (p. lvi); for Buddhadeva (p. lviii) he does not consult the *Abhidharmakośa*. He does not also supply the biographical information given in the works of Tāranātha or Burnouf.

For Śāntirakṣita also, he has not consulted Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, which contains some information and which may be given here: Tāranātha (p. 204-5) tells us that the tradition about Śāntirakṣita being a follower of the Mādhyamika school (cf. Eng. Intro., p. xxii) is wrong, for no one would believe it if he consults Siṃhabhadra's[1] commentary on Śāntirakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*. Tāranātha further says (p. 212) that it is a well-known fact that Ārya Bodhisattva and the author of the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*, i.e., Śāntirakṣita were identical. He worked for the salvation of beings, mainly during the reign of Gopāla. In the treatise 'Pure Logic of Buddhavacana' written by King Khri-srong-*lde*-*m*tsan, the name of Paṇḍita Bodhisattva is mentioned as Dharmaśāntighoṣa. Śāntirakṣita might have been known by many names but his seven disciples refer to him as 'Śāntirakṣita'. Tāranātha further informs us that there is also an opinion that Śāntirakṣita, the author of the commentary on the *Madhyamika-satya-dvaya* composed by Jñānagarbha and the author of the *Madhyamakālaṅkāra* are not identical; so it is open to doubt as to which Śāntirakṣita is meant. This information naturally makes us hesitate to accept Dr. Bhattacharya's statements which mix up the different persons bearing the name Śāntirakṣita.

A perusal of the Editor's remarks in his Sanskrit Introduction (pp. 1, 2) regarding *Saugatamatasyānārvācīnatā* and his manner of treat-

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1 Siṃhabhadra learnt the Mādhyamika text and its teachings from Śāntirakṣita (Tāra., p. 219).

ment of the subject-matter of the treatise show that, imbued as he may be with the ideas embedded in the Brāhmaṇic Śāstras, his orientation towards the view of the Truth from the Buddhistic standpoint is as it should be. We welcome the publication of the treatise in spite of any shortcomings that may have crept into it for not settling the text by a comparison with the Tibetan version (see Cordier, *Cat. du Fonds Tibetain*, pt. iii, p. 456) to which, however, the present editors do not make even a passing reference. Had the publication been delayed for this reason like Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, the completion of the edition and its presentation before the public would have been postponed to the Greek calends.

N. DUTT

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient

(Tome xxviii. nos. 1-2 : Jany-June, 1928).

AOMI-NO MABITO GENKAI (779 A.C.).—*Le Voyage de Kanshin en Orient* (742-754)—Translated from Japanese into English by J. Takakusu (and from English into French by Mlle Jeanne Wilkin). In this issue of the Bulletin appears only the Introductory chapter of the work "Travels of Kanshin in the East." Prof. Takakusu divides this chapter into four Sections :

I. *The period of Nara* (710-794)—This period is the central point of interest in the Japanese history, for during this period the civilisation of Japan rapidly advanced through the combined influence of the Korean, Chinese and Indian cultures. There was a University of the State at Nara, details of which are given here.

II. *The creators of the period of Nara*—In this section, the lives and activites of the following distinguished persons are given : (i) Kanshin of China, (ii) Tajihi-no Mabito Hironari, *alias* Tan Tch'e, (iii) Fujiwara-no Asomi Kiyokawa *alias* Ho-ts'ing, (iv) Abe-No Asomi Nakamaro *alias* Tchong Man, (v) Otomo-no Sukune Komaro *alias* Hou-wan, (vi) Kibi-no Asomi Makibi *alias* Tchen Pei, (vii) Yeiyei and Fusho, (viii) Dosen of China, (ix) Hoshin of China, (x) Shitaku of China, (xi) Bodhisena of Southern India and Buttetsu of Campā [Bodhisena was a brahmin of Bharadvāja gotra. He went to Mt Wou-t'ai in China (733 A. C.) in search of Mañjuśrī, who was supposed to have been living there. He met on his way a priest of Campā called Buttetsu. Not finding Mañjuśrī on the mountain he went to Japan in search of him, at the instance of Hironari (No. 2 of this list). In 736 they arrived at Osaka and took up residence at the monastery of Daianji and the imperial court furnished them with their clothes and other necessaries. It is said that they used to converse in Sanskrit and Japanese. In Japan he was called Baramon Sojo. He gave instruction in Sanskrit and the doctrine of *Gaṇḍavyūha*. He died in 760 at the age of 57.], (xii) Nyoho and Hosai, (xiii) Gun Horiki of K'ouen-louen and T'ien T'ing of Campā, and (xiv) Roben

III. *Text on the description of the Eastern Voyage of Kanshin*—There are on it four different works, details of which are given here,

IV. *Biographical notes on Kanshin*—There are numerous biographies of Kanshin in Japanese and Chinese mentioned here with details.

LOUIS FINOT.—*Nouvelles Inscriptions du Cambodge.* The writer gives in this article an account of the new inscriptions found by Monsieur V. Goloubew in course of his excavation at Sambor :

(i) Three altars have been found, one having the inscription '*Pūrva*', the second '*Paścima*,' and the third on all four sides, *Oṃ jaiminaye svāhā.*

(ii) One pillar, the upper part of which is lost, the only noticeable inscriptions are the names of two donors. *Kamratāṅ Śrī Bhavavarmma* and the *Kamaratāṅ aṅ Mucalinda.*

(iii) Another inscription found on a southern pillar of a new sanctuary discovered by Goloubew in June, 1927. It commemorates the excavation of a *Liṅga* of Hara (Śiva) in 549 Śaka (627 A. C.) by the brahmin Vidyāviśeṣa, Secretary of King Īśānavarman. Vidyāviśeṣa was proficient in Śabda (Grammar), Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya and Bauddha philosophies.

II. *Inscriptions of Sek Ta Tuy.* The temple of Sek Ta Tuy was noticed for the first time by Mr. Parmentier in 1929. The Gopura on the east of the 2nd enclosure offers 4 inscriptions. The inscriptions are in Sanskrit in Śloka-form.

The inscription on the pillars of the outer gate commemorates the erections of a *liṅga* by the royal guru Yajñavarāha, its revenue being associated with that of another god Tribhuvana Maheśvara. There is a discussion about the date of the inscription, and is supposed to belong to the 10th century A. C.

The two inscriptions of the interior gate are in Khmer. The first relates to sale of land, excavation of tanks, etc., while the second to the various donations given to the God of Mount of the brahmins. Its date is approximately the 11th century A.C.

III. *The pillar of Prasat Trapāṅ Run*—The inscription is on the four faces of the pillar. The west face has 59 lines in Sanskrit, the east 63 lines in Khmer, the south and the north 15 and 12 lines respectively containing a list of slaves of both sexes.

The Sanskrit inscription after a hymn to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā gives the genealogy of the family of the donor, Kavīndra-paṇḍita, who was a teacher of Sanskrit literature.

The Khmer Inscription describes in detail the procedure followed

in the transference of lands by gifts. This inscription is important from many points of view, specially because it helps to ascertain the situation of Aninditapura, a great principality of Cambodge.

G. COEDES—*Etudes Cambodgiennes.* In this series of studies, the present number contains : (xix) a discussion about "the Date of Bayon of Angkor" with an appendix containing the inscription of Bayon ; (xx) The Capital of Jayavarman ; (xxi) The genealogical tradition about the first King of Angkor according to the Inscription of Yaśovarman and of Rājendravarman ; (xxii) The Date of Accession of Jayavarmaparameśvara.

PAUL MUS—*Etudes Indiennes et Indochinoises.* This article deals with

(i) The Inscription of Prakāśadharma dedicated to Vālmīki

(ii) The Adorned Image of Buddhas : Its Indian Origin : Śākyamuni in the Mahāyānic phase. Coedes takes the tradition of adorned human Buddha as purely Indo-Chinese, as there is no such conception in the Indian iconography. Durioselle differs from him in view of the fact that the adorned images of Buddha are found in Burma. The present writer refers to the report of the Archæological Survey of India (1921-22) where Mr. R. Chanda has given illustrations of the new finds of Buddha images of great importance, having likeness with those of Pagan. He then examines the passage of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, relating to Buddhological conceptions and incidentally shows that the doctrine preached in it in the first chapter is Hīnayāna while that in the later portions is Mahāyāna. Then he deals with the Trikāya conception, specially Nirmāṇa and Sambhoga-kāyās from literary and archæological materials and paintings. In short, the writer's chief object is to trace the evolution of historic Buddha in the Mahāyānic faith. (N. Dutt).

Indian Antiquary, November, 1929

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI—*Bengal's Contribution to Philosophical Literature in Sanskrit.* It has been shown in this continued article that Bengal was not content with the cultivation of Navya-nyāya only as is generally supposed but contributed to the literature of almost every other school of philosophy.

Ibid., December, 1929

BISHESHWAR NATH REU.—*The Sāmbhar Inscription of Calukya Jayasimha's Time.* The importance of the inscription lies in the

fact that saṃvat 998 or A.C. 941 (Vasu-nanda-nidhan varṣe) has been given here as the date of the establishment of the Anhilwāḍa kingdom by the Salaṅkī Mūlarāja, which event, according to V. A. Smith, took place in 961 A.C.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. III, pt. iv

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*The Works of Prabhākara.* In discussing the question as to which of the two works—Vivaraṇa and Nibandhana known to have been written by the great Prabhākara—should be identified with the extant Mīmāṃsā commentary called Bṛhatī, the writer of this article differs from Mm. S. Kuppusvami Sastri and supports Dr. Jha's opinion that "the Nibandhana of Prabhākara is the same as the work that we have at present."

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER.—*Studies in the Imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa.*

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL.—*Studies in the Upaniṣads.* This instalment of the paper deals with Symbols and Upāsānās expounded in the various Upaniṣads.

D. T. TATACHARYA SIROMANI.—*Definition of Poetry or Kāvya.* In this portion of the thesis the different definitions of Poetry found in the works on Poetics have been considered.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.—*Kālidāsa and the Philosophy of Love.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1929

L. D. BARNETT.—*The Genius: A Study in Indo-Euorpean Psychology.* The writer agrees that the conception of guardian deities known in India as *adhiṣṭhātṛ devatās* presiding over things or individuals is of Indo-European origin. He shows that the Roman and Greek idea of good and evil spirits warring against one another has exact correspondences in both the Avestan and Vedic thoughts.

H. R. DIWEKAR.—*Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti.* Evidences have been adduced here in support of the contention that Bhāmaha could not have written his work after Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti.

Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, vol. VII, pt. i (1929)

E. SIEG.— *Karl Geldner(In Memoriam).* It is an obituary notice of the great Vedic scholar Prof. Karl Friedrich Geldner, who

passed away on the 5th February, 1929 at the age of 76. He was born in Saalfeld in Thüringen and was the son of the Archdeacon Geldner. He joined the University of Leipzig, where he heard the lectures of Profs. Brockhaus and Windisch on Sanskrit and Zend (Avesta) for one year. He then moved to Tübingen, where he associated so much with Prof. Rudolf Roth that he settled there. Roth was then in the prime of his life and to him flocked many orientalists of the whole world. Among his students, there were the German HEINRICH ZIMMER, RICHARD GARBE, BRUNO LINDNER, the American CHARLES LANMAN, the Swiss ADOLF KAEGI, the Livonian LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER and PETER VON BRADTKE.

Geldner's first literary effort won for him a prize in 1874, which later on appeared in a developed form under the title *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta* (Over the Metric of the later Avesta). In 1875 appeared his *Siebenzig Lieder des Ṛg-veda* translated by Geldner and Kaegi with a contribution by Roth. The writer then gives an account of his works and the circumstances in which they were published.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha.* In this issue, this article has been concluded. The portion in the present issue deals with "Author Durgasiṃha and the time in which he lived"; the "Correspondences between Durgasiṃha's version and other Pañcatantra versions" followed by an explanation of the questions whether Vasubhāga's Pañcatantra is "an independent recension," and the relation between the original Pañcatantra and Durgasiṃha's version, and that between the Pañcatantra and Bṛhatkathā. A genealogical table is appended to the article showing "the relations between the different versions of the Bṛhatkathā and the Pañcatantra."

TH. ZACHARIAE.—*Die Wortsammlung des Demetrios Galanos und Ihre Quelle* (The Word-collection of Demetrios Galanos and their Sources). Galanos, a Greek Indologist, was born in 1760 and was in Benares in 1833. The writer says that the agreement between the Kalpadru and the lexicon of Galanos regarding the division of topics is so great that the latter must have had this Kośa before him and concludes that he utilised for his lexicon not only the Kośa but also the Amarakośa and Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.

J. J. MEYER.—*Einen Scheidenden bis an Wasser begleiten* (some lines of demarcation including that made by water): The writer

mentions a number of ancient practices about the artifices resorted to by the Hindus for drawing the lines of demarcation.

B. BREOLOER.—*Study in Pāṇini.* It deals with *Śabdānuśāsana* (rules of phonetics).

TH. STCHERBATSKY.—*Über den Begriff 'Vijñāna' im Buddhismus* (On the Conception of *Vijñāna* in Buddhism). The writer justifies his opinion that citta = manaḥ = vijñāna against the criticism which Mr. Wallace made while reviewing his book "The Central Conception of Buddhism" in Z. für Buddhismus, VIII, p. 398.

vol. VIII, pt. i.

H. LÜDERS.—*Philologie, Geschichte und Archäologie in Indien.* This is a lecture delivered by the writer on the occasion of the fifteenth German Orientalists' Conference held at Bonn, containing a review of the progress made in the philological, historical and archæological studies relating to India. (N. Dutt).

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, October, 1929

R. SHAMA SHASTRY.—*The Aśvins.* With the help of some clue furnished by a few Mahābhārata-passages written in praise of the Aśvins and Vimalabodha's commentary thereon, the writer identifies the Vedic Aśvins with the celestial bodies, the sun and the moon.

M. H. RAMA SHARMA.—*Studies in Vijayanagara History.* This is a summary of the Kannada work *Paradāra-Sodara-Rāmana-Kathe* by the poet Nanjunda written in *circa* 1525 dealing with the accession of Kampila to the throne and the rise of his son Kumāra Rāmanātha to greatness.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Austric and Dravidian.* By the word 'Austric' the author describes the languages of the whole area extending from India on the west to the Polynesian Islands, and in this first instalment of which he points out what a great influence the Dravidian and Austric have hitherto exercised on each other, specially in Phonology.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.—*Pre-historic Archæology in Kerala.*

Obituary Notice

J. N. Samaddar

It is with a heavy heart that we have to announce the passing away of a rising Bengalee orientalist, Prof. J. N. Samaddar, on the 18th of November, 1929 at the early age of 45, much to the loss of oriental scholarship in India. He was ever ready to throw himself heart and soul into the vortex of any movement conducive to the study of ancient Indian culture. He was educated at Calcutta at the Presidency College and the Vangavasi College but he had to give up his studies owing to ill-health. He became a lecturer in history at P. M. College, Tangail, Mymensingh, and shortly afterwards, the senior lecturer at St. Columba's College at Hazaribagh. In 1912 he was appointed to a similar post at the Patna Government College where he served to the last of his days. In 1921 he was invited by the Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on the economic condition of ancient India, and in 1923 as a University Reader at Patna, he delivered his lectures on the glories of Magadha. These lecturers were collected and published in book-form. About the latter, Prof. A. B. Keith remarks:

"The author of this very interesting treatise on the Glories of Magadha has already established his capacity for useful work by his valuable monograph on the economic condition of ancient India and not only the general reader but also the expert will find matter for profitable study in his examination of the history of the Magadhan Capitals, of the edicts of Aśoka, and of the fate of the monasteries of Nalandā and Vikramaśilā."

The Benares and the Aligarh Universities also invited him to deliver courses of lectures. In 1909 he brought out "*Arthanīti*," a volume in Bengali. He took up the burden of initiating and maintaining a series of volumes on the history of India, *Samasāmayika Bhārata*, which he intended to finish in 25 volumes. This was to contain Bengali translations of the accounts relating to India left by travellers from the times of Candragupta Maurya down to the end of the Muhammadan rule including the descriptions of India left by the Greeks, Romans and other Europeans, the Chinese, and the Muhammadans. The author did not live to finish the series but could publish the following volumes covering

nearly 2,500 pages: Five volumes containing the accounts written by Strabo, Pliny, Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Periplus etc. (Pts. I-V). Two volumes containing the descriptions of India by Fa-hian, Sang-yan, and Hui-Sang (Pt. VIII), and I-tsing (Pt. XI). Two volumes devoted to the writings of European travellers (Pts. XIX and XXI). During his last illness, he brought out the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume.* His other mentionable books are: *Engrajer Katha, Arthasastra, Caturveda* (Hindi). Some fictions also came out of his pen. His discovery of the Didarganj image is also worth mentioning.

Prof. Samaddar was of amiable disposition. He used to mix freely with his pupils and encouraged them in their different activities. The Chanakya Society, established for the purpose of encouraging studies in economics, owed to him a good deal.

It will be apparent from what has been stated above that Prof. Samaddar tried hard to enrich the Bengali literature by the translation of the accounts of the many travellers mentioned above, and endeavoured also to popularize the subject of economics by making its principles intelligible to his brethren of the province of Bengal by interpreting them in their mother tongue. When the Viśvabhāratī at Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's initiative took up the task of compiling suitable Bengali text-books for the B.A. and the M.A. classes, Prof. Samaddar extended to him his active support and wrote a volume for the series.

SUDHA KANTA DE

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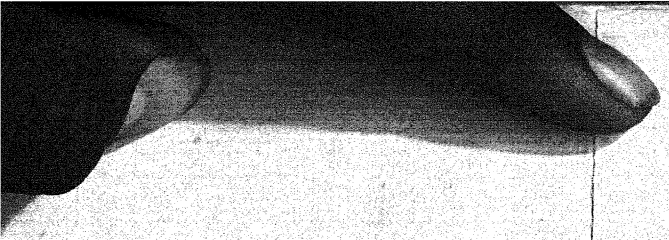

paribhañjanaṃ pāpuṇanti, idh' eva ca sukhaṃ vā sātaṃ vā na labhanti. *Tasmā idaṃ tevijjānaṃ brāhmaṇānan* ti tasmā idaṃ brahmasahavyatāya maggadīpakaṃ tevijjakaṃ pāvacanaṃ tevijjānaṃ[1] brāhmaṇānaṃ ; *tevijjā-īriṇan* ti [2]tevijjā-araññaṃ, iriṇan[3] ti agāmakaṃ mahāraññaṃ vuccati. *Tevijjā-vipinan* ti pupphaphalehi [4]anupabhoga-rukkhehi sañcchannaṃ nirudakam araññaṃ, yattha maggato ukkamitvā parivattituṃ pi na sakkā hoti, taṃ sandhāyāha,—"tevijjā-vipinan ti pi vuccati" ti. *Tevijjā-vyasanan* ti tevijjānaṃ paṭhavīdha vyasanasadisam etaṃ, yathā hi ñāti-roga-bhoga-diṭṭhi-sīlavyasanappattassa sukhaṃ nāma n'atthi, evan tevijjānaṃ tevijjakaṃ[5] sukhaṃ nāma n'atthī ti dasseti.

37. *Jāto vaḍḍho*[6] ti jāto ca vaḍḍhito ca. Yo hi kevalan tattha jāto va hoti aññattha vaḍḍhito, tassa samantā gāmamaggā na sabbaso paccakkhā honti, tasmā 'jāto vaḍḍho' ti āha. Jātavaḍḍho pi yo ciraṃ nikkhanto tassāpi na sabbaso paccakkhā honti,[7] tasmā 'tāvad eva avassatan' ti āha. Taṃ khaṇam eva nikkhantan ti attho. *Dandhāyitattan* ti ayaṃ nu kho maggo, ayaṃ na nu kho[8] ti kaṅkhāvasena cirāyitattaṃ. *Vitthāyitattan* ti yathā sukhumam atthajātaṃ sahasā pucchitassa kassaci sarīrathaddhabhāvaṃ gaṇhāti evaṃ[9] thaddhabhāvaggahaṇaṃ.

38. *No tvevā* ti iminā sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa appaṭihatabhāvaṃ dasseti. Tassa hi purisassa Mārāvaṭṭanādi-vasena siyā ñāṇassa paṭighāto, tena so dandhāyeyya vā vitthāyeyya vā, sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ pana appaṭihataṃ, na sakkā tassa kenaci antarāyo kātun ti dīpeti.

39. *Ullumpatu bhavaṃ Gotamo* ti uddharatu bhavaṃ Gotamo. *Brahmaṇiṃ pajan* ti brāhmaṇa-dārakaṃ. Bhavaṃ Gotamo maṃ[10] brāhmaṇa-puttam apāyamaggato uddharitvā Brahmalokamagge patiṭṭhāpetū ti attho. Ath' assa Bhagavā Buddhuppādaṃ dassetvā saddhiṃ pubbabhāgapaṭipadāya mettāvihārādi Brahmaloka-gāmi-maggaṃ dassetukāmo 'tena hi Vāseṭṭhā' ti ādim āha.

40. Tattha *idha Tathāgato* ti ādi Sāmaññaphale vitthāritaṃ.

76. *Mettāsahagatenā* ti ādīsu yaṃ vattabban taṃ sabbaṃ Visuddhimagge Brahmavihāra-kammaṭṭhāna-kathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

1 B. tevijjakānaṃ
2 Si. tevijjaṃ
3 Si. iraṇaṃ
4 B. aparibho-
5 B. drops it and puts here ekaṃ pāvacanam āgamma.
6 B. & S. use saṃvaḍḍho throughout.
7 Si. puts it in singular.
8 S. ayaṃ nu kho no ti
9 Si. thaddha-dandha-
10 S. omits it ; B. mama

77. 'Seyyathā pi Vāseṭṭha balavā saṅkhadhamo' ti ādi pana idha apubbaṃ. Tattha *balavā* ti balasampanno. *Saṅkhadhamo* ti saṅkhadhamako. *Appakasirenā* ti akicchena adukkhena, dubbalo hi saṅkhadhamo saṅkhaṃ dhamanto pi na sakkoti catasso disā sarena viññāpetuṃ, nāssa saṅkhasaddo sabbato pharati, balavato pana vipphāriko hoti, tasmā 'balavā' ti ādim āha. *Mettāya cetovimuttiyā* ti ettha mettā ti vutte upacāro pi appanā pi vaṭṭati. 'Cetovimuttī' ti vutte pana appanā va vaṭṭati.

Yaṃ pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ ti pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma kāmāvacaraṃ vuccati. Appamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma rūpārūpāvacaraṃ. Taṃ hi pamāṇaṃ atikkamitvā odissaka-anodissaka disāpharaṇavasena vaḍḍhetvā katattā 'appamāṇakatan' ti vuccati. *Na taṃ tatrāvasissati na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhatī* ti taṃ kāmāvacaraṃ kammaṃ tasmiṃ rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakamme[1] na ohiyyati na tiṭṭhatī ti. Kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti? Taṃ kāmāvacarakammaṃ tassa rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammassa antarā laggituṃ vā ṭhātuṃ vā rūpārūpāvacarakammaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyitvā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā patiṭṭhātuṃ na sakkoti. Atha kho rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammam eva kāmāvacaraṃ mahogho viya parittam udakaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyitvā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā tiṭṭhati tassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā sayam eva Brahmasahavyatam upanetī ti.

80. *Evaṃ vihārī* ti evaṃ mettādivihārī.

82. *Ete mayaṃ bhavantaṃ Gotaman* ti idaṃ tesaṃ dutiyasaraṇagamaṇaṃ. Paṭhamam eva h' ete majjhimapaññāsake Vāseṭṭhā-suttaṃ sutvā saraṇaṃ gatā, imaṃ pana Tevijja-suttaṃ sutvā dutiyam pi saraṇaṃ gatā, katipāhaccayena pabbajitvā Aggañña-sutte upasampadañ c'eva arahattañ ca aladdhuṃ. Sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya TEVIJJA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā terasamaṃ.

Niṭṭhitā ca terasasutta-paṭimaṇḍitassa Sīlakkhandhavaggassa atthavaṇṇanā ti.

1 Si. rūpāvacarāruppa-

hatthapādaṅguliyo mūle thūlā anupubbena gantvā agge tanukā niyyāsatelena madditvā vaṭṭitaharitālavaṭṭisadisā honti, tena vuttaṃ dīghaṅgulī ti.

Mudutaluṇahatthapādo ti sappimaṇḍe[1] osāretvā[2] ṭhapitaṃ satavāravihatakappāsapaṭalaṃ viya mudu, yathā ca[3] jātamattassa evaṃ vuḍḍhikāle pi [4]mudutaluṇā yeva bhavissanti. Mudutaluṇā hatthapādā etassā ti mudutaluṇahatthapādo.

Jālahatthapādo ti na cammena paṭibaddha[5]-aṅgulantaro. Ediso hi phaṇahatthako purisadosena upahato pabbajjaṃ pi na labhati. Mahāpurisassa pana catasso hatthaṅguliyo pañca pi pādaṅguliyo ekappamāṇā honti, tāsaṃ pana ekappamaṇattā [6]jālalakkhaṇam aññamaññaṃ paṭivijjhitvā tiṭṭhanti, ath' assa hatthapādā sukusalena vaḍḍhakinā yojitajālavātapānasadisā honti, tena vuttaṃ jālahatthapādo ti.

Uddhaṃ patiṭṭhitagopphakattā[7] ussaṅkhā pādā assā ti *ussaṅkhapādo*. Aññesaṃ hi piṭṭhipāde gopphakā honti, tena tesaṃ pādā āṇibaddhā viya baddhā[8] honti na yathāsukhaṃ parivattanti, gacchantānaṃ pādatalāni na dissanti. Mahāpurisassa pana ārohitvā uparigopphakā patiṭṭhahanti. Ten' assa nābhito paṭṭhāya uparimakāyo nāvāya ṭhapitasuvaṇṇapaṭimā viya niccalo va[9] hoti. Adharakāyo va iñjati. Sukhena pādā parivattanti. Purato pi pacchato pi ubhayapassesu pi ṭhatvā passantānaṃ pādatalāni paññāyanti, na hatthīnaṃ viya pacchato yeva.

Eṇijaṅgho ti eṇimigasadisajaṅgho. Maṃsussadena paripuṇṇajaṅgho na ekato baddhapiṇḍikamaṃso samantato samasaṇṭhitena maṃsena parikkhittāhi suvaṭṭitāhi[10] sāligabbhayavagabbhasadisāhi jaṅghāhi samannāgato ti attho.

Anonamanto ti anamanto. Eten' ass' eva akhujja avāmanabhāvo dīpito. Avasesā hi janā khujjā vā honti vāmanā vā. Khujjānaṃ uparimakāyo aparipuṇṇo hoti vāmanānaṃ heṭṭhimakāyo. Te aparipuṇṇakāyattā na sakkonti anonamantā jannukāni parimajjituṃ. Mahāpuriso pana paripuṇṇobhayakāyattā sakkoti.

Kosohitavatthaguyho ti usabhavāraṇādīnaṃ viya suvaṇṇapadumakaṇṇikāsadisehi kosehi ohitaṃ paṭicchannaṃ vatthaguyham assā ti kosohitavatthaguyho. Vatthaguyhan ti vatthena guyhitabbam aṅgajātaṃ vuccati.

Suvaṇṇavaṇṇo ti jātihiṅgulakena madditvā[11] dīpidāḍhāya ghaṃsitvā

1 Si. -majjhe
2 Si. osādetvā
3 Si. adds idāni.
4 Si. omits mudu
5 Si. parinaddha
6 S. yaval
7 S. goppekattā
8 Si. thaddhā
9 Si. omits it.
10 Si. suvaḍḍhitāni
11 S. majjitvā

gerukaparikammaṃ katvā ṭhapitaghanasuvaṇṇarūpasadiso[1] ti attho. Eten' assa ghanasiniddhasaṇhasarīrattaṃ dassetvā chavivaṇṇadassanatthaṃ *kañcanasannibhattaco* ti vuttaṃ purimassa vā vevacanam etaṃ.

Rajojallan ti rajo vā malaṃ vā. *Na upalimpatī* ti na laggati padumapalāsato udakabindu viya vivaṭṭati. Hatthadhovanādīnī pana utuggahaṇatthāya[2] c'eva dāyakānaṃ puññaphalatthāya ca [3]sabbabuddhā karonti, vattasīsenā pi ca karonti yeva. 'Senāsanaṃ pavisantena hi bhikkhunā pāde dhovitvā pavisitabban' ti vuttam etaṃ.

Uddhaggalomo ti āvaṭṭapariyosāne uddhaggāni hutvā mukhasobham ullokayamānāni viya ṭhitāni lomāni assā ti uddhaggalomo.

Brahmujugatto ti brahmā viya ujugatto ujukam eva uggatadīghasarīro bhavissati. Yebhuyyena hi sattā khandhe kaṭiyaṃ jānūsū ti tīsu ṭhānesu namanti. Te kaṭiyaṃ namantā pacchato namanti. Itaresu dvīsu ṭhānesu purato. Dīghasarīrā pana eke passe vaṅkā[4] honti, eke mukham unnāmetvā nakkhattāni gaṇayantā viya caranti. Eke appamaṃsalohitā sūlasadisā honti. Eke purato pabbhārā honti pavedhamānā gacchanti. Ayaṃ pana ujum eva uggantvā dīghappamāṇo devanagare [5]ussitasuvaṇṇatoraṇaṃ viya bhavissatī ti dīpenti. Yathā c' etam evaṃ yaṃ yaṃ jātamattassa sabbaso aparipuṇṇaṃ mahāpurisalakkhaṇaṃ hoti tan tam āyatiṃ tathā bhāvitaṃ sandhāya vuttan ti veditabbaṃ.

Sattussado ti dve hatthapiṭṭhiyo dve pādapiṭṭhiyo dve aṃsakūṭāni khandho ti imesu sattasu ṭhānesu suparipuṇṇo maṃsussado assā ti sattussado. Aññesaṃ pana hatthapādapiṭṭhādīsu[6] sirājālaṃ paññāyati aṃsakūṭakhandesu aṭṭhikoṭiyo. Te manussā petā viya khāyanti, na tathā mahāpuriso. Mahāpuriso pana sattasu ṭhānesu paripuṇṇamaṃsussadattā niguḷhasirājālehi hatthapiṭṭhādīhi vaṭṭetvā ṭhapitasuvaṇṇāliṅgasadisena khandhena silārūpakaṃ viya khāyati cittakammarūpakaṃ viya ca khāyati.

Sīhapubbaddhakāyo ti sīhassa pubbaddhaṃ viya kāyo assā ti sīhapubbaddhakāyo. Sīhassa hi [7]purimakāyo va paripuṇṇo hoti, pacchimakāyo aparipuṇṇo. Mahāpurisassa pana sīhassa pubbaddhakāyo viya sabbakāyo paripuṇṇo. So pi sīhass' eva tattha tattha [8]unnataninnatādivasena dussaṇṭhito visaṇṭhito na hoti, dīghayuttaṭṭhāne pana dīgho, rassathūlakisaputhula anuvaṭṭita yuttaṭṭhānesu tathāvidho va[9] hoti.

1 Si. -ghanakanakarūpakasadiso 2 Si. -gaṇhana- 3 Si. drops sabba.
4 Si. ekena passena vaṅkā 5 Si. ussāpita- 6 Si. -piṭṭhiyā
7 Si. puratthima 8 Si. vinatunnādi- 9 Si. omits it.

Vuttaṃ h'etaṃ : 'manāpiyeva[1] kho bhikkhave kammavipāke paccupaṭṭhite yehi aṅgehi dīghehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni dīghāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi rassehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni rassāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi thūlehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni thūlāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi kisehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni kisāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi puthulehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni puthulāni saṇṭhahanti, yehi aṅgehi vaṭṭehi sobhati tāni aṅgāni vaṭṭāni saṇṭhahantī'ti. Iti dānacittena puññacittena vicittito[2] dasahi pāramīhi sajjito mahāpurisassa attabhāvo. Loke sabbasippino vā sabba-iddhimanto vā paṭirūpakaṃ pi[3] kātuṃ na sakkonti.

Citantaraṃso[4] ti antaraṃso vuccati dvinnaṃ koṭṭhānam antaraṃ. Taṃ citaṃ paripuṇṇam antaraṃsam[5] assā ti citantaraṃso. Aññesaṃ hi taṃ ṭhānaṃ ninnaṃ hoti, dve pīṭṭhikoṭṭhāsā[6] pāṭiyekkaṃ paññāyanti. Mahāpurisassa pana kaṭito paṭṭhāya maṃsapaṭalaṃ yāva khandhā uggamma samussita-suvaṇṇaphalakaṃ viya piṭṭhiṃ chādetvā patiṭṭhitaṃ.

Nigrodhaparimaṇḍalo ti nigrodho viya parimaṇḍalo. Yathā paññāsahatthatāya vā satahatthatāya vā samakhandhasākho nigrodho dīghato pi vitthārato pi ekappamāṇo va hoti, evaṃ kāyato pi vyāmato pi ekappamāṇo. Yathā aññesaṃ kāyo vā dīgho hoti vyāmo vā, na evaṃ visamappamāṇo ti attho. Ten' eva 'yāvatakvassa kāyo' ti ādi vuttaṃ. Tattha yāvatako assā ti yāvatakvassa.

Samavaṭṭakkhandho ti samavaṭṭitakkhando. Yathā eke koñcā viya ca bakā viya ca varāhā[7] viya ca honti[8] dīghagalā vaṅkagalā puthulagalā vā[9] honti, kathanakāle sirājālaṃ paññāyati, mando saro nikkhamati, na evaṃ mahāpurisassa. Mahāpurisassa pana suvaṭṭitasuvaṇṇāliṅgasadiso khandho hoti kathanakāle sirājālaṃ na paññāyati, meghassa viya gajjito[10] saro mahā hoti.

Rasaggasaggī ti ettha rasaṃ gasantī ti rasaggasā. Rasaharaṇīnam etam adhivacanaṃ. Tā aggā assā ti rasaggasaggī. Mahāpurisassa kira sattarasaharaṇīsahassāni[11] uddhaggāni hutvā gīvāyam eva paṭimukkāni. Tilaphalamatto pi āhāro jivhagge[12] ṭhapito sabbaṃ kāyam anuppharati. Ten' eva mahāpadhānaṃ padahantassa ekataṇḍulādīhi pi kāḷāya yūsapasatamattena[13] pi kāyassa yāpanam ahosi. Aññesaṃ

1 Si. ca
2 S. citito
3 S. drops it.
4 S. pita for cita throughout.
5 S. drops it.
6 S. drops -sā.
7 Si. varāhakā
8 S. drops it.
9 S. ca
10 Si. gajjato
11 Si. -satāni
12 Si. jivhāya
13 Si. drops mattena.

pana tathā abhāvā na sakalaṃ kāyam ojā pharati. Tena te bahvābādhā honti.

Sīhahanū ti sīhass' eva hanu assā ti sīhahanu. Tattha sīhassa heṭṭhima-hanum eva paripuṇṇaṃ hoti na uparimaṃ. Mahāpurisassa pana sīhassa heṭṭhimaṃ viya dve pi paripuṇṇāni dvādasiyā pakkhassa candasadisāni honti.

Atha nemittakā [1]hanupariyantam olokentvā va imesu hanukesu heṭṭhime vīsati uparime vīsati cattālīsa dantā samā aviraḷā[2] patiṭṭhahissantī ti sallakkhetvā [3] 'ayaṃ hi devakumāro *cattālīsadanto hoti*' ti ādim āhaṃsu. Tatrāyam attho. Aññesaṃ hi paripuṇṇadantānaṃ pi dvattiṃsa dantā honti, imassa pana cattālīsaṃ bhavissanti. Aññesañ ca keci dantā uccā keci nīcā keci visamā honti, imassa pana ayapaṭakena chinnasaṅkhapaṭalaṃ[4] viya samā bhavissanti. Aññesaṃ kumbhīlānaṃ[5] viya dantā viraḷā honti macchamaṃsāni khādantānaṃ dantantaraṃ pūrati, imassa pana kanakaphalakāya[6] samussitavajirapantī viya aviraḷā[7] tulikāya dassitapariccheda viya dantā bhavissanti. Aññesañ ca pūtidantā uṭṭhahanti tena kāci dāḍhā kālā pi vivaṇṇā pi honti. Ayaṃ pana suṭṭhu sukkadāḍho osadhitārakaṃ pi atikkamma virocamānāya pabhāya samannāgatadāḍho bhavissati.

Pahūtajivho ti puthulajivho. Aññesaṃ jivhā thūlā pi honti kisā pi rassā pi thaddhā pi visamā pi. Mahāpurisassa pana jivhā mudu dīghā puthulā vaṇṇasampannā hoti. So taṃ lakkhaṇaṃ pariyesitum āgatānaṃ kaṅkhāvinodanatthaṃ mudukattā taṃ jivhaṃ kaṭhinasuciṃ viya vaṭṭetvā ubho nāsikāsotāni parimasati, dīghattā ubho kaṇṇasotāni parimasati, puthulattā kesantapariyosānaṃ kevalaṃ pi nalāṭaṃ paṭicchādeti, evan tassā mudu-dīgha-puthula-bhāvaṃ pakāsento tesaṃ kaṅkhaṃ vinodeti. Evaṃ tilakkhaṇasampannaṃ jivhaṃ sandhāya 'pahūtajivho' ti vuttaṃ.

Brahmassaro ti aññe pi chinnassarā pi bhinnassarā pi kākassarā pi honti. Ayaṃ pana mahābrahmuno sarasadisena[8] saddena samannāgato bhavissati. Mahābrahmuno hi pittasemhehi apaḷibuddhattā saro visuddho hoti. Mahāpurisenā pi katakamman tassa vatthuṃ sodheti. Vatthuno suddhattā nābhito paṭṭhāya samuṭṭhahanto saro visuddho aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgato va samuṭṭhāti. Karavīko viya bhaṇatī ti *karavīkabhāṇī*. Matta-karavīkaruta[9]mañjughoso ti attho.

Abhinīlanetto ti na sakalanīlanetto va. Nīlayuttaṭṭhāne pan'assa ummāpupphasadisena ativisuddhena nīlavaṇṇena samannāgatāni nettāni

1 Si. hanuka- 2 Si. avivarā 3 Si. adds here ti.
4 Si. ayopattacchinnasaṅkhapaṭalaṃ 5 S. kumbhīrānaṃ 6 Si. latāyaṃ
7 Si. avivarā ti 8 S. sarassa sadisena 9 S. drops ruta.